





THE NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
Structure—Objectives—Leadership  
PART 4

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APPENDIX TO HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

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MAY 12-14, 1960, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.  
JUNE 10, 1960, WASHINGTON, D.C.

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[Documents <sup>1</sup> appearing in this Appendix were introduced during the proceedings printed in Parts 1 and 3 of the hearings entitled, The Northern California District of the Communist Party: Structure—Objectives—Leadership, held May 12–14, 1960, San Francisco, Calif., and June 10, 1960, Washington, D.C.]

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<sup>1</sup> The Communist documents designated as Committee Exhibits 1 through 27 and Exhibit 29 in the Appendix were in packets passed out to all delegates to the Communist Party's 17th National Convention in New York City, December 10–13, 1959. Although many are self-explanatory, it should be made clear that Exhibits 2–23 consist of policy statements proposed for adoption by the convention. A comparison with resolutions finally adopted and subsequently publicly released shows that some of the proposed policy statements were substantially revised while others were subject only to minor changes in language.

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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 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

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

\* \* \* \* \*

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

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) 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 (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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26. To assist the House 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 House 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 House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

# COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 1

## LET US SET OUR SIGHTS TO THE FUTURE

By: Gus Hall

(Keynote speech to the 17th National Convention, Communist Party of the U.S.A., December 10, 1959.)

### I. A NEW ERA IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

These are turbulent times. We are living in a period when events move with great speed--when decades are at times telescoped into weeks. Nor is the turbulence merely on the surface of things. The movement of events today is profoundly reshaping the world. It is basically altering the relationship of forces and is creating a constant succession of new, unprecedented situations. And the pace of these changes grows faster as time goes on.

It is in the midst of these developments that our 17th Convention meets. During the next four days we will undertake, dispassionately and realistically, to appraise the state of affairs in the world and in our own country, and to chart our course for the momentous period which lies ahead of us. This is a difficult task, but it is also an exciting and enthusing task--and a rewarding one.

### TWO CONVENTIONS

The scope and speed of events is dramatized with special force by the contrast between the atmosphere, surrounding circumstances and outlook of this convention and the corresponding features of the 16th Convention. That convention took place in the midst of confusion and bewilderment resulting from the revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU concerning the weaknesses and mistakes of the Stalin era. It took place amid the disorientation and questioning created by the Polish and Hungarian revolts.

That was a period when world tensions were on the upgrade, and when the Dulles policies of "brinkmanship" and "massive retaliation" were in the ascendancy. It was the period of the Suez invasion.

It was a time when the Party was in the depths of a crisis in which its very life or death was a subject of intense debate. It was a time of the gathering of the right opportunist and liquidationist forces for their assault on the Party, an assault reflecting the world-wide revisionist swing which developed under the pressures of bourgeois ideology and as a reaction to the "Left" sectarian, dogmatic practices of the past.

Finally, the convention took place when the Party was just emerging from the disruption created by the attacks on it under the Smith Act and other repressive measures of the period when McCarthyism was at its heights.

Looking back on the situation of those days, it must be said that the 16th Convention, in spite of all its weaknesses, was a positive achievement.

That convention had before it two central problems: 1) Whether or not there was a place for a Communist Party in the U.S., and; 2) whether such a Party, under American conditions, could be a Marxist-Leninist Party. Despite the difficulties of that period, the struggle and the resolutions gave affirmative answers to those questions and laid the basis for the re-consolidation of our Party. Those struggles were necessary, and they prepared the Party to meet today's tasks.

As is true in all phenomena, the elements of change--of the new--were then already discernable. The McCarthyite hysteria had already begun to subside. The Supreme Court decision had opened the doors to a new stage of the school desegregation fight. The peace movement was beginning to move forward, with the development of the campaign against nuclear tests. And the painful reexamination and correction of the 20th Congress continued within themselves the seeds of a new clarity and cleansing, and of a new upsurge of the world Marxist-Leninist movement. All these developments, however, were then present in embryo or in their initial stages.

How radically and unalterably different are the circumstances in which our 17th Convention meets! Our Party enters this convention victorious over the elements

of liquidationism and revisionism, and having in the main eradicated their twin evils--"Left" sectarianism and dogmatism.

This is a convention which ends all holding operations and set our sights to the future. It is a convention of advance, of progress. This is the first convention to take place in the era when the socialist forces of the world have attained dominance, and when the world peace forces, for the first time in history, are the most powerful voice and movement on the world scene. This convention is being held at a time when the portals of opportunity have been opened to a new era of mankind, free of the scourge of war.

And it is being held at a time when the decline in our own ranks has been halted, when the morale and fighting spirit of our membership is on the upgrade, reflecting these new developments in the world. The factionalism which caused such tremendous damage and threatened the very existence of the Party has been defeated, though remnants of it still exist.

In view of all this, the goals and aims of this convention must be far higher, far in advance of those of the 16th Convention. The heart of the 16th Convention was the struggle against those who maintained that there was no place for a Communist Party. Today this question does not even exist. Rather the central question of this convention is: What is the role of the Party in this entirely new situation? How can it now move out into the broad stream of the peoples movement; how can it break the bonds of its isolation and become more and more effectively a factor in the life of our nation--in the growing movement for peace, in the struggle of the workers, the Negro people, the youth and other sections of the people.

#### A NEW ERA

Dialectics teaches us that everything is in a process of endless change, a process in which there is a constant conflict between the old and the new. As Marxists, as fighters for progress, we therefore at all times seek out what is new.

But not everything that is new is important. Hence we have to single out that which is not only new but significant--that which indicates the future direction of development. To do that, we must thoroughly study the history of the development of the new and its emergence from the past.

We must ever be on the alert for the signs of the new, but at the same time we must not make the mistake of acting as if it were already here full-blown. When we see the first green shoots of grass, we do not say, "Let's make hay." Instead, we do what is necessary to bring it to the point where it is full-grown. Then, when the sun shines, we are ready to make hay.

It is in such a light that we should examine what is new in the world of today. And there is plenty. This is the beginning of a new era in the life of our nation, our people and our Party. And we must not only see but must clearly define the features of this new era.

These were born and matured in the era that is ended--the era to which Henry Luce gave the name "The American Century." That was the era of the unquestioned dominance of the American monopolies in the capitalist world, of continuous expansion and growth with apparently no serious challenge from any source. It was an era in which American capitalism reached unprecedented heights, in which the rest of the capitalist world, prostrated by the war, lay at the feet of American big business. It was the era of "positions of strength," of dictation to other countries and infringement on their sovereignty.

It was an era that produced such bombastic, arrogant "carrot and club" policies as "containment" and "rollback" of the socialist world, and of trade embargoes intended to strangle its economic development. It was an era when American military bases mushroomed all over the face of the earth, and when the coffers of the American trusts were swelled with the profits extracted from the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa. Truly, the "American Century" seemed quite real and impressive.

This was the America which molded and left its imprint on our living standards our culture, our thinking and our attitude toward the rest of the world. This is the America we must understand if we are to grasp the developing new features of the America which is succeeding it.

Let us now take a closer look at the new and developing. First we must look at the position our nation occupies in the world.

The outstanding world phenomenon of today is the fact that the balance of strength is tipping decidedly in the direction of the socialist world. This is a development of profound importance to every capitalist country, but its impact on the leading capitalist stronghold, the bastion of world capitalism, is a virtually explosive one.

The roots of these new relationships lie in the emergence after World War II of not one but a group of socialist countries--a socialist sector of the world embracing fully one-third of its people. These countries, bursting onto the scene of history, have undergone a meteoric growth, and are today moving at a terrific pace in their industrial, scientific, social and cultural development. Within a matter of a relatively few years, these socialist countries, so recently looked upon as backward, bid to become the dominant economic force in the world, producing more than half of its total industrial output.

This is a fundamental change, whose ramifications basically affect all parts of the world. But it is not the only challenge which has developed to the position of American capitalism.

Thus, it coincides with the beginning of the end of the era of imperialism. One colonial country after another is breaking out of its bondage and setting forth on the path of independence and national freedom. Beginning in Asia and the Near East, this development is sweeping across Africa, and is now challenging the dominance of the United States in what has been its own preserve, Latin America. The revolutionary development in Cuba, and their courageous resistance to American imperialist intervention, is an inspiration to the people's forces throughout this hemisphere. This bloc of newly liberated countries, represents a powerful new force on the world scene.

These developments have narrowed the sphere of colonial exploitation and have shut off, one after another, the pipelines of imperialist superprofits from these sources. The independence of these countries today is not nominal but genuine. What makes it genuine is the existence of the socialist world--a world on which they can rely for the assistance they need, and which imperialism has so long denied them. Certainly the very lives of the new regimes in Egypt, Iraq and Cuba would have been cut short, were it not for the firm position for non-intervention taken by the peace forces of the world, with the Soviet Union, People's China and other Socialist nations in the forefront. A further dramatic example was the Soviet Union's economic assistance in the construction of the Aswan Dam in Egypt after the United States had refused. Herein lies the basis of the policy of neutrality adopted by these nations, and of their generally friendly attitude toward the socialist countries.

A third major development of this era is the economic revival of the other capitalist countries. These have repaired the ravages of the war, and have gone through an extended period of expansion and modernization of their productive facilities. Today they are able to compete with American capitalist in field after field in which American products once reigned supreme. The share of the United States in world capitalist production, once over 50%, is now closer to 40. And the dominance which previously seemed so unquestioned is increasingly being challenged.

Growing competition from abroad has greatly narrowed the trade surplus enjoyed by this country for a number of years, and this has contributed to a huge jump in the deficit in the balance of payments with other countries. This deficit first appeared in 1950, and for the next several years it averaged about a billion dollars a year. But for the past two years, it has totalled more than \$7½ billion. And this has created a threat to the stability of the dollar which is causing American big business no small alarm.

At the recent National Foreign Trade Convention in New York, the new factors in the world situation were recognized by more than one of the speakers. Thus, one said: "American industry must accept the concept that today's customers may be tomorrow's competitors." Another spoke of the need "to face the central issue of how to have both cooperation and competition." Such positions are a far cry from the old policies in foreign trade.

The distinction is also illustrated by the fact that half a dozen years ago the Western European countries were appealing to the United States to let down its trade bars, under the slogan of "trade, not aid." But today it is Undersecretary of State Dillon who travels to Europe to ask for more markets for American goods from these very same countries.

Today, too, it is President Eisenhower who travels across half the world, on a trip representing an attempt to meet with concrete actions the challenges from all three major sources.

World War II, with the growth of the socialist world and the development of the colonial liberation movement, ushered in a new and deeper stage of the general crisis of capitalism. The developments since then have given rise to yet another, still deeper, stage of the general crisis.

This is the new world in which our country must make a place for itself. In a true sense of the word, the problem our people face is that of finding the least painful transition from the "American Century" to the new era of challenge, of peaceful coexistence.

#### THE FIGHT FOR PEACE--YESTERDAY AND TODAY

The central expression of the "American Century" concept has been the cold war. But with the fading of this concept, the cold-war policies of "positions of strength" and brinkmanship have proven themselves increasingly bankrupt. In this, a major factor has been also the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

As a result, American big business has been compelled to begin a painful reexamination of its policies--in the words of Dulles himself, an "agonizing reappraisal"--and to take a more realistic approach to the situation in which it finds itself.

In this lie the reasons for the proposal by Eisenhower for an exchange of visits with Khrushchev, leading to the historic visit of Khrushchev to this country and its momentous consequences. Among these were the Camp David agreement that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiations," laying the basis for summit discussions, as well as for direct meetings between heads of states. Among them, too, are a number of immediate gains--the conclusion of an agreement for expanded cultural exchange, agreements for cooperation in nuclear research and for joint medical research projects, and of great significance, the agreement between the nations regarding the Antarctic continent.

This represents a break in the direction of American foreign policy. How fast or how far it will move in this new direction depends on the American people and on the pressure they exert.

It is not by any means the end of the cold war. The Eisenhower Administration has not yet shown in practice either the will or the actions to guarantee that this is the direction our country will follow. It has recognized the need for a change, but there is no indication as to how far reaching, or complete that change will be. And the die-hard cold war forces, who are very powerful, have already launched a counteroffensive designed to regain the ground they have lost and to wipe out whatever advances toward peace have been won. This is something which must be taken very seriously.

But the key thing is that the public admission of the bankruptcy of the old policies and the need for a change has opened the flood gates of discussion as to what the new policies should be. Peace therefore emerges more than ever as the central issue of our day. It is to this that we must apply ourselves with all the energy, skill and ingenuity at our command. It is to this that our work in all other fields must be related.

In this connection, we must see clearly the distinctive features of the fight for peace in the present period. In past years, we organized, conducted and led a campaign for peace, including the notable Stockholm Peace Appeal. We did so in the context of the fundamentally correct analysis that a danger of war existed, exemplified by Korea and later by Indo-China. Today we are again taking

part in a campaign for peace, but in the context of a new analysis--again fundamentally correct--that lasting peace, total disarmament and peaceful coexistence are in the cards; that they are realizable goals.

Both are campaigns for peace, but under much different conditions. Are we not called upon, then to think about specific tactics to meet the specific conditions that flow out of the difference in the specific situations surrounding them? The past drive was based on a negative development; this one is based on a positive development. The past drive took place in a situation in which the peace forces were growing but not yet dominant; this one takes place in a situation in which the peace forces are already the stronger. The past drive occurred in an atmosphere of jingoism and national chauvinism; this one is unfolding in an atmosphere in which the whole nation is discussing the banning of nuclear tests, total disarmament and peaceful coexistence. These factors should indicate to us the need for new, fresh, concrete thinking.

#### WE MUST BE SPECIFIC

The sentiment for peace is general and over-all in scope. This sentiment has grown in intensity as the weapons of war have increased in destructiveness. And as the balance of world forces has shifted, so have the moods and thinking of the mass of Americans shifted toward peace. It is this over-all yearning and concern for peace that forms the foundation for a concerted mass crusade for survival. This crusade is, of course, of utmost importance, and we must devote our best energies and forces to it. However, this is not enough. Such a general crusade will not by itself secure lasting peace.

The fight for peace must be developed in more specific forms. Its mooring lines must be tied to the specific self-interest of specific sections of the people. The campaign for peace is directed toward saving our lives and our civilization from destruction. But it also brings with it certain immediate benefits for the people and--yes--for the industrialists' immediate profits. It is in relation to this that we must develop the slogans and the campaign for total disarmament.

Cutting down on armaments is the only possible road to cutting down the ever-mounting burden of taxes. Only if we have a cut in arms production will we have a cut in prices. The building of the schools, roads, hospitals, parks, houses and other things the people so badly need, is blocked by the spending of huge sums for the stockpiling of instruments of destruction. Surely the problem of the huge farm surpluses, with the resulting impoverishment in many agricultural areas, is bound up with the opening of world-wide markets in a world free from armament burdens. These and many more are the mooring lines to which the fight for peace must be secured.

A generation of the American people have grown up in and made a livelihood from an economy that in large measure has been supported and souped up by war orders. War economy has been accepted as a normal and necessary part of our economic system. This stands as a roadblock to a full mobilization of the forces for peace. As Comrade Lumer's report will show concretely, this is a false conception. We have the task of removing this roadblock.

During these same years of the arms economy, a body of thought has developed to the effect that the Negro people can break down the bars of discrimination in industry, housing and education only when our nation is either at war or preparing for war. Unfortunately, there has been an element of truth in this. But we must show clearly how disarmament and peace can be conducive to an atmosphere in which this struggle can more readily be won. Wars and war tensions bring with them a growth of chauvinism and jingoism, while peace is conducive to an atmosphere of brotherhood and understanding. We must understand these special roadblocks to the movement for peace among the Negro people.

Many Negro workers are at the bottom of the seniority list. Therefore any cutback in production means unemployment for them. This is a definite challenge to us in working out a substitute for military production.

Similarly, we need to deal with other specific problems affecting the young people, women, the handicapped and the older workers. Generalities will not do.

Hence, while we take part in the general crusade for peace, we must understand that specific groups, because of specific interests, will start from and rally around narrower issues involved in the fight for peace. With some, unrestricted trade with the socialist countries will be the starting point, with others it will be the dangers of fallout. For still others, disarmament will be the point of greatest interest.

We must see the fight for peace realistically in all its many-sided aspects. At this point, the need is not for starting a peace movement from scratch. Such a movement is here. It expresses itself in a thousand ways and at a variety of levels. At this stage, it is above all expressed through the existing mass organizations of the people.

In a nation like ours, where almost everyone belongs to one or more mass organization, this is a firm and certainly a broad base. Here is where we should be working to help build and elevate the peace movement. While doing so, we should also have our sights on more concerted and united movements, conferences and actions of various kinds on local, state and national levels. If the central issue of peace is to give rise to the greatest, most persistent crusade of our times, what is needed is not one but a number of national centers to guide, prod and organize it. Not only is this necessary with respect to specific issues but in addition, it seems to me, the youth, women, farmers, veterans and other groups need such special centers of direction.

#### PROBLEMS ON THE HOME FRONT

As in all phenomena, there is a close relationship between world developments and those on the domestic scene.

What is it that best describes our domestic situation as we enter the decade of the sixties? Is it tranquility, stability? Are we moving on the path of unending growth and expansion? In spite of the present high level of production, this does not fit the realities of life in our country. Rather, the state of affairs in our nation is better described as one of instability, uneasiness and hesitation. What best describes the United States of the sixties is the growing catalog of serious problems, steadily becoming more aggravated, which are seeking solution.

What gives these developments such importance and seriousness is that they occur simultaneously with the developments on the world scene which we have described

An outstanding new feature on the home scene is the development of automation, whose many ramifications and effects are now reaching into all aspects of our national life. Strictly speaking, automation is still an infant. But it is already throwing its weight around like a full-grown heavyweight.

A most striking evidence of its effects is the rise in unemployment in the successive postwar boom periods. In the peak boom year of 1953, following the 1948-49 slump, 2.9% of the labor force was unemployed. In 1956, the year of peak economic activity following the 1953-54 slump, the figure was 4.2%. In the present period, which follows the depression of 1957-58, unemployment has remained well above 5% of the labor force. In October, 1959 it stood at 6%. Speaking on this question Sen. Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota had the following to say:

"This is far too high for a dynamic economy, but its effect could be managed if it were spread evenly throughout the economy. The fact is that unemployment has reached disaster proportions in certain regions and for certain age, racial and educational groups."

What these figures show is a re-emergence since the war of the industrial reserve army on a growing scale. And in this, the displacement of workers through automation is playing a constantly growing part.

Automation, and the determination of the monopolies to clear the way for more rapid automation, is also largely at the bottom of the current drive to undermine working conditions in steel, on the railroads, on the waterfront, and in many other industries. It serves also as an instrument used by big business for the destruction of its small competitors and increased concentration of ownership and control. The slogan of big business has become "Automate or Die." And in the process, many do die.

Other reports will go further into the problems arising from automation. Here I want only to point out how different are its consequences under socialism. In a socialist society all technological advances are welcome. The fruits of science and technology are no problem, but rather the foundation on which the economy will rapidly be built to new heights, the basis of the goal of surpassing our own standard of living. The rapid development of automation in the Socialist Nation will serve to prod the development of automation here; but the benefits from automation to the workers in the Socialist Countries will also serve to inspire our workers, helping them to see the need for Socialism, and to struggle for the benefits of automation here.

We must work out definite plans and demands with the aim that at least part of the fruits of this technological advance will go to benefit the working people of our land. A proper examination of the questions growing out of automation is also the key to understanding the present big business drive against organized labor

A second major feature of the home scene is the growing financial instability of the country. Our national debt is higher than it was at the end of the war, and is still rising. The taxpayers are saddled with a burden of interest now well over \$9 billion a year and still going up. State and local debts have been going up by leaps and bounds and are at an all-time high. Private debt has multiplied several times during the postwar years. The burden of taxes has grown to impossible levels, yet government debts continue to rise. Prices have risen greatly since the end of the war and the value of the dollar has been steadily shrinking. The federal government is experiencing increasing difficulty in financing the national debt and borrowing more money. As one observer has remarked, the credit of the United States government, once considered the soundest in the world, is now becoming shaky. And because of this country's world role, these developments are having world-wide repercussions.

A third important feature is the chronic agricultural crisis. Farmers are being increasingly squeezed between shrinking farm prices and mounting production costs. Farm income is steadily declining, and is now at its lowest point in seventeen years. Our storage facilities are being choked by the growing mountain of unsaleable surpluses of farm products. There are growing areas of desolation in marginal farmlands, with farmers driven out in rising numbers thanks to the development of modern, mechanized farming in the more productive areas. All in all, America's farmers are in serious difficulties, which are having an effect on the entire country.

To these features, we may add the failure of our society to provide adequate housing, education and health facilities, whose lack grows more acute from year to year. There is also the growing stench of corruption and moral decay, which is penetrating every corner of American life. As one person expressed it, "Everybody is on the gravy train of payola these days--except the working people."

Affected by all these things in the sharpest measure are in the first place the 18 million Negro people, as well as the 5 million Mexican-American and the million or more Puerto Ricans in the United States. The slum housing and the ghettos to which they are confined are becoming not better but steadily worse. They are the most severely affected by the unfair system of taxation, by rising prices, by unemployment and by the farm crisis.

This the America we see as we enter the decade of the sixties. These are the realities of life on the home front, corresponding to those in the world situation. It is these realities of life to which this convention must apply itself, and with which the Party must deal.

#### MEETING THE CHALLENGE

How does America react to these developments? What are the different currents which are emerging? In what direction are the different groups moving? In short, how is America meeting the challenge?

American monopoly capital is reacting to the world situation with attempts to readjust, reassess and make changes in its foreign policy, to accommodate itself to present-day realities. This is most dramatically demonstrated by the proposal for the Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchange of visits. And this has been one of the basic factors in opening up the new possibilities which now exist in the fight for peace.

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 2

## I.

## INTRODUCTION

As we approach the decade of the sixties, mankind stands at the threshold of a new era. For the first time in human history the possibility now exists for the elimination of the scourge of war, and the release of the full productive potential of the human race for the solution of the age-old problems of poverty, disease and ignorance.

The new possibilities to realize a world free from the horror of nuclear warfare have been created by profound and irreversible changes in favor of the camp of peace, freedom and social progress.

World imperialism, headed by Wall Street monopoly capitalism, is no longer the sole or dominant force determining the destiny of mankind. Socialism, embracing one-third of the earth's population, has emerged as an invincible world system, spearheading the cause of peace and peaceful coexistence. The victorious upsurge of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has undermined imperialist colonialism and kindled the flame of national independence among all oppressed peoples. The mounting peace movement in our country, and throughout the capitalist world, has gained new strength and momentum. Thus, even the new forms by which U. S. imperialism hopes to continue its drive for world power and influence is now confronted by the powerful challenge of superior world forces determined to win a durable and lasting peace.

The dominant world position of the United States, long uncontested, is now being increasingly challenged on all sides by its capitalist competitors, by the expanding group of newly liberated countries, and most of all, by the socialist world, which now bids to surpass the achievements of U. S. capitalism in all areas of human endeavor.

Our capitalist society is plagued by a mounting accumulation of unsolved problems. Its economy displays a growing shakiness and instability. Automation and other technological advances create growing insecurity, chronic unemployment and fear of the future. Unsaleable farm surpluses rise from year to year while farm incomes are declining. The national debt, already overburdening, continues to mount, and the difficulty of financing the war economy increases. The burden of interest and taxes become ever more intolerable. Rising prices have become a persistent problem.

Though the possibilities of peace are enhanced, and important sectors of business and government are compelled to move away from the rigid war policy, the reactionary offensive on the domestic front has been accelerated. In place of the growth of freedom, there is continued repression and denial of elementary liberties. The infamous Landrum-Griffin bill has been passed, fastening new and more powerful shackles on organized labor than did the Taft-Hartley Act. The steel companies are spearheading a drive of all the great monopolies aimed against the living standards and working conditions. Monopoly unite in an effort to resolve its problems at the expense of the working class.

Despite certain advances in the struggle for Negro rights, the system of Jim Crow oppression remains essentially unshaken. Unrestricted suffrage and Negro representation in the South, and the eradication of racist discrimination and segregation in national life, remain a central democratic task still to be achieved.

Our educational system is in a state of deepening crisis. Juvenile delinquency grows steadily worse. Slums and overcrowding is the lot of the low income groups in all cities of the country. In every aspect of American life, the problems and difficulties become not less but greater.

It is the all-powerful monopoly capitalist groups, with their striving to preserve their outworn system of "free enterprise," which stand as the central obstacle to progress. It is monopoly capital which blocks the fulfillment of the great promise which the future holds, and which breeds the menace to peace, and fosters insecurity and repression. It is monopoly capital and its agents which must be opposed by the American working class, the Negro people and all peace-loving and democratic forces to realize the potential of a new era of peace, democracy and security.

The decade ahead can be the decade in which mankind is liberated from the peril of the cold war and threat of catastrophic nuclear warfare.

It can be the decade in which fatal blows can be inflicted on the oppression of the Negro people which has defiled our land for more than three centuries.

It can be the decade in which the offensive to depress the standards of living of the working class and to destroy labor's rights can be defeated by a united labor movement and a revitalized alliance of labor and the Negro people.

It can be the decade in which the American people, united in a great people's alliance consisting of labor, the Negro people, the farmers, small businessmen and all those threatened by the big monopolies can take major strides toward the attainment of a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The Communist Party, the Party of the American working class, faces this new decade with supreme confidence that these goals can be won, and to this we American Communists shall dedicate all our efforts and energies.

## II. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: THE NEED OF A POLICY FOR PEACE

Peace is the urgent objective, the common need and common hope of people everywhere. Heretofore this has been a dream deferred, an illusive aspiration, passed down from generation to generation. Now the conditions have matured for transforming this dream into reality, into a way of life for all the nations of the world. For peace has become a necessary condition for the very existence and further development of human society, just as war with modern methods of annihilation has become unthinkable. The peaceful coexistence of nations with differing economic and social systems, and competition between them for peaceful pursuits, is the sole alternative to an atomic catastrophe.

Everything in the needs, hopes and aspirations of our people finds its relationship to this central issue of our times -- the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence.

The fate of world peace today depends in the first place upon the improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two most powerful countries with immense economic, technological, and military potential. If the relations between our country and the Soviet Union are normalized, if they cooperate in the maintenance of peace, then the peace of the world can be kept inviolate.

That is why the extraordinary visit of Premier Khrushchev to our country and the projected visit of President Eisenhower to the Soviet Union, the significant talks at Camp David and the agreement "that all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiations" inspired the people of our country and the whole world with the highest hopes for peace.

These events mark the first salient break from the disastrous and discredited policy of Dulles, of atomic threats and "brinkmanship," signaling an important change in the improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations. They have brought about a thaw in the international climate. Understanding has been reached on direct meetings between the heads of government, as well as discussions at the summit, as the method to be pursued in the search for agreement on outstanding disputed international questions. The resolution of such grave problems as the signing of a peace treaty with the two German states and normalizing the situation in Berlin can now proceed in a vastly improved international atmosphere.

Most significant for the struggle to realize peaceful coexistence have been the proposals for universal and total disarmament, placed before the United Nations by Premier Khrushchev. This has now become the key issue and main subject of debate in every country of the world. For universal and total disarmament, depriving all countries of the means of waging war, is in the long run the only true guarantee for an enduring peace. A peacetime economy as an alternative to arms production and the threat of an atomic war, an economy providing greatly expanded social welfare benefits and higher living standards is regarded as a realistic hope by ever greater numbers of Americans.

The Khrushchev visit has already produced important immediate results in a number of areas: the conclusion of a two-year agreement for an expanded cultural exchange program; the joint agreement for cooperation in nuclear research and the exchange of scientists and research information; the agreement for the study of the detection of underground nuclear explosions; the agreement for joint medical research projects; the treaty to keep Antarctica a scientific preserve; the more favorable conditions created for reaching an agreement on the banning of nuclear testing, and for the abolition of the artificially-imposed restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist lands.

Above all, these developments create new opportunities for the peace forces to impose further shifts in foreign policy, which will lead in the direction of realizing more fully the great potential inherent in the present situation. Important business and government circles have been compelled to realize the epochal changes in the existing world relationship of forces and the need to adopt a more realistic foreign policy. This does not signify, however, that the Eisenhower administration has yet embarked on a firm course to end the cold war, nor that peaceful coexistence has been achieved and secured.

The thaw in the cold war has begun, but the cold war is far from ended. The proponents of the cold war are still powerful and strive to return to the bankrupt policy of "positions of strength" and to the frozen pattern of the past. Its advocates are to be found within the Administration, and in both major political parties (as symbolized by the Republican Rockefeller and the Democrat Acheson). They are in control of the Pentagon, of the huge armament industries and other giant financial trusts who continue to exert maximum pressure to maintain and heat up the cold war. And it must not be forgotten, that the top officials of the labor movement remain largely tied to the bankrupt cold war policy and advocate a crash program to expand armament production under the guise of providing jobs for the workers.

Already a counter-offensive has been launched to undo all that has been accomplished. There is the renewed demands on the part of the top brass and leading statesmen for increased war expenditures to meet what they falsely refer to as the "Soviet challenge" or "Soviet aggression." Opposition to expansion of U.S.-Soviet trade, voiced by the billionaire Rockefeller, is followed by the cancellation of a huge steel order to the Soviet Union. The insensate hostility to People's China is fostered by continuous incitement against China in India, Laos, Tibet and Korea. The provocative insistence on the discussion of Hungary by the United Nations was designed to further inflame the cold war attitudes. The nuclear rearmament of West Germany, aimed to transform it into Wall Street's main arsenal in Europe, flaunts the will of the people and international agreements. The shameful interference in the internal affairs of Cuba and the threat of economic strangulation by manipulating sugar quotas is aimed not only against the Cuban revolution but against the anti-imperialist freedom struggle in all of Latin America.

The bellicose cold war advocates are determined to halt the trend toward peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition, and, even as events force them to drastically alter their past cold war policies, they attempt to continue their drive for new forms of world domination.

The replacement of the cold war policy by a policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union for peace, demands the defeat of these cold war advocates, these most rabid and aggressive sections of Big Business and their agents in government.

Despite their efforts to head off a far-reaching policy of peaceful co-existence and competition, the very fact that they are confronted with the compulsion of carrying through a shift in their foreign policy, opens the way for a tremendous upsurge in the strength of the forces working for peace.

Above all, the times demand a persistent and unrelenting struggle on the part of all sections of the people who desire peace, in the first place the organized labor movement. Labor will assume its rightful place of leadership in the people's interests only when it takes the lead in the fight for peace. It is a welcome sign of the changes taking place, that

representative journals and individual leaders among labor, despite the adamant anti-Soviet line of the top officialdom, are stepping out on their own and calling for disarmament, for a peace-time economy, for the exchange of delegations, for an end to nuclear testing and the outlaw of atomic weapons. These beginnings have permeated the ranks of the entire labor movement, so that labor can help to broaden and extend the united mass struggles of all peace-loving forces in determined unison to impose the people's will for peace upon our government.

The changing moods and temper of the people of our country point to new possibilities for unfolding broad mass actions around every specific issue related to the struggle for peace. Just as the ruling class yesterday was successful in convincing the people to accept the heavy burden of the cold war as a "deterrent" to "Soviet aggression," so today a breakdown in this artificially created war hysteria can help to unleash the full potential of the people's fighting capacity to demand an end to the cold war.

The Khrushchev visit, and the ensuing easing of world tensions, has, of course, not dissipated all the prejudices and misconceptions about the Soviet Union. What must be underscored, however, is that a new spirit of friendship for the Soviet Union, a new admiration for its scientific and technological achievements, a new understanding that we can live together, is spreading among men and women in all walks of life. To the extent that this understanding is heightened, to that extent will the movement for peace gain greater purposefulness, greater unity and greater determination to win the battle for peace.

Life, not death! Production for peace and not for destruction! Peace and friendship among nations! An end to international mistrust! An end to the cold war! For a policy of peace and peaceful existence! These demand a fight against the resumption of nuclear testing, for a ban on the use and manufacture of atomic weapons. These demand a fight for the recognition of People's China and its rightful membership in the United Nations. These demand a fight for expanded East-West trade. These demand the fight against U.S. intervention in Cuba or anywhere else in Latin America. Above all, these demand a fight for disarmament, the scrapping of all instruments of warfare and shifting the economy from armaments to peace. These demand peaceful competition between nations in expanding world production to improve the living standards of the world's peoples.

The issue of peace is the paramount issue in American political life. It is the central test of all parties, mass organizations and civic leaders. On the resolution of this issue rests the future of our nation.

The eyes and hopes of all peoples are focused on the United States. Upon the outcome of the now unfolding struggle for a policy of peace in our land may hinge the fate of mankind.

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 3

1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

World development has confirmed the basic analysis of capitalism and imperialism by Marx and Lenin, and their prediction that the essence of our era is the transition to socialism. Socialist society exists today in countries with one-third the world's population. The scaring progress of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries in Europe and Asia reveals the tremendous potential of socialist society. Socialism has leaped over the age-old barriers to social progress, and released the pent-up creative energy of hundreds of millions who have been oppressed by capitalism and landlordism. It has begun the evolution to a classless society, in which abundance will be freely available to all, equality will be a natural condition of life, and mankind will explore presently unpredictable new frontiers of society and culture.

These achievements with their limitless potentials for progress can be the common possession of all humanity. They need not belong exclusively to any single nation or group of nations. Fortunate are those peoples who have pioneered socialist society, even at great sacrifice and risk in a hostile capitalist world, for they are the masters of their own destiny, and today set the pace of history and shape the future. They revive and fortify confidence in progress everywhere, even in the midst of the stagnation and demoralization of capitalist society. Their successes inspire people in many lands to overcome obstacles and open the path of progress for themselves.

Communists believe that in the United States also socialism will perform wonders, beyond the dreams of most Americans. In a country such as ours--with its great wealth of human skills and material resources, the national ability to translate science into technical advance, a deeply rooted love of democracy and peace, and an historically formed confidence in progress--with these traits of our national history, providing peace can be gained and assured, socialism when established will surely achieve new heights for all mankind.

It is peculiar to our situation that the United States is the most powerful capitalism in the world, in an era in history when socialist achievement arouses enthusiasm and confidence in the future among the vast majority of the people of the earth. It is due to this circumstance, and not to some innate national quality of Americans, that in the present-day world U.S. capitalism upholds the old order of things, symbolizes the past rather than the future, and on a global scene plays the role of modern Toryism. This is a truth not readily accepted by Americans, who have been accustomed to think of their country as the paragon of progress, freedom and peace. Yet, this is the actual position in which the United States has been placed by the course of our own development and by world history.

In the new order of world affairs, with basic shifts in the weight of nations, it need not necessarily follow that the American people become helpless victims of the decay of our social system, while the rest of the world builds a new society, outpaces us, and leaves us behind. The United States is not exempt from the laws of social development and from the social ferment that leads to progress.

This country exemplifies in the extreme the domination of monopoly as the decisive factor of capitalism in its present, imperialist stage. But the system of monopoly capitalism is intrinsically incapable of employing to the full our great productive capacity and our labor, and of realizing the remarkable new potentials of science for the good of the people. The immense aggregates of private economic power, ruling society and government, act as a drag on the nation, retarding its economic and cultural growth, and crippling democracy. Nevertheless, in the period before us the American people have an alternative to stagnation, with its threatening privation, moral corruption, and cultural degeneracy. They can take up the struggle for progress leading to a new democratic and cultural revival, with socialism as the goal. Far from being a threat to the nation, the successes of world socialism and of colonial liberation provide a breathing spell and an opportunity for the American people to set their own country on the road of progress.

Socialism is the aim of the Communist Party of the United States. The superiority of socialism over capitalism as a system of society is historically established. A system based on the social ownership of the means of production and their planned utilization for the material and cultural needs of the whole of society is far superior to the system of capitalism which is founded on private ownership and class exploitation for the enrichment of the few.

Socialism will prove necessary for our country also, because only such a radical transformation of the economic base of society can eradicate the evils resulting from capitalism and can assure the full utilization for the people of the great scientific revolution of our age. Along this path the American people, now overwhelmingly a nation of wage-earners, can assure permanently for themselves and the world an era of peace, democracy, universal well-being and social progress.

The Communist Party bases itself upon the theories of Marx, Lenin and their followers. It seeks to improve its understanding of the living theory of Marxism, as it is enriched constantly by new experiences of the class struggle and social progress everywhere. The Party attempts critically to assimilate this living theory, learn from its own experiences and mistakes, and use the theory constructively and creatively in our own country.

In accordance with its teachings, the Communist Party views itself as a pioneering, vanguard party in the same historical sense that the Abolitionists were the vanguard of Emancipation. In this view, the working class--the vast exploited majority of our society--in the course of striving for a better life must transform itself into the leader of the nation, becoming the driving force for progress and socialism. As part of the class, the Communist Party sees itself as vanguard because it seeks to enhance the class consciousness, the political understanding and the socialist awareness of the workers so that they can in fact become the leaders of the nation. It wants to include among its members the most advanced workers, so that in its daily activities part of the popular movements and in its teachings the Party can express the present and the future interests, the aspirations and historic aims of the working class, in actions and in terms most widely understood.

Marxism, the theory of scientific socialism, is universal; socialist society has a common foundation in all countries. As with all major historical changes, in the United States also the path to the socialist transition and the resulting socialist society will be influenced by world experience, by interaction and interplay among nations, and by the examples and lessons of advanced socialist countries.

Yet, recent history has demonstrated that the specific road taken by each country to socialism is distinctively the product of its own history, as it is shaped by the conditions and movements prevailing in that country. Socialism in this country will therefore have the distinctive features of American development--the product of our own history as it is made by the efforts of the American people to solve the acute problems of our society in its present highly developed stage of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. Socialism will be born out of our national striving for progress, with its own distinctive contribution to the future of the world.

In the United States, the actual transition to socialism lies in the future. We still have to pass through an epoch of struggles that will define the path to the transition and its character. Yet, even now, the issue of socialism does present itself in a special way to the American people. Nor is it, as before, only a matter of general principle or perspective, which for the past century always illuminated the path ahead for advanced workers. In these times of new weapons of mutual annihilation, the avoidance of war has become a question of national survival. Competition between capitalist and socialist countries--and especially between the two most powerful, the United States and the Soviet Union--must be actively restricted to peaceful processes if there is to be any progress at all. The first requirement of any policy aimed at growth and progress is the fight for a national policy of peaceful co-existence with the socialist nations.

But an active policy of peaceful co-existence with socialism necessarily implies a recognition and understanding of the principles of socialist society. And the conditions of the world are such that this must be acquired by the American people in the midst of a growing, lively and all-pervading competition between the two world systems.

Accordingly, in the minds of the American people a conflict is taking place between the ideas of capitalism and those of socialism. It touches upon every major aspect of our social life, and calls into question many precepts which were long taken for granted. This constant reappraisal is prodded by the rapid progress of the socialist countries and by the decline of imperialism, with the overturn of long-established colonial hegemonies and the strivings of new nations for social progress, in which the socialist alternative presents itself strongly.

The competition between socialism and capitalism proceeds amidst a crisis of the monopoly capitalist system itself. In time, from their own experiences, combined with the impact of world events, the American people will come to see that socialism can provide a better way of life than capitalism. They will come to fight for socialism as a national necessity, as the only solution of the crisis of the system.

The Communist Party is therefore indispensable to the present and to the future of America. In its propagation of socialist ideas it presents a confident long-term perspective for the current struggles of the American people, pertinent to our conditions and to the direction in which we must seek a solution. As an integral part of the labor movement, despite the bans and proscriptions presently at work, in closest association with the daily strivings for a better life, incorruptible and indestructible, the Communist Party seeks to assure the future of our country in the struggles of the present day.

The advance toward socialism is an outgrowth of the struggles for peace, democracy and social progress, through whatever stages the struggle may have to pass. In the following sections, an attempt is made to define the Communist understanding of the road to socialism in the United States.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 4

2. Peaceful Co-Existence

The course of development within the country and recent revolutionary changes in the world have affected the global position of the United States in a fundamental way. Internally, as a consequence of World War II, monopoly greatly extended its power over the economy and in government. Outwardly, into the Western Hemisphere and overseas, U.S. monopoly embarked on the greatest expansionist drive in its history. Within world imperialism itself, as a result of the weakening of other leading capitalist countries by war and by colonial revolutions while the United States expanded economically, the United States became by far the dominant and decisive power.

These developments have placed in bold relief the critical internal contradictions of our own society and the antagonism between U.S. monopoly capital and the rest of the world.

Obscured for a time by relatively high economic activity, the internal contradictions have nevertheless come to the surface. They are seen in the instability of the economy, permanent unemployment, and growing insecurity of job. The contrast between our great capacity to produce and the incapacity of American society to absorb the products of industry has become more pronounced. In the presence of a new scientific revolution, with its unparalleled potential for a better life, our high monopoly economy is showing itself unable to translate new scientific and technical advances into social progress, either at home or abroad.

Over a long period--since the 1890's--the leaders of Big Business have seen economic expansion abroad as the means of overcoming internal difficulties, and at the same time increasing both their rate and volume of profit. The extension of the U.S. monopoly frontiers into other countries by direct capital investment, with the aim of gaining control of raw materials at their source, exploiting low-wage labor, and creating protected markets for surplus capital and products of the U.S. economy, is the very essence of imperialism. To support and encourage monopoly expansion abroad became the core of long-range U.S. foreign policy, despite variations in methods and tactics at different times.

The building of a vast U.S. monopoly empire--first in Latin America and then overseas into Africa, Asia and the Middle East (together with direct extensions of the U.S. corporate structure into Canada and Western Europe)--did not take the usual colonial form, although some colonies and semi-colonial strategic outposts were also acquired. The characteristic form of U.S. imperialist expansion is direct monopoly investment into its own historically established spheres of influence (like the Western Hemisphere) or into the colonial and dependent areas of rival imperialisms. "Free Access" or the "open door" became the earmark of U.S. world policy, sustained particularly in the recent postwar period by super-armament, massive foreign military aid, regional military blocs, and a farflung network of strategic bases on all continents.

Despite pretensions to democracy and progress, the dominant trend of U.S. Big Business interests is to ally themselves with the most reactionary forces abroad in order to protect their investments and to obstruct and retard democratic revolutions and national development, while at home the consequent increase of monopoly power encourages reaction and undermines democracy. Anti-colonialism is utilized up to a certain point by U.S. monopoly to break into the preserves of rival imperialisms. But when confronted with the revolutionary upsurge against colonialism, especially in the recent period, the United States either itself intervened militarily or, sometimes under cover of neutrality, used its influence and power in an effort to sustain the underlying imperialist relationship when changes in the old colonial structure could no longer be avoided.

Recent fundamental changes in the world have created a crisis for the traditional expansionist policy, with profound repercussions upon the internal life of the country. The freedom of action of imperialism in general and of American imperialism in particular is severely circumscribed by these changes. "Free access" to large areas of the world has been shut off by socialism and it is being cut down by revolutionary nationalism.

The United States has become the leading power of world capitalism when the orbit of capitalism itself is curtailed drastically by the progress of socialism. It has become the mainstay of world imperialism when imperialism itself is disintegrating and is no longer dominant with respect to the greater part of mankind. It seeks to dominate other capitalist countries when capitalism itself is in a new acute phase of general crisis, and each power, having recovered from the war, seeks to save its system from collapse at the expense of other powers. This is the essence of the central contradiction in the world position of U.S. monopoly capitalism in this period.

The basic question of world politics in our epoch is to prevent an effort to resolve this contradiction by means of a devastating nuclear war. In the Communist view, the danger of war is rooted in the very nature and operation of monopoly and imperialism. The cold war as it developed in the period after World War II is the specific product of the expansionist drive of U.S. monopoly for control of the world. It rests essentially on the actual use or the threat to use overwhelming military and economic power to contain and subvert socialism and the colonial revolutions, while seeking to subordinate to American Big Business all other leading capitalist countries, as well as the new nations striving for industrial and social development. Its motivating force is the drive for maximum profits, which is the very law of monopoly. Progressive social change wherever it may occur is opposed by monopoly as a threat to its privileges, which are grounded in the old social order everywhere.

The cold war policy can lead only to disaster, because it is based on the supposition that imperialism still rules the world as of old, whereas in fact imperialism is no longer dominant in the world. If pursued, the cold war policy can lead to the isolation of the United States. Even worse, it can carry us into a nuclear war in which this country as well as all other belligerents could be devastated by the new weapons of total destruction. The only alternative is a policy of peaceful coexistence among all nations, irrespective of the nature of their social systems and level of national development.

Such a change of course requires a political struggle in the United States for a long-range peace policy based on the realities of the new world structure. Socialism is here to stay in all the countries where it has already been established, and it is a thriving and growing system. The era of colonialism and of other forms of imperialist domination is coming to an end -- in Latin America, as well as in Africa, the Middle East and Asia. The rapid progress of socialism in the Soviet Union, China and the other people's democracies has become the new focus of world development. These are the realities which require, as a matter of national necessity, which is peace, a turn from the cold war to a national policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union, the leading power of the socialist world. Cooperation for peace between the United States and the Soviet Union is the pivot of peace in the present-day world. It can become the determining factor that will bring all countries -- capitalist, socialist and newly developing nations -- within the orbit of a world peace diplomacy.

To replace the cold war policy with a national diplomacy of peaceful coexistence requires an all-sided struggle directed at curbing the power of monopoly at home, forcing it into necessary concessions and adaptations to a policy of negotiations, mutual disarmament, abolition of nuclear weapons, military disengagements, non-intervention in domestic affairs of other nations, and other policies essential to peace. This is a realizable and workable alternative to the cold war in the present world structure.

Communists believe that such a turn is made possible by the conjuncture of world and domestic forces, which raises realistic prospects in the period before us of drastically restricting and frustrating the world expansionism of monopoly. On a global scale, socialist progress and other revolutionary changes within the outmoded imperialist structure, as well as the mounting strength of the labor and democratic movements in many countries, create confidence that the forces of peace are strong enough to prevent aggression leading to war.

Furthermore, the prospect that the socialist countries within a decade will exceed the economic level of the capitalist world, with corresponding social and democratic advances, means that we will be approaching a situation in which it will be possible to eliminate the very danger of war, even while the United States and other countries remain capitalist. Therefore, the possibility exists in the real relation of forces, and in the course of actual world development, of turning aside those drives of reaction and monopoly which generate the war danger. This can be achieved by a parallel or combined struggle of all those within the country who see the necessity for ending the cold war and all world forces that stand for peace.

These promising prospects should not obscure the very real war dangers that still exist in the propensity of die-hard imperialists to obstruct, contain and subvert all progressive social and nationalist movements. Nor can the danger be overlooked that political developments in the United States itself may proceed in the reactionary direction, should dominant monopoly sectors be left free to pursue a fascist course, in response to the internal and world crisis of the system, thus creating new war tensions. Therefore, the struggle by the people for a democratic way out of the growing social crisis in the United States in the period immediately ahead can prove decisive with respect to peace.

Communists do not view the fight for peace as a tactic or maneuver, aimed at securing exclusive advantages for the socialist world, or any power in it. Nor do they consider it a means of advancing their own party interests in the United States. They consider peace realizable in the present world structure. They do not hide their view that socialism as a system of society is superior to capitalism and that accordingly, as a result of the historical process, socialism will win in the competition of the two systems. With this firm confidence in progress, and with their conviction that the peace forces the world over are strong enough to prevent war, it would be sheer madness for Communists to count on socialism arising from nuclear devastation and death.

In the Communist approach, peace is a basic aim, like social progress and socialism itself. It is mistaken to place the problem as if peace were realizable only through socialism. It is true that socialist society intrinsically generates peace, while capitalism gives birth to the war danger. But in this era of socialist progress and imperialist disintegration, when extended peace-ful coexistence between the systems is possible of achievement and has become a necessity of the very life of nations, the slogan of "peace through socialism" ignores the actuality that makes peace possible in our time.

Nor is the opposite view -- "socialism through peace" -- an accurate reflection of the real situation. Socialism, or social progress in general, does not automatically follow from peace; the fight for peace and the struggle for social progress are inseparable.

Peace and democracy, peace and full employment, peace and social progress -- this is the way Communists see the problem. The cause of peace and the cause of social progress are interwoven in all phases. Full employment in a peace economy is the only kind of full employment worth fighting for. Full employment in a war economy means death. A democratic and cultural revival in the land is inconceivable without the end of the cold war and a constant struggle to assure peace. Greater security of job and of life itself is today the product of economic and democratic struggles of the great masses of people.

If Communists considered the fight for peace merely a tactic, they could have shed it to avoid ostracism and persecution at all levels of community and public life, including prison and loss of jobs, and constant slander as foreign agents and traitors. Because they considered peace fundamental to the security and progress of the American people, during the height of the cold war and the anti-Communist crusade, and despite the bans and expulsions in the trade unions, the Communists constantly opposed the self-defeating foreign policy and its accompaniments of reaction in domestic affairs. Together with other like-minded Americans, they fought for peaceful coexistence for they believed this was the way to uphold the genuine national interests of the United States.

In the past and today, the Communist opposition to the cold war policy of their government arises from real concern for the future of the country. Communists support the peace diplomacy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries not because they are agents of these governments, or because they feel committed in advance to anything socialist states may propose. The fact is that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have followed consistently a policy of peaceful coexistence, as is recognized by many non-Communists as well. Such a policy has become a national necessity for all countries. It is the recognition of this necessity by their own government that American Communists consider the principal task in the field of foreign policy. They support all steps or aspects of policy which move in that direction.

Obviously, the advocates of peace in the United States by far outnumber those who recognize monopoly and imperialism as the source of the war danger. Although Communists expound their own views on the matter, the question of responsibility for the cold war cannot be permitted to stand in the way of a united democratic struggle for peace on the broadest common grounds. The Communists therefore adopt as a tactical orientation the policy of common action and united front with all elements -- no matter of what class or political ideology -- that agree on initial steps to end the cold war and on the necessity of a new long-range national policy of peaceful coexistence.

Together with others in the labor movement, the Communists have opposed the policy of the dominant trade union leadership in support of the cold war and nuclear arms race, as detrimental alike to the interests of labor and of the nation. They will continue to fight in labor's ranks for a policy of peace based on international labor solidarity, total disarmament, curbing monopoly's drive for maximum profits at home and abroad, full employment in a demilitarized peace economy, and recognition of the principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations, national independence against imperialism, and co-operation for peace with the socialist countries.

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 5

3. Competition Between the Two Systems

Competition between the two world systems of capitalism and socialism is the earmark of our era. The outcome of this competition determines the course of world history in this period. Communists believe that under the new conditions, the inter-system competition can and should be actively kept within peaceful bounds, in the common interest of all humanity and in the national interest of every nation. Furthermore, they believe that there can and should be positive cooperation between capitalist and socialist countries to settle world disputes by negotiations, to achieve total disarmament, and to increase trade and cultural-scientific interchange among them.

Such cooperation can prove to be mutually advantageous. Under conditions of active peaceful coexistence, present-day socialist society can proceed more effectively and more swiftly to create the economic level at which communism can begin to emerge. In a communist society, as Marx said, together with the all-sided development of the individual, the production forces also will grow, and all the sources of social wealth will flow more abundantly. On this basis society will be able to inscribe on its banner: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." All steps to eliminate intervention and hostile pressures from the capitalist world will enhance among the socialist countries themselves the process of cooperation according to the principles of their society. Together, they will develop, more fully and freely, planned proportional development, realized through mutual help and fraternal cooperation in the form of an international socialist division of labor, specialization and coordination of production. Accordingly, they will better be able to realize the proclaimed aim of entering into the higher phase of communist society more or less simultaneously.

Cooperation to assure peace and the extension of trade and cultural-scientific interchange will also serve the best interests of the American people. Under present-day conditions, and in view of the trend of world development, peace is a national interest of the United States, the recognition of which by all sections of the population and all classes has become a matter of national necessity. In addition to this overriding interest, such cooperation leading to total disarmament offers an effective means of relieving the burden of unemployment, taxes and inflation, of developing our science and technology for peaceful rather than destructive purposes, and of reducing the influence in our national life of militarism and other reactionary forces which are nourished by a war psychosis.

Cooperation for peace and related aims develops within the framework of a fundamental competition between capitalist and socialist societies, the basic principles of which are diametrically opposed. Active peaceful co-existence provides the opportunity for the fullest, freest and non-violent working out of this historic competition, in its many aspects and phases. Active peaceful co-existence cannot help but have an important influence upon the national policies of both capitalist and socialist nations, and even upon certain aspects of internal development. But each social system, essentially, will continue to develop in accordance with its objective laws, and each nation, moreover, along the lines of its peculiar historical background and structure.

It would, therefore, be erroneous to consider peaceful competition as paramount to the suspension of social conflicts, to the muting of the class struggle, and to the freezing of world relations. On the contrary, inter-system competition is a dynamic condition, itself the outcome of the conflict of forces at home and on a world scale, and in turn leading to further changes in the world structure. There is no ground for the supposition that competition between the systems implies in any manner the stabilization of capitalism. The status of capitalism is determined essentially by its own contradictions, which operate in the direction of the eventual replacement of capitalism by socialism. The present trend of world development leads to deeper contradictions within the capitalist system and toward a still more acute phase of the general crisis of the system.

At the present time in the United States, there is beginning to take shape two principal and opposing views with respect to the competition of systems. On the one side, there are powerful monopoly and reactionary forces which present competition from the socialist world as a threat to the United States, and attempt to use this alleged threat as a pretense for an all-round attack upon the living standards, democratic liberties and peaceful aspirations of the great majority of the American people. These forces would continue the cold war, and to that end they obstruct and oppose all steps towards a national policy of peaceful co-existence. On the other side, there is the view that competition between the systems should be turned to the advantage of the American people for the purpose of gaining new ground to improve the conditions of the people, preserve democracy and further the cause of peace. Communists share this view.

As much as the Communist Party would like to see the United States come out the victor in the peaceful competition of systems, this cannot be realized as long as the United States remains capitalist. Due to the economic lead held by the United States, it will be able to remain ahead of the Soviet Union, the leading socialist nation, for some years. In the longer run, however -- and this may well be within a decade or so -- a capitalist United States will lose the competition, as the USSR emerges as the leading world economic power, with the highest level of the economy and with the greater production per person, resulting in higher standards of living, culture, education, science, and of the individual's personal security and freedom. This is because socialism is proving itself able to exceed the American rate of economic growth by three or four times, to make much more rational use of its production and of science, and to plan its development along balanced lines.

But the mere fact that in the long run capitalism will lose the competition with socialism, and is already beginning to lose it in some essential respects, does not mean that the road to progress is closed for the United States. In truth, if monopoly is permitted by the American people to exploit the competition of systems for its own exclusive narrow interests not only will the conditions of life in the country deteriorate in every respect, but peace itself will be endangered. Thus the very possibility of keeping inter-system competition within peaceful bounds depends, to a decisive degree, upon the regeneration of those forces of democracy and progress in the United States that can limit and impede the free play of monopoly in our economy and in government. The present world structure, and the direction of world events, are favorable to such a revival.

Communists take the view that the wide gap in the rates of growth as between capitalism and socialism can be narrowed, to the benefit of the American people and to world peace, as the result of the regeneration of the democratic mass movement. Monopoly capital creates its own obstacles to economic growth, which are built into the system, and moreover, mere economic growth under capitalism is not necessarily translated into social progress, as under socialism. To counter-act the retarding influence of monopoly and to assure benefits to the people from new economic advances, an all-round struggle against monopoly is necessary to curb its power in the economy and in government, to impede the drive for maximum profits, and to obtain the maximum economic growth possible under present-day capitalism. This means a struggle of all our democratic forces, and especially labor, for a full-employment peace economy, for defense and extension of democracy, and for structural reforms that will limit the power of monopoly and increase the power of the popular forces to intervene in the direction of the economy and of government.

In our society, an accelerated rate of growth can be achieved only in spite of monopoly and in the fight against it. When big business can operate at a profit at less than half capacity, and when it can gather in an increasing share of the surplus produced in the entire economy, monopoly has no incentive to raise the tempo of industrial growth. If the economy lags at a stagnant level, using only a part of existing capacity, this is not due to faulty economic policies; it arises from the very nature of monopoly capitalism. If the economy is to approach a condition of full production and full employment under conditions of peace, there will have to be much more radical interference with the prerogatives and privileges of monopoly than most reform programs envision. Monopoly will have to be fought, counter-acted, its mode of control and operation severely restricted -- all of which can result only from great struggles of the people.

American monopoly attempts to meet the competition of world socialism at the expense of the American people. Communists believe, and attempt to convince everyone concerned, that the American labor and democratic movement must come to understand the relation between the frustration of imperialism in the world and the curbing of monopoly at home, if they are going to overcome the stagnation and decay arising from monopoly, and thus open the road to the rapid growth of which our country is capable.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 6

4. The Current Struggle and the Socialist Aim

Communists have always held, and believe today, that the decisive question of the struggle for socialism is the transfer of state power to the working class and its allies. This has taken place in different ways, according to the specific circumstances of the country and the times. The Soviet form of the dictatorship of the proletariat was the product of the revolutionary struggle against tsarism and capitalism in Russia. After World War II, the working class and its allies came to power in Eastern Europe and then in China and other Asian lands as the result of a struggle and under conditions radically different from those of the Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. The states of people's democracy which came into existence took on the function of the proletarian dictatorship and fulfill that role today.

In the present period, in the new world relation of forces, many new variations may emerge along the road to the transfer of power to the working class and its allies, as well as in the ensuing form of proletarian rule. Already early in the postwar period, the U.S. Communist Party -- as well as the British, French, Italian and others -- saw in the new world situation then emerging the possibilities of a peaceful democratic struggle for socialism. With the further growth of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, the XXth Congress (1956) and the 12-Party declaration (1957) expressed prevailing world Communist opinion when they emphasized the prospects for a great multiplicity of forms, including the possibility in a number of countries of a parliamentary transition to socialism, without civil war.

These new prospects of advance to socialism are inseparable from the struggle to prevent another global war. In connection with the Seven-Year Plan of the Soviet Union, the XXIst Congress (1959) raised the bold prospect of not only preventing war in the period ahead but, going beyond this, the elimination of the war danger, even while part of the world remains capitalist. The very struggle by the peace forces the world over to realize such possibilities stimulates social progress; further successes in the fight for peace would greatly favor the forces of democracy and socialism.

As countries recently freed from colonialism or fighting its remnants take the socialist path many new features will be revealed. Certainly, still other new features will be displayed as countries of highly developed capitalism and a democratic political structure advance toward socialism.

Whatever new features and forms appear, the only new stage of society possible in the United States is socialism. The recent history of American capitalism fully demonstrates Lenin's basic conclusion that imperialism or monopoly capitalism is a stage of capitalism, the highest or last stage. Monopoly is not a super-structure built upon free-competition capitalism; it is the very structure of present-day capitalism in the United States, although still retaining many elements of the earlier free-competition stage. Monopoly grew out of free competition, increasingly replaced and subordinated it, and transformed the structure of the economy. It is therefore impossible to go back to a free-competition, non-monopoly stage of capitalism by removing monopoly from capitalism. The "removal" of monopoly can result only in the next stage of society, socialism.

The highest level of productive forces possible under capitalism is reached in its monopoly stage, and the United States demonstrates the very high level to which they can be developed. But by the same process, the concentration of monopoly power is also pushed to the extreme, thereby building up the actual and potential tendency of monopoly to restrict the development of the productive forces. Thus is accentuated in a particularly marked form the basic contradiction between the ever growing potential of the forces of production and the restrictive role of the capitalist relations of production. This contradiction can be resolved decisively only by freeing the productive forces from monopoly capital, so that they can be utilized fully for human betterment and social progress. And this must of necessity entail a fundamental social transformation which abolishes the capitalist relations of production, founded on private ownership of the basic economy and on the exploitation of labor, and establishes socialist relations of production, based on public ownership and the abolition of class exploitation.

Accordingly, there can arise no intermediate stage of American society in between present-day capitalism and socialism. Therefore, the new forms and features that may arise on the road to working-class rule in this country would not be associated with some new intermediate form of society, as seen by reformism

or revisionism--such as a crisis-free and monopoly-free "new capitalism" in the form of a perfected "Welfare State," or some mixed society which is neither capitalist nor socialist.

However, the Marxist view that intermediate stages of society are impossible in the United States establishes only the long-range perspective. Marxists must recognize the need for stages or levels in the development of the mass movement during the entire period before socialism which are related to the concrete economic, social and political issues for which the people fight in present-day society. They should also fully appreciate the role of actual and developing struggles for social and structural reform by the working class and the popular forces as they seek to secure peace, defend and extend democracy, achieve Negro freedom and safeguard living conditions.

Accordingly, a distinction must be made between the immediate program, which pertains to the entire period of struggle against monopoly, and the long-range program, which relates to the future transition to socialism. No wall exists between the two, either in theory or in life. A definite relationship exists not only in time (immediate and long-range), but integrally. The way in which the struggle against monopoly proceeds, the role of the working class and its success in forging and leading strategic alliances, the political form in which the anti-monopoly coalition or united front against monopoly is expressed--all this affects the particular approach toward working-class rule as well as the manner and the shape of the socialist solution. The way in which this country embraces socialism will be decided not only by the particular social crisis in the future from which socialism will emerge and by the world situation at the time, but also, and perhaps decisively, by the progress of the struggle for peace and democracy, and the political form this assumes, in the period now before us.

The central objective of the immediate program of the Communists is related both to the immediate struggles and to the long-range goal. It arises from an outstanding characteristic of the American development. This is the historic lag in the class, political and socialist consciousness of the working class as compared with the very high level of material readiness of the country for socialism (the high productivity of the economy combined with the complex social integration of labor). The overcoming of this lag is a process, and it would be entirely schematic to see it as a series of stages culminating in the final stage of socialist awareness. The level of maturity of the working class is a product of diverse factors acting simultaneously: changes in the objective situation at home and in the world, the initiative of monopoly, the struggles of the workers and popular forces against offensives of reaction, the influence upon them of socialist progress and national liberation in the world, the strength and the capacity for leadership of the working class party. The unity of the working class and its emergence as an independent force are achieved in struggle, in the course of which the workers get rid of various illusions about capitalism, overcome opportunism in the labor movement, mature their political vanguard party, and move into leadership of the entire nation. But this cannot take place all at once. It is more or less a lengthy process, and is necessarily closely linked with the tasks and issues of the period.

The tasks and issues of the present period revolve around the questions of peace, democracy, Negro rights and economic security, with peace as central to all others. These tasks are democratic in content because the struggle for their realization involves as a common denominator the defense and extension of democracy and can result in significant social progress under present-day conditions. Such advances can be made, providing the working class leads the struggle, joining in action and alliance with the Negro people, the mass of farmers, and the urban middle strata. In the Communist view, the interaction and merging of such struggles move in the direction of a united front against monopoly, which is the main barrier to peace and social progress, and the prime source of reaction and the war danger. Such a united front is necessary, for monopoly can and will be curbed and its strength undermined only if it is confronted with a powerful united front movement deeply rooted in the working class, which is the leading social force. Such a democratic united front against monopoly, the Communists believe, would have to act politically, and it needs a party new in substance, independent of monopoly. Such a people's party, embodying the leading role of labor and giving political expression and direction to the common anti-monopoly struggle, would strive to win political power and move toward a people's government. Such is the comprehensive objective of the immediate program of the Communists, corresponding to the democratic tasks of the period.

The objective of an anti-monopoly people's government certainly sums up the fundamental movement for peace, democracy and social advance in the period ahead. Its achievement would amount to a radical shift in class relations favorable to the working people and to the realization of their democratic and economic aims. At the same time, it could open the way to the basic shift of state power to the working class, as leader of the nation, and to the establishment of socialist society.

In the scientific Marxist sense, the ultimate strategic aim of the working class is historically determined by the inevitability of socialism and by the role of the working class in its achievement. New features and forms will no doubt arise in the course of the hard struggle against monopoly, and may be of utmost importance in determining the manner and shape of the basic transfer of political power. However, the substance of such a change is that the working class in the end must emerge as leader of the nation -- that is, it must become the ruling class in order to establish socialism. At one or another phase of social advance and in such forms as will be created by the struggle itself, the working class will be faced with the necessity of leading the nation in the establishment of a socialist government in order to defend and consolidate the people's gains. Thus, the advance toward a people's anti-monopoly government and the socialist goal are interlinked in their development, just as the democratic tasks, broadened and extended with the progress of the struggle, flow into the socialist tasks.

Seen in this historic perspective, the process of anti-monopoly struggle in the period ahead and the forms of alliance and political action produced by it, including the advance toward a people's government, prepare the way for the basic shift in class relations which will permit the working class, together with its allies, to solve permanently the general crisis of capitalism. In relation to this long-range objective, the struggle to curb the monopoly power and the demands raised with respect to this immediate aim are of a transitional character. They are transitional because the curbing of monopoly to be effective and lasting must lead to the elimination of monopoly. As experience has shown, even significant social reforms and advances cannot be considered as permanent gains as long as monopoly retains its power. Such gains under certain circumstances may even serve to safeguard the outmoded social system against more fundamental change. Even if monopoly is momentarily restrained politically, it seeks to regain whatever economic positions it may have lost and full political power at the expense of democracy and peace. Therefore, in the end monopoly will have to be removed from both its economic and political positions, thus opening the way to some form of working class rule and the socialist transformation of society.

Such an approach to the relation between the anti-monopoly struggle and the socialist aim is basic to the position of the Communist Party, as the party of socialism, as the party which stands for the fundamental transformation of society. It provides the perspective for a successful struggle against monopoly under present-day conditions, as distinguished from the old middle class dream of a return to free competition or the reformist Utopia of collaboration with monopoly to remake capitalism, both of which must end in futility.

In the period before us, the democratic transitional demands are uppermost and decisive, and the struggle for them can lead to significant social advance. In this period, the fundamental task of the working class is to build the democratic united front against monopoly, that will fight for peaceful coexistence and will oppose U.S. imperialist intervention abroad, apply and defend the Bill of Rights in all its aspects, strengthen and enrich the representative institutions within the Constitutional system, put an end to Jim Crow, restore and strengthen full trade union rights. Such a democratic front, sparked by the labor movement, would fight for full employment in a peace economy, defend the positions of the small and medium farmers and urban middle classes, and seek the extension of social legislation in all fields. It would seek basic structural reform aimed at completing the democratic revolution in the South and at subjecting large private industrial and financial monopolies to the democratic controls of the people. It would have to rely upon the large mass organizations of labor, the Negro people, the farmers, the youth and all working people, and must win the allegiance of all middle sectors by defending their interests against monopoly. It will have to be a movement around which working men and women, all the underprivileged and victims of discrimination can rally with confidence.

Certainly, the possibility for a dynamic democratic revival and for progressive changes can be realized by such a united front of the popular forces. Such democratic struggles for social and political reform will mature the class forces and alliances capable of defending the people's gains and of carrying the movement forward.

Communists seek to participate in all struggles, united actions, and coalitions which seek to curb the monopoly power. Broad sectors of the people, including labor, may for some time retain faith in capitalism as a system, from which they divorce monopoly, although they correctly see it as the main enemy. As labor begins to lead the united struggle against monopoly, joining forces with the Negro people, farmers and urban middle strata, the forces and alliances are built that in their development tend politically to isolate monopoly from the nation. This development can create a new relation of class forces in which the working class emerges in its independent and leading role.

The Communists seek to place the democratic demands for curbing monopoly in such a fashion, and fight for them in such a way, as will advance the unity of the workers and their leading role in the united front against monopoly. This is the prerequisite for a successful struggle for the immediate common program of peace, democracy and economic security.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 7

5. Defense and Extension of Democracy

The Communist Party advocates a democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the American people within the developing and revitalized constitutional process.

Capitalism cannot be reformed into socialism, the transition from one to the other being a social revolution -- that is, a basic change from capitalist to socialist relations of production. The Communist Party fights for conditions that will lead to a peaceful transition to socialism because this is the preferable and the least painful method of basic social transformation, and because it believes that a peaceful road to socialism can be opened by the struggles of the people under the new conditions that have emerged in the world.

The possibility of realizing such a road to socialism depends upon a complex of inter-related factors, domestic and international. The most important, at this time, in creating the conditions for peaceful transition is the struggle for the defense and extension of democracy. Communists see this as the crucial theme of the period before us. The progress of this struggle affects most immediately and directly the prospects for peace and for economic well-being, and it can be the basic factor in establishing and defending the conditions for a peaceful transition to socialism in the future.

The reactionary tendencies which have come forward in the United States since the end of World War II are a warning that once again powerful monopoly circles seek a fascist-type solution. The Cold War has led to the rapid militarization of the state, marked by an almost total fusion of very top monopoly with government administration and of high military circles with the big corporations. An almost imperceptible change in the inner functioning of the state is occurring, expressed principally in the mushrooming of power in the executive branch, where peak monopoly is firmly entrenched, and moreover with ever mounting secrecy on government operations under protect of "defense." In this protected domain, there is a proliferation of new groups and agencies which are subject to very little congressional control and more and more take over the governing of the country. Far from challenging this wholesale usurpation of its powers, particularly in the crucial decisions affecting war or peace, Congress itself launched assaults upon the democratic liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. This trend, sustained by continuing concentration of monopoly power in the economy and in government, threatens by the gradual process of undermining and encroachment to deprive the representative institutions and the Constitutional process itself of any real democratic content.

Defense of bourgeois democracy is itself becoming the issue leading to great social and political struggles. Democratic legality is under attack from the Right -- sometimes hidden, sometimes open -- and this attack has to be repulsed and the trend toward a fascist-type state has to be blocked if the democratic road to social progress is to be kept open in the United States.

Thus, it is incorrect to view the fight for democracy merely as a tactic, and this was never the Marxist view. It is true that democracy is limited under capitalism, because bourgeois democracy is based on class exploitation which severely restricts the democratic rights of the workers, the Negro people, and other unpropertied or oppressed groups. It is also true that the complete and manifold realization of democracy can come only with the abolition of class exploitation and the establishment of real majority rule under socialism, while universal equality will be established only when all classes disappear under communism, the higher stage of socialism. But this does not mean that Communists have a negative or neutral view with respect to democracy or the form of state under capitalism. Our form of bourgeois democracy and of republican government has provided a particularly free and wide basis for the class struggle, in the course of which the people have been able to win significant social gain against the resistance of entrenched wealth and reaction. Monopoly domination of the state now threatens to choke off these freer forms of struggle, by replacing the democratic content of the system with an authoritarian content, while retaining only the outward shell of the democratic institutions. Communists consider the struggle against this entire reactionary trend and the need for the revival and extension of democracy, as an integral part of their immediate program for peace and better living conditions, as well as for socialism in the United States.

The struggle for the democratic way is a multi-class question, requiring an all-sided, vigorous opposition to the authoritarian trend. Labor is thrust into the very heart of the struggle by the monopoly attack upon its rights and condi-

tions, while the Negro people in their battle for rights granted by the Constitution impart a powerful stimulus to the fight for democracy in general. The leading social forces in the fight to preserve and broaden the democratic road are the working class, the working farmers, and the Negro people -- their tendency is to fight for democracy without limit because they need it to obtain economic security and freedom. But as the monopoly power grows it seeks to convert the state more and more into its own exclusive domain, from an organ of the bourgeoisie as a whole into a total monopoly state. The farmers, the urban middle strata and other non-monopoly sectors of the capitalist class, are thus shut off increasingly from significant participation in government, and with an effective united front struggle by labor many of these sectors will also fight for democratic advances.

In the Communist view, the fight to preserve and enrich the democratic way in the present society has a direct bearing upon the form and functioning of the socialist state that will follow. It is irrelevant to take as a model for socialist democracy in the United States the experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union during its first decades, when surrounded by a hostile capitalist world it had to industrialize from a very low economic level or die. The United States will go socialist under different conditions. The remarkable progress made by the USSR, despite the unfavorable circumstances demonstrates the strength and vitality of socialism. But the advances to be made by the Soviet Union in the decade ahead, when its material conditions and standard of living will approach and then exceed those now prevailing in the United States, will provide a more comparable situation. Certainly, the full flowering of socialist democracy upon a high economic level should indicate more directly the real potential of socialism in the United States as well.

Whether this country, which has been so unusually well favored by historical circumstances over a long period, will be as fortunate in the future, depends essentially upon the ability of the working people, the great mass of the nation, to preserve and carry forward our rich democratic tradition, giving it a new revolutionary content and perspective.

In the past, Marxists thought that the forms of the bourgeois state and of bourgeois democracy would have to be discarded by a socialist state. But recent experience has shown that many of these forms, with appropriate structural change, can be taken over by the socialist state, and imbued with a new class content. It is therefore entirely possible that the American Constitution and the governmental system based on it, if these are preserved, improved, and enriched with greater democratic content by the struggles of the people, will provide the form of the American socialist state, once power has passed into the hands of the working class and its allies. In fact, the separation of powers and the Federal structure, once they are made completely responsive to the popular will, may be very well suited to the needs of majority rule, direct democracy, and encouragement of popular initiative, side by side with Federal planning under socialism. The checks and balances provided by our Constitutional form and Federal-state relationship, thoroughly democratized by socialism, may provide an effective means of preventing bureaucratic abuses and overcentralization of powers.

In the period ahead, the fight for democracy can well lead to important structural reforms in the governmental system. Originally, the triangular system of checks and balances was devised primarily to prevent the capture of government by popular majorities. As a rule, the system worked, except in times of crisis and popular upheaval when a combination of the President and a popular Congress registered important democratic and social advances -- as in the years of Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, and also for a brief time at the beginning of the second New Deal of F. D. Roosevelt. At certain times the Supreme Court, at others Congress, and sometimes the President played the major role in stemming the popular tide. As a day-to-day tactic the popular forces must perforce oppose the policies of one or another of the three branches, depending upon which at the time is obstructing progress. But a more fundamental perspective is required if labor and the people are to revive the democratic content of the Constitutional form and make it serve their needs.

Certain structural reforms in the governmental system which have been proposed before are still valid, such as the popular election of all judges, elimination of the electoral college in favor of the direct election of the President, and possibly the abolition of the Senate or at best depriving this presently unrepresentative body of the power of veto over the House. Other measures which would strengthen the democratic procedures include proportional representation, the referendum and the power of recall, reform of the committee and seniority system and democratization of the rules in both Houses. In the Federal relationship, the States should be deprived of the power to nullify national social leg-

isolation and Constitutional rights (such as desegregation of the schools, the right to vote, social security, rights of labor to organize), and the powers of the Federal government should be enlarged to establish minimum national requirements in such fields. These and other much-needed structural political reforms, however, can be brought about only by a resurgent popular democratic movement.

The main orientation of labor, the Negro people and all people's forces should be upon revitalizing and strengthening the representative legislative bodies -- Federal, State, and local -- as the most direct channel for popular pressure upon the other two branches of government and as the means of obtaining the maximum popular rule possible under the present system. In the present Constitutional framework, the Legislature can be made to serve as the people's "check and balance" against monopoly, which is most deeply entrenched in the greatly extended Executive branch, and to open the way for placing the government administration, as well as the Judiciary, beyond the control and grasp of the monopoly oligarchy. Congress -- and the State and local representative bodies -- must be transformed into really popular institutions, lest monopoly and reaction destroy their democratic potential, leaving them a withered shell, while the people lose confidence in democratic government because it fails to satisfy their demands and needs, thus providing the soil upon which fascist movements can thrive. This is the course of political struggle for the pressing needs of the people, for the safeguarding of their gains and of peace, which will keep the democratic way open for social progress. The mass movement needs democracy to extend broadly the social legislation and labor gains already won and to gain new social reforms.

A decisive basic social reform which can impart a powerful stimulus to progress is the completion of the democratic revolution in the South. Notwithstanding an entire period of capitalist development in this region, and the migration of millions of Negro toilers from the land to the cities North and South, the democratic tasks which the Civil War and Reconstruction left unfinished imperatively demand solution today. The remnants of slavery -- the plantation, segregation, and racism -- still provide the principal source for Dixiecrat reaction which, allied politically and otherwise with monopoly, has kept the South a backward region, opposed and obstructed all steps toward Negro freedom, and barred advanced legislation and action nationally.

A general democratic transformation of the South will restore full civil rights and liberties for all, establish representative government throughout the political structure -- from the community to the Federal regime -- and enforce desegregation in the schools and in all other public institutions, housing and services. Revolutionary in content is the struggle for the Negro right to vote and for full representation and participation in government because it means a radical change in the political structure of the South, which will have progressive impact throughout the nation. Integral to such a change is a basic agrarian reform that will eradicate the last remnants of the plantation-sharecropping system and its offshoots into the rest of Southern economy, and radically change the class relations on the countryside where parasitic landlords still keep large Negro majorities in a form of semi-feudal dependence. The rapid growth during recent years of the Negro working class as part of the U.S. working class as a whole provides a new and solid base for carrying through the democratic revolution in the South.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 8

6. Curbing the Monopoly Power

Reforms that would curb the economic as well as the political power of monopoly were sought by all the popular anti-trust movements of the past, which were largely under radical farm and middle-class leadership. The old trust-busting program, beginning with the Populist revolts, sought to halt or reverse the rise of monopoly from free competition. The New Deal reforms of the 1930's recognized that monopoly was here to stay but sought, by government regulation, to prevent abuse of economic power. Both series of reforms were absorbed by monopoly capitalism and turned to its own advantage. The anti-trust laws, in fact, operated in such a way as to sustain the giant corporation as the distinctive form of American industrial and financial monopoly, rather than the cartel-type combination characteristic of other countries. The regulatory measures became functions of state monopoly capitalism -- the means by which the corporations regulated themselves through state administrative agencies, also facilitating the merger of government and corporate personnel. Both series of reforms had the effect of stemming the popular anti-monopoly movements of the time, and diverting them from attempts at more fundamental structural reforms -- like nationalization of the railroads in the earlier period and nationalization of the banks in the New Deal era.

In the present period, when labor's needs and demands impart a decisive content and direction to the anti-monopoly movement, a common program for curbing monopoly power must rest on different principles. These are determined primarily by the fact that under present-day conditions the technological revolution, on top of the intrinsic instability of the economy, is creating a new layer of permanent unemployed as the typical form of impoverishment in a high-level monopoly society, with serious threats to the conditions of all workers. Thus is shown that big investments in new technology, expanded production and a higher national income do not in themselves lead to progress. In order to have social progress, these have to be translated into the elimination of unemployment and poverty, and into the great improvement in mass living conditions made possible by the new techniques of production in agriculture and industry.

Technical progress and greater productivity are utilized by monopoly to realize maximum profits through more concentration, decreasing the number of workers in production, intensified speed-up, undermining the conditions and status of the workers, and weakening the unions. Labor is not opposed to new technology and greater productivity, for these are essential to progress, but it is opposed to technical progress at the expense of the workers. Only the class struggle can transform technical progress into social progress. Under present conditions, the struggle for full employment in a peace economy becomes the dynamic force of economic and democratic progress. It was only under special circumstances -- as during war, post-war booms and extraordinary military spending in peacetime -- that capitalism was able to provide anything approximating a condition of full employment.

To achieve a condition of full employment without war or the threat of war should be the aim of all economic and democratic struggles against monopoly.

Advances in this direction entail more radical interference with the operations of monopoly than is involved in remedial social legislation, although this too has to be fought for constantly, and if pressed to the full can also lead to basic changes. Actually, all struggles for economic and democratic advance must collide with and set up obstacles to the drive of monopoly for maximum profit, which in our society has the force of the central law determining the very existence and operations of monopoly. The struggles of the working people and the strength of the labor movement have prevented the unhampered sway of this law from driving living standards down to subsistence levels for large sections of the people. The further strengthening of the trade unions and the development of the people's struggles on a broad front can save large numbers of workers from permanent unemployment and obtain better living conditions. If the inherent tendency of monopoly to permanent unemployment, economic crises, authoritarian rule and aggressive expansionism is to be impeded, the economic and democratic struggles of the workers and all people's forces must seek to curb monopoly by encroaching on its powers, weakening and undermining its economic and political positions, and move in the direction of its elimination.

A labor and people's anti-monopoly program should seek to curb monopoly principally and simultaneously along three lines. (1) It must seek to force greater concessions from monopoly through the state in the form of remedial legislation and social welfare, hand in hand with fringe benefits won by contract negotiations. (2) It should aim at blocking and impeding the free play of monopoly competition,

rather than restoring the old form of free competition, as was the case with earlier programs. (3) It must recognize that government economic activities are a permanent feature of present-day capitalism which the mass movement must attempt to utilize for the purpose of wresting more basic concessions from monopoly, including structural reform in the corporate-state system that will weaken the positions of monopoly in the economy and in government.

## I.

Labor has always fought for a greater share of the social product at the expense of profits through the shorter work week and higher wages. A new advance along these lines is made imperative by productivity unemployment and increasing job insecurity as a result of the new technical revolution and the instability of the economy. At the same time, labor and the progressives have always fought for fringe benefits and social legislation that would offset the social evils arising from capitalism. Every major advance on this front has been achieved only as the result of great mass struggles. Today, also, demands such as the shorter work week, compensation for the full period of unemployment and an extensive public works program, if they are to be won require great mass struggles. Because of the enormity of the problem of economic security in present-day capitalism, legislative action must reach into a broad field -- basic tax reform in favor of the people, higher minimum-wage and other pro-labor laws, enlargement of the social security system, all-sided and enforceable anti-discrimination provisions, establishment of a public health system, greatly increased public housing for low-income families, adequate youth and education facilities, and other necessary welfare measures. The fight for this kind of reform has been traditional with the labor movement for many decades. But in the recent period, after the legislative victories of the New Deal era, labor has concerned itself with winning new social benefits largely through contract negotiations, which affect only the organized workers and leave the majority without these benefits. New conditions require that in addition to defending existing labor legislation and besides the struggle for fringe benefits, the labor unions assume energetic leadership in the fight for broader social legislation as well.

While supporting every possible social welfare measure and every improvement in the conditions of the workers that can be obtained, Marxists believe that these cannot be considered as the final aim of the working class movement. Generally, such reforms deal only with the symptoms and the evils of capitalism and fail to challenge the basic causes of unemployment and inequality. The broad masses fight for such reforms in the hope that they will lead to country to general conditions of democracy and economic equality. While it is true that victories won by such struggles can lead to an era of progressive reform, and to real improvements, they do not add up to a new social order. Social and remedial legislation, although legitimate aims of the working class movement, do not alter the ownership of the means of production nor do they affect the sources of income, even if concessions may involve something of a redistribution of income. Such reforms, accordingly, cannot be considered steps to socialism, which involves a basic transformation of society. Nor can they be viewed as creating a "welfare state" devoted to social well-being capable of overcoming crises and inequality.

The myth of the welfare state in the era of monopoly and imperialism arose from the need of the modern state in all advanced capitalist countries to extend the field of social legislation under pressure from mass movements, and in view of the successes of the socialist world, in order to preserve the system in the midst of general crisis. The so-called welfare state is still a monopoly state, and it functions to preserve monopoly capitalism. The social benefits it was forced to concede have become as necessary to its continuation as the other economic activities characteristic of the modern state. Even when monopoly is forced to grant social benefits against its will, it tries to delay them as long as possible, to keep them to the minimum, to pare them down later, and to make the workers pay for them through taxes and other charges against wages, so that a constant struggle is required even to retain concessions that have been won and to reduce the wage-earners' share of the cost. While granting benefits sparingly and grudgingly, monopoly and its supporters try to turn the necessity of making concessions into a virtue by claiming that capitalism has become a welfare society. They exploit what was forced upon them by the mass movement in the first place in order to divert that movement from more fundamental demands. There are also other reasons why the modern state needs certain social legislation, such as minimum sanitation, health and educational standards to assure efficient labor. And at times monopoly will prefer state social benefits rather than wage increases or fringe benefits because they need not come out of profits. But the main significance of welfare benefits to the monopoly state is that they serve as insurance against basic social change.

Social benefits are a form of ransom which monopoly must pay to maintain its power, but the difficulties of the system, the strength of the modern labor unions and the ever new successes of the socialist world tend to increase the magnitude of the ransom. And the trade unions -- because by nature they can do no more than fight the symptoms, while seeking a more favorable share for wages out of the surplus produced by labor -- must continue to press for an extension of the welfare functions of the monopoly state. This characterizes the present course of the anti-monopoly movement. Communists participate in and support all economic and democratic struggles aimed at enlarging the area of social benefits. But even at a high level, this movement can end in frustration and its victories can be absorbed by monopoly capitalism, unless the working class presses for more radical measures of reform that are directed at the very causes of unemployment and inequality. The main distinction between reformists and Marxists is that while the former believe that capitalism can be remade into a welfare society, the latter see the struggle for reform not only as a means of improving the immediate lot of the people. The struggle for reform is also the means by which the workers and broad masses of the people come to see the limitations of capitalism and the necessity of socialism, and at the same time build up their strength and alliances for bringing about a basic change that will remove the need for concessions from monopoly because the working people will become the rulers of society. But the entire labor movement will have to go through education in struggle, in the form in which it presents itself here, to arrive at the position where the movement for remedial measures will be transformed into a movement to change the basis of society.

## II

High level unemployment appears side by side with large capital investment in new machinery, extensive unused capacity, and rising prices. These seemingly contradictory phenomena arise from the monopoly structure of the economy, and more specifically, from the monopoly form of competition. While superseding free competition, monopoly does not exclude competition between the big corporations, but only changes its form. At the very high level of monopoly in the United States, this new form of competition has given rise to particularly sharp antagonisms within the dominant monopoly sector of the economy, and between it and the non-monopoly sector that still tries to operate on the old competitive basis, which is considerably restricted and distorted by the all-ervading influence of monopoly in the economy as a whole.

The central motive force of monopoly competition is the drive for maximum profits, rather than the lower average rate of profit determined by the free market of pre-monopoly capitalism. By virtue of their dominant position in key sectors of the economy, a few big corporations are able to peg prices for given commodities at levels high above value, and sustain them even into periods of recession. Because of the essentially anarchic, planless nature of the capitalist economy and its cyclical character, monopoly cannot have absolute control over prices, and therefore administrative price setting will not always be effective, particularly in a deep and general crisis. But monopoly has the effect of minimizing sharp price fluctuations, keeping them as a more or less rigid framework within which the race for profit proceeds among the giants. In this form of competition, maximum profits are sought primarily by reducing unit costs within a high price structure, and this is achieved by increasing productivity and the exploitation of labor, and also by driving down the cost of raw materials supplied by the non-monopolized sector at home and colonial areas abroad.

It is this form of competition, together with the accumulation of huge reserves, that essentially accounts for considerable technical progress in the post-war years, contrary to the expectation that monopoly under all circumstances would lead to stagnation in technique. This view was always mistaken. As Lenin showed, even during a period of world capitalist decadence, uneven development might result in the progress of capitalist production in one or another country while it declines in others. And it is his analysis of monopoly competition which explains why, in the special postwar circumstances, monopoly was compelled to undertake technical innovations in production in practically all leading capitalist countries, even if unevenly and chaotically, and even if they are not developed to the fullest extent.

But technical progress under monopoly has serious consequences for the people. In the past, a reserve army of unemployed was needed by capitalism for the expansion of production. This was supplied in this country by immigration from Europe and later by the migration of Negro workers from the plantations of the South, by the importation of Mexican and Puerto Rican labor, by the massive displacement of farmers from agriculture, by the recruitment of women into the labor force and from the various middle strata displaced by monopoly. Under the

new technical conditions, expansion of output can be provided to a much greater extent than before by the widespread use of the new technique rather than from a labor force which has now grown to enormous proportions. A high level of unemployment, with no prospect of jobs within the present monopoly structure, is becoming a permanent characteristic of American society, whatever the level of economic activity.

So drastic a change cannot take place without arousing the opposition of workers who have become surplus and of the employed workers who face a similar fate, particularly those who do not enjoy the advantages of seniority or hold marginal jobs, like the Negro workers (among whom unemployment is at least twice as severe as among other categories), the women and the youth. But it is also characteristic of this situation that the semi-skilled and skilled workers in industry are being downgraded or rendered surplus by new machinery and the re-allocation of industry. The will to struggle for the right to work is mounting, with great pressures upon trade union leadership for action. The labor movement will have to develop a comprehensive struggle on a broad front to translate the great increase in productivity resulting from the new technique into the shorter work week and into increases in wages and reduction in prices which are made possible by the drop in production costs.

While greater efforts will have to be made to win wage-hour demands, fringe benefits and new social legislation whenever possible, this will no longer suffice. The labor movement should never lose sight of the immediate economic demands of the workers, and always extend the struggle for them, but it is also necessary to have a labor program that simultaneously will seek to interfere directly with monopoly competition in order to counteract its disastrous operation. By contract negotiations as well as legislative action, labor needs to press for direct participation in decisions involving the investment and production policies of management, as they affect introduction of new techniques, working norms and pace of work, labor costs and the work week.

This will be necessary not only to assure adequate procedures for the re-classification, retraining and reallocation of displaced workers. For this problem will become unmanageable unless at the same time democratic controls are established over production norms and the rate of introduction of new machinery, including the construction of new plants and the reallocation of production which are used by the employers to evade contract provisions by placing automated factories in unorganized and low-wage areas. Reductions in the work week without cuts in weekly wages should be fought for in direct relation to control of automation, so that a reduction neither in the work force nor in real income should result. To achieve these ends and to protect the status, conditions and health of the workers, particularly from the effects of speedup, labor will also have to fight for workers' participation in the management of production at the job and plant levels.

A program for labor's intervention in the investment policies of monopoly and for workers' participation in control of production has nothing in common with the idea of People's Capitalism, which is fostered by monopoly to mollify the class struggle and to offset the influence among the workers of the socialist countries, where technical progress of a very high order is expressed in social progress. People's Capitalism, the "new capitalism," or "capitalism without capitalists" and similar ideas attempt to found themselves on the alleged "managerial revolution," the "income revolution," and the "welfare state." Actually, whatever share the managers of industry have been able to get in ownership has not altered to any significant degree the functioning of monopoly capitalism or its drive for maximum profits. All the claims to wider stock-ownership, even the extensive participation of the middle strata in the frenzied stockmarket speculations, and the most subtle scheme for employee stock-sharing, cannot hide the essential reality of monopoly control and the further concentration of ownership. Nor do they change the fact that in the recent period of extended boom the total income of the lowest three-tenths of U.S. income receivers has actually declined, while the share of wages in national income has grown only slightly if at all, despite the greater strength of the unions. Instead of illusory stock-sharing schemes, which do not change the realities of class exploitation a whit, labor must seek through class struggle an increasing share of profit in the form of wages under conditions of full employment in peacetime. And this requires direct labor interference in the operations of monopoly, including encroachments upon its property rights and privileges.

Such encroachments must include also labor's intervention in the fixing of prices, in its own interest and in the interest of the broadest sectors of the

people. Through the pricing mechanism, monopoly retrieves a part of wages, including the cost of fringe benefits, and takes an increasing share of surplus value and earnings produced in the non-monopoly sector, while trying to convince the public that high wages and social expenditures by government are responsible for inflation. Actually, the rise in the price level is a long-term trend of monopoly capitalism, and has been constant since World War II. Huge military expenditures, which exceed by many times government spending for social benefits, and certain monetary and fiscal manipulations accentuate this trend, and at times can even be the prime causes for a new price inflation. And conversely, even if military spending remains high, the use of monetary and fiscal measures to fight inflation might help bring on a depression.

As a matter of fact, monopoly competition within a high price system is a prime factor making for crisis because it increases unemployment, hampers higher production levels since it can assure large monopoly profits even when operating much below capacity, and reduces purchasing power. Such wage increases as labor is able to win lag behind its rise in productivity, with the result that monopoly is able to realize higher profits, since the decline in unit costs even at low production levels more than offsets the wage rise. Instead of passing on to the consumer its share of the benefits of greater productivity, monopoly uses wage raises as a pretext for raising prices, and by blaming labor seeks to create antagonism between the unions in monopolized industries and the rest of the population.

To counteract the disastrous effects of monopoly competition as well as the anti-labor propaganda of big business, labor should use its strength to impede the upward price trend, with its threat to the real wages of all workers and its crisis-provoking effects. Since prices in the monopoly sector have become primarily an administrative matter, the strong unions in this sector are in a position to press for a lower price policy through contract negotiations, together with control of automation, the shorter work week, higher wages and other benefits. But since prices affect society as a whole, labor should seek united action with other people's forces for the establishment of a system of democratic controls over prices through government action.

Such regulatory and financial agencies which already exist and are charged with controlling public utility, transport and other rates in the public interest, but which have in practice followed the monopoly high-price policy, should be reconstituted to assure the direct participation of labor and people's organizations. At the same time, new government measures should be sought to permit democratic controls over monopoly prices, not as a means of freezing wages, but hand in hand with controls over the rate of introduction of labor-saving machinery with the aim of preventing the permanent displacement of workers from production.

Technical progress, expanding production, full employment, lower prices and a general all-round improvement of living and social conditions -- so often proclaimed as the aim of welfare capitalism -- cannot be provided in the present society. Only socialist society can provide them simultaneously and permanently, as inherent laws of its development. A powerful working class movement, leading a broad coalition against monopoly, can prevent deterioration of living conditions and gain concessions for the people by impeding the free play of the economic laws of monopoly capitalism. To raise the level of the struggle from one of "impeding" and of "gaining concessions" requires the advance to the struggle for socialism.

### III

An anti-monopoly program that seeks to win the right to work for all entails struggles on a wide front for structural reform in government as well as in industry. An all-sided political struggle, sparked by labor, will have to be developed to counteract monopoly domination of the state and to shut off vital areas of government from monopoly control. But such a program must take into account the nature of the modern state and its actual function.

The major extension of state economic activities has occurred in this country since the great crisis of the 1930's. This represents a crucial advance of monopoly control over the state and not, as various reformists interpret it, the emergence of the state as an independent intermediary power which is supposed to impartially regulate the economy and to transform capitalism into a welfare society. State intervention in the economy has become a necessary function of monopoly capitalism, which cannot get along without it. But this does not mean

that the disastrous reactionary consequences of monopoly domination over the state cannot be averted by the united struggles of the people, through pressure upon the state and through independent political action.

Actually, the state has very little control over production, even less here than in other capitalist countries. The major growth of state economic activity has been at the financial level, in the form of huge state expenditures which are associated with the expansion of all government operations and with a huge bureaucracy, but especially with the militarization of the country. The expansion of all forms of government spending, and particularly the gigantic military outlay, arises not only from the international contradictions faced by imperialism -- which U. S. monopoly tries to solve from "positions of strength" -- but also from the internal contradictions and especially from the efforts of monopoly to prevent another crisis like that of 1929, of which it is in mortal fear.

An anti-monopoly program should aim at safeguarding the people from the consequences both of the arms build-up and of a threatening economic crisis. Heavy arms spending, by stimulating capital investment, served to sustain and prolong the high level of postwar economic activity and was the principal factor in preventing the recessions of this period from deepening into severe crisis, although it was not the only factor. Aside from its role in serving world expansionist aims, monopoly prefers military spending, rather than social welfare expenditures, because of the huge guaranteed profits in government war contracts and the stimulus provided by this form of spending to greater concentration of economic power and to firmer monopoly control of the state.

But armament outlays by government, with their cold war pressures and war dangers, and constant inflationary effects, is not the only way to stimulate capital investment and economic growth. Government spending devoted to constructive economic development and to social welfare can also serve to counteract crisis symptoms and to hold off a severe depression. This becomes imperative because permanent militarization carries with it the danger of war and of fascist-type development within the country. Furthermore, the shift to the new weapons is having effects within the war sector of the economy similar to automation. Missiles and similar weapons require huge capital investments in instrumentation, without the mass production and large numbers of workers needed for conventional arms. While placing a heavier tax burden on the people, the new arms production is displacing workers from war industry and does not have the same anti-crisis effect as the old war production.

A people's anti-monopoly program should seek to shift the weight of government spending to constructive social purposes, that will have the effect of counteracting crisis symptoms while reducing the heavy burden and the dangers of arms spending. Labor and a broad democratic front ought to fight for government spending policies that are directed to such constructive purposes as the solution of the unemployment problem, economic development of the South and other underdeveloped and marginal areas, housing and metropolitan development, education, science, and other pressing peacetime tasks.

The frustration or curbing of monopoly expansion abroad by the progress of socialism and of national liberation, and the emerging possibility of averting war within the new world structure, present new opportunities to the anti-monopoly forces within the country for effective struggles to shift the emphasis from militarization of the economy to its peacetime development. Hand in hand with the struggle for a policy of peaceful negotiations to end the cold war, there has to be a struggle for an alternate domestic policy of peacetime economic development and of trade with all countries. Under conditions of economic competition between the two world systems, the terms of that competition can be turned to the advantage of the American people by a united and growing struggle against monopoly which seeks to curb its power and to impede its freedom of action against the people. Peaceful economic competition between the two systems will not of itself change the motivation and operation of monopoly capitalism. But socialist progress and policies by the force of example generate pressures upon the domestic policies of monopoly, which the labor and democratic forces should exploit to exact greater concessions from monopoly and to advance toward basic social changes.

Proposals for structural changes in the corporate network and in government economic functions which have as their aim the curbing of monopoly should be directed principally at dismantling the peak financial interest groups -- like the Rockefeller, Morgan, du Pont and Mellon empires. Their control cuts across industrial, financial and commercial lines, without regard to the actual function of their investments in production and distribution. Command of vast accumulations of capital (whether in the big banks and insurance companies or in the industrial corporations) permits these peak monopoly groups to dictate policies with respect

to investment, production, labor, prices, credit, and foreign aid, through government and through their own institutions. It is this commanding position in the economy that gives the top monopoly groups power over the nation and serves as their base for aggressive expansion abroad, with the consequent dangers of war.

This area of top monopoly control should be the principal target of the struggle to decentralize and dismantle the centers of corporate power, rather than the big and integrated production units themselves. Large-scale production, with its advanced technology and efficient organization of all the elements of production, represents a high level of social labor, which is a permanent achievement. Monopoly now uses it to obtain maximum profits through the exploitation and robbery of the people; under socialism, large-scale production would be taken over by the nation and used for the maximum benefit of the people. In this historic sense, monopoly control is temporary and technical progress is permanent, and therefore the former, despite its great present power, is subject to structural change by the action and pressure of the people.

However, this does not mean that a fetish should be made out of preserving large-scale production in all instances. In order to advance the freedom of the Negro people and democratic development of the South, for example, the large semi-feudal plantation units should be broken up and divided among the croppers and tenants. Or, in order to save masses of farmers from eviction, an anti-monopoly program might seek to limit the size of landownings and restrict the scale of integration and contract farming. Similarly, restrictions may be sought upon the merger of industrial operations when it leads to the elimination of small and medium enterprise and the further concentration of monopoly control in the peak groups. In defense of democracy and public morality, considerations of efficiency should not stand in the way of breaking up monopolies in all means of mass culture -- like the newsprint industry, newspaper chains, television and radio networks, and movies. Nor will the people worry about efficiency when a peace policy requires the dismantling or complete reconversion of armament industries.

The participation of labor, community and people's organizations in old and new regulatory agencies and basic reform of the tax system would be important steps towards establishing democratic controls over monopoly operations. But these would not amount to structural reform of the state-corporate system unless they lead in the direction of important nationalizations. The previous significant structural change was the emergence on a wide scale of government intervention in the economy during the 1930's, which monopoly at first opposed but then turned to its own advantage. The next significant series of structural reforms is in the realm of nationalization, which labor and the people must seek to turn to their advantage.

The public services -- such as electric and gas utilities, railroads and airlines, and telecommunications -- are not only particularly profitable means of mulcting the public but have also become centers of high financial control which are used by monopoly to extend its sway over branches of the economy dependent upon these services. While fighting for a system of democratic controls over rates in the interests of the people and the non-monopoly consumers, a people's united front should press for government ownership when this is required to reorganize and improve these services while reducing rates. When they are locally controlled they should be transferred to the states or to the municipalities.

The entire field of housing and the interrelated problems of city and suburban planning, schools and cultural facilities, highways, metropolitan transport, and the location of industry now require urgent solution and can no longer be left to the localities. Their solution requires a high level of government planning -- Federal and State -- if the necessary resources are to be gathered and if public necessity is to rule over the private real estate interests and bankers. But government planning will serve primarily these same interests unless labor and the people's community organizations intervene energetically, insisting upon their participation in the public boards, agencies and owning authorities set up for these purposes.

The resources of the Federal Government should be used to bring about a structural reform of Southern agriculture by dividing the semi-feudal plantations into farms for the former croppers and tenants, while encouraging the all-around industrialization of this underdeveloped region and building adequate school, health, and housing facilities. Basic reform of the tax system, in addition to shifting the burden from the low-income families and medium business to the rich and the big corporations, should provide for the use of the taxing power to in-

duce new industrial growth in the South, as well as in the depressed areas. If the big employers can now use the tax system to make the people pay for their new equipment and plant, an anti-monopoly united front should seek to use the tax system to make the corporations redirect their investment in such a fashion as to reduce unemployment and assist regional development.

An effective anti-monopoly program should favor government ownership of new industries resulting from scientific inventions which have been developed under public auspices, like atomic energy and outer-space missiles. Efforts to denationalize the section of the atomic energy industry now under government ownership by turning over atomic power development to private corporations should be stopped. Instead, the entire industry -- from raw materials to the finished product--should be nationalized and developed as a government-operated enterprise for peaceful purposes. Industries that depend primarily upon government contracts -- like airplane and missile manufacture -- should be taken over and operated by the government.

Giveaways of national resources should be halted. Public lands and the riches contained therein -- oil, other minerals, forests, water power -- should remain in Federal government ownership and be developed in the public interest by government enterprise. The development of water power, navigation, rural electrification and irrigation, as well as soil and timber conservation and other associated activities should be pursued on the TVA model, but with direct labor and community participation on the management boards.

Mergers and amalgamations which would result in further concentration of economic power in top finance-capitalist groups should be prohibited. Big firms being forced into bankruptcy or merger should be taken over by the government, while the position of small and medium enterprise on the land, in industry and in commerce should be defended by government-backed measures providing equal access to credit, raw materials, patents, cheap motive power, as well as marketing aids and other measures that would defend and improve the position of the non-monopoly sector in relation to monopoly in any industry. Government controls should be established over monopoly foreign investment and trade to prevent its interference with the sovereignty of other nations, while foreign trade channels should be opened to small and medium enterprise, which, unlike the monopolies, do not seek strategic control of foreign resources and exclusive domination of markets and spheres of influence.

These and other anti-monopoly measures should move in the direction of the nationalization of monopoly property, with compensation only for the non-monopoly stockholders, whenever monopoly obstructs the immediate objectives felt by the people as necessary to their welfare. Confiscation of property in the public welfare has taken place in this country before. When the Tories obstructed independence their property was confiscated. When the counter-revolution of the slaveholders was defeated their property in slaves was confiscated, and the country is still suffering from the failure to confiscate their landed property as well. When monopoly obstructs social well-being and peace, its property rights should also be subject to forfeiture. This revolutionary doctrine is deeply rooted in our history; it has historical, social, moral and also Constitutional justification, and a social necessity of its own for the present period.

Nationalization by the bourgeois state does not of itself mean socialism. Only when power has passed to the working class and its allies does nationalized property become common ownership by the people, and only then is it possible to transform state economic measures into real social planning for the people's welfare. Nationalization under capitalist conditions represents important basic changes in structure, reflecting and accentuating the contradiction between the very high level of social labor arising from the extreme complexity of modern industrial society, on the one hand, and the restrictive, outmoded form of private ownership, especially in monopoly property, on the other. The level of nationalization in a highly developed monopoly society is indicative of the degree to which society is becoming unable to operate in the old way, but it does not yet signify that the basic crisis of transformation into a new society has been solved. Nor do measures of nationalization in themselves necessarily represent an advance to socialism, a sort of step-by-step evolution. In one sense can they be considered an aid to socialism: Capitalist state economic intervention, including nationalization of production, make the transition to socialism

easier -- once power is transferred to the working class. That is why capitalists have a mixed approach to all extensions of state economic activity, welcoming such measures when they are needed to serve their interests and at the same time fearing them as omens of the future.

The actual role that bourgeois nationalization plays in given circumstances is determined by the level of independent development of the working class and people's forces, the class composition of the government, and the world framework. When monopoly is in complete command of the government, and the opposing class and people's forces are insufficiently developed, nationalization can be made primarily to serve reactionary purposes -- politically, in strengthening the monopoly state apparatus and choking democracy; economically, in accelerating the concentration of monopoly power; in world affairs, in heightening the danger of war. On the other hand, state economic intervention and nationalization can also be made to serve the interests of the people if by their economic and democratic struggles and their independent political activity, building up a powerful united front and popular coalitions, they are able to intrude into government, curb monopoly power within the state itself, and wrest from it fundamental concessions. Under conditions of a resurgent mass democratic movement, a powerful combination of working class and people's forces with a majority in Congress and control over the Administrative branch can advance toward transforming all state economic activity into socially progressive measures by eliminating monopoly from the economic and political life of the nation.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 9

7. Class and Strategic Alliances

Recent swift changes in the class composition of the American people broaden the potential scope of the united front against monopoly, and also present new problems with respect to class and social alliances.

Within a few decades, and at an increasing tempo since World War II, the American people have become a nation overwhelmingly of wage-earners. Technological change hand in hand with the growth of monopoly has accelerated the polarization of classes throughout American society. Far from creating a "new middle class," as believers in the "new capitalism" contend, only 15 per cent of all those gainfully employed today are farmers, capitalists, businessmen and self-employed professionals. The rest are wage-earners, although with widely differentiated strata among them--from the extremely exploited farm laborers to the high salaried scientists and technicians. Employment in all categories is now also more concentrated within the orbit of the big corporations, whose decisions on economic and social policy affect directly the conditions of the majority of wage-earners and set the pattern for the rest.

These changes have enhanced the potential role of the working class as the leading force for social progress. But this role cannot be realized unless the labor movement seriously begins to solve the problems arising from these changes, and particularly from the radical shifts in the composition of the working class itself. These shifts arise both from the nature of the technical revolution in production and from the vast expansion of all functions connected with distribution, marketing, financing and servicing of consumers' goods, as well as the expanding operations of government and of corporation management. While the number of manual workers engaged in production tends to remain constant, even as output rises, the non-manual and white collar sectors, especially the trained technical personnel, tend to rise rapidly. These new sectors of unorganized wage-earners, in addition to the older fields long neglected by the trade unions, are to a considerable extent capable of organization, the largest numbers being concentrated in the trustified branches and in the government structure.

The defense of the interests of the key sectors of the production workers and the advance of the trade unions require a new leap forward in the organization of the unorganized, of a scope and a sweep comparable to the labor upsurge of the 1930's which won for industrial unionism the decisive positions in the trustified mass production industries. Some of the old neglected tasks--unionization of the factory farms, of the expanding low-wage industries of the South and of the clerical occupations--now acquire a new urgency if the employers, in their effort to place the burden of automation upon the manual production workers, are to be prevented from playing off against each other various categories of the workers in diverse branches of the economy. Nor can the unions continue to neglect the special problems of the Negro workers, of the women and of the youth leaving school to enter the labor force. The manifold and complex changes involved in the technical revolution and in the extension of monopoly and government operations into the far reaches of the economy demand a similar extension of the organization and functions of organized labor, if it is to spark and lead a united front of the people against monopoly. Consolidating the decisive positions in the mass production industries where labor directly confronts peak monopoly, extending outward to include other important sectors of the workers in production, the unions will have to press forward to organize the vast body of non-blue-collar wage-earners.

To meet the challenge of automation, it is imperative for the unions to solve the new problems of organization arising from the rapid growth (more rapid than any other labor sector) of the force of technicians and scientists whose role in production has increased with the technological advance. Large numbers of clerical workers are also directly involved in the operation of the new technology. Misnamed the "salaried middle class" by bourgeois sociologists, the engineers, scientists and other specialists are essentially wage-earners, directly connected with production. Highly paid, they tend in the majority to resist trade union organization, being corporate-minded and strongly middle-class in their ideology. Their sense of privilege is heightened by the fact that they have become the new aristocrats of production, enjoying incomparably better conditions than workers on the line and greater job security. The imperative organization of this unorganized sector requires a trade union initiative of the first order, with a special, many-sided approach--ideological and political as well as organizational, and reaching into the educational system itself. For the institutions of higher learning have really become industrial vocational schools for the new technology.

In the strategy of the class struggle against monopoly, the alliance between the labor movement and the Negro liberation struggle occupies the central role. This is an outcome of the specific features of American historical development, which has organically linked the struggle for Negro freedom, including the democratic revolution in the South, with the striving of all working people for democratic and social progress. The very structure of American society and politics today, with its historically evolved features, has provided monopoly with its chief ally--the Dixiecrat reaction, rooted in the remnants of the slave past. Thus, for the advancement of each and in their mutual interest, the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement are compelled to combine in united action against the monopoly-Dixiecrat reaction. Since the Abolitionist movement, the fight for Negro freedom has been a central theme, at times the dynamo, of democratic progress in the country. This is a permanent characteristic of social progress, reaching into the socialist future. Under present-day conditions, with the surge forward of the Negro in America for his full rights in every sphere and with the inspiring successes of the colonial liberation abroad, the Labor-Negro alliance is again the touchstone of democracy and social progress in the United States.

Recent changes have greatly strengthened and broadened the base for this alliance. The weakening of the plantation economy of the South by capitalist attrition over many years, and especially in the postwar period, improves the prospects for its final eradication by the mass movement and for the elimination of Dixiecratism as a power, both in the South and in national political life. By the same process of internal capitalist expansion which weakened the old plantation system, large sectors of the Negro peasantry have become workers, and they now comprise the majority of the Negro people. This has altered radically the class relations among the Negro people and has also strengthened the common class bond between labor and the Negro people as a whole.

The effects of these changes are far-reaching. Within the working class, broader ground now exists for the process of integration and Negro-white unity, although here too a constant struggle has to be waged against race bias and for the recognition of the special demands of the Negro workers arising from their underprivileged position. Nevertheless, the rapid growth of the Negro component of the working class is bound to give a new powerful impulse to the integrationist process, and is raising the possibility for the solution of the Negro national question along integrationist rather than separatist lines. This is favored also by the increased weight of the working class within the Negro liberation movement itself, offsetting the wavering middle-class leadership and promising to give the movement as a whole a more militant and consistent direction. The Negro-white working class provides the possibility of firm cohesion between the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement, for a broad alliance which will encompass the entire Negro people and embody the combination of democratic and working-class objectives which mean social progress for the country as a whole. It remains for the organized labor movement to overcome its serious lag with respect to the struggle for Negro rights, if it is to realize the great potential of the Labor-Negro alliance.

Placing the Labor-Negro alliance in this central way should not lead to an underestimation of the role of the small and medium-sized farmers in the anti-monopoly united front. It is incorrect to think that mechanization together with monopoly concentration in agriculture is solving the farm problem. While the relative role of agriculture, and particularly small farming, in the economy as a whole has declined further, the contradictions on the countryside have been accentuated. Classes among the farmers have been polarized to the extreme. The role of the factory farm, employing large numbers of wage-workers on a seasonal basis, has grown rapidly. During recent years, the "revolution" in agriculture has thrown millions of farmers off the land, among them many Negro croppers and tenants who have migrated away from the plantation. Half of the remaining tillers of the soil have been reduced to part-time or subsistence farming, while the family-sized commercial farmers, unable to compete with Big Business agriculture, are insecure in income and tenure. With the spread of vertical integration, many of the medium farms have become appendages to the big farm enterprises, and all of them are victimized by the processing, farm machinery and banking corporations. Whatever relief may be momentarily supplied by government subsidies and price support, which make a premium out of reduced production and are of greatest benefit to the big growers, these measures cannot solve the crisis of American agriculture.

Accordingly, the mass of farmers are among the most anti-monopoly conscious forces in the country, with a rich background of third-party revolt against big business. Despite the fact that recent changes have reduced the relative weight

of the farmers in national politics, in important farm regions they continue to play a key role in State politics and in Labor-Farmer coalitions. Since many farmers now work both on the land and in industry, the Labor-Farmer alliance has a closer organic bond than previously and favors the organization of the agricultural laborers on the factory farms. In the South, the struggle for basic agrarian reform is of direct interest to the white as well as Negro farmers, for it is directed against those forms of tenancy and farm financing which have also increased the dependence of the poor white farmers on the large landowners, and a democratic transformation would be in their interests. Because of their role in production and the insecurity to which they are exposed, the mass of farmers throughout the country can be powerful allies of the working class in the struggle against monopoly.'

Also as a consequence of recent economic and social changes, a further differentiation has taken place within the bourgeoisie. As a tiny minority of super-capitalists preempted wider sectors of the economy, the pressures upon the small capitalists and businessmen increased. Many were displaced entirely, especially small business by the expansion of the giant chain-stores. Others were absorbed by the bigger corporations or themselves merged to meet monopoly competition. Still others are brought into dependence upon big capital as suppliers of parts to large industrial enterprises, or through agency networks for marketing heavy consumers goods, or by big business control over raw materials, capital resources and markets. Together with this, many self-employed professionals have been absorbed as wage-earners within the corporate structure. The growing pressure upon the middle strata of industry and commerce may have been obscured by the speculative frenzy in which these sectors participated during the high prosperity years. But the old trend, which continued late into the imperialist era, of the constant recreation of small and medium enterprise is now on the ebb. While there are still many exceptions, the overriding trend is toward the further displacement or subordination of the middle strata, with mounting antagonisms between monopoly and the non-monopoly sectors of the bourgeoisie.

If the full potential of the united front against monopoly is to be developed, the positions of the middle strata should be defended against Big Business. The small and medium capitalists, in the non-monopoly sector, some of whom employ hundreds of workers in relatively big enterprises, tend to be as much anti-labor as anti-monopoly. By supporting their concrete demands against Big Business, labor can, at least in part and on important issues, win them as allies, or neutralize important sectors. As labor already does in some industries, the tactic can be further evolved of directing the main burden of the class struggle against monopoly. With such an approach it will be possible to build both the united front against monopoly and the trade unions throughout the economy.

It is characteristic of the middle strata that generally they are afraid of basic social change, and especially of socialism. But the situation is such in this country, that a united front against monopoly in the period ahead also carries with it certain assurances for the future, as far as the middle strata are concerned. For in this country, the elimination of monopoly by socialist nationalization would immediately provide an extensive and adequate base for socialism at a high economic level. Under such circumstances, small and medium enterprise on a private ownership basis could continue for some time within the overall framework of socialist development and planning. While monopoly offers the middle strata the prospect at any moment of sudden obliteration, socialism can provide a long period of adjustment and gradual socialist transformation, on a voluntary basis, in the course of which they can play a constructive role.

With recent advances in technology, the scientists and other technical professionals have come to play a more important role in production. Together with this, the educators and intellectuals generally have been made to serve the new needs of monopoly, not only in the preparation of the young generation but also in the complex superstructure of marketing and salesmanship which became necessary to big business. The misuse of the wonderful scientific discoveries for destructive purposes, the gigantic waste inherent in the forced sale of anything that will net high profits, the insult to common intelligence and the moral decay inherent in high-powered and omnipotent Madison Avenue crusades, and the general vulgarization of all cultural values by big business civilization are creating a profound crisis in the nation's intellectual life. The Corporation Man, sold body and soul to monopoly, is the symbol of stagnation and decay. A developing anti-monopoly united front, sparked by a resurgent mass movement and initiating a democratic and cultural revival in the land, will exert a powerful attraction upon all categories of intellectual workers. They have a particularly important role to play in social progress, and the labor and progressive movement needs to create an atmosphere in which they will feel at home.

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 10

8. Independent Political Action

In the Communist view, the next major advance of independent political action will lead to the formation of a labor-led people's party. Like meaningful advances of the past, it will be a product of sweeping economic and democratic mass struggles. It is impossible to foretell the exact form of such a party, or the issues which will prove decisive in its formation. But its general direction and content may be indicated. If such a party is to serve effectively as the political expression of a broad democratic front of the people against monopoly, its emergence would involve a mass break-away from the traditional two-party system. It would have to be based firmly on the trade unions, have at its core a solid Labor-Negro alliance, and win the adherence of the mass of farmers and of the city middle strata.

Since the end of the last century, the history of popular political action can be divided roughly into two periods, each with a characteristic form. Until the 1920's, independent political efforts by the people took the form predominantly of national and state farmer-labor parties. Beginning with the Populists, these movements were led by radical farm and middle-class forces. Although workers also participated, the main trade union leadership generally confined their political activities within the two-party system, following a primitive pressure policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." While the popular political revolts were directed against the entrenched money or monopoly power, Gompers and other early A F of L leaders set a pattern of class collaboration that was to plague the labor movement for decades to come. It was not until 1924, in the presidential campaign for LaFollette by the Progressive Party, that the trade unions officially endorsed an independent third party. This represented an important transition from political revolt of the Populist type to third-party action of the labor type. Despite a high national vote (17% of the total) and significant regional successes, economic stabilization and the withdrawal of official trade union endorsement resulted in the rapid demise of the national party.

These earlier movements were the product of mass protest against monopoly power in the economy and in government during the period of the rise and consolidation of Big Business. Their programs included planks for government ownership of railroads, banks and enterprises engaged in the processing of farm products, as well as reforms intended to break up the trusts and to protect the democratic rights of the people. While they also included various socialist tendencies, the only mass political movement which proclaimed socialism as the aim was that of the Socialist Party, with Eugene Debs as standard-bearer, in the years immediately preceding World War I.

During the great mass upheaval of the crisis decade of the 1930's, popular political action was focused within the two-party framework, principally in the Democratic Party. However, it represented a higher form of political action than the narrow pressure policy of the old craft unions. With the formation of the CIO, industrial unionism in the key mass production industries provided a more powerful base. In place of the old hit-or-miss action of labor, a more or less coherent and united labor vote made itself felt in national and local politics. Within the Democratic Party, labor's political action committees operated as an organized social force, providing the staunchest support to New Deal reform, and with considerable influence at times and in some places on choice of candidates.

Although labor was not accorded a place in the official leadership of the Democratic Party nor among prominent candidates for public office, it was a force to be reckoned with. Labor operated within the party through an alliance between the unions -- specifically the Progressive wing, supported by the Left -- and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. The alliance was directed mainly against the Dixiecrats and the city bosses. Where labor took an active part in politics, with wide rank and file participation, the old party machines were defeated or severely curbed. To an uneven degree, and with wide lapses, labor also began to develop its own political blocs with the Negro people and the farmers. In both respects, however, it lagged far behind the real possibilities, and left these alliances largely to the liberals.

Side by side with and supplementing labor political action within the Democratic Party (in some regions in the Republican Party also), a number of state independent parties and political federations were formed or were revitalized at the height of the mass upsurge. Most significant among them were the American Labor Party of New York, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, and the Washington (State) Commonwealth Federation. Their role may be considered intermediate as between the trade union political action committees and

genuinely independent labor parties. The Federations in effect became special forms of the political action committees, while the labor parties constituted a more independent form of alliance with the liberal wings of the major parties. The American Labor Party was of special significance because at its height it represented a gathering of unions with strong socialist tendencies and various currents, including Social-Democrats, liberals, left-wingers and Communists. Some sentiment for the formation of a national labor party also existed, but this was not generally accepted in view of the danger from the Right and the functioning alliance with the Roosevelt Democrats, who opposed steps in that direction. In any case, the advent of World War II put an end to any inherent tendency of this kind which may have developed.

Pre-war political action by labor was a distinct advance over previous attitudes in the trade unions. Although restricted within the old party framework and held within bounds by the alliance with the liberals, labor did exert independent political pressure as a cohesive social force and with a degree of political class consciousness, which attained greater quality in the independent state parties. Significant legislative victories and reforms were won by labor during this period, amounting to a leap forward in social welfare.

At the same time, on the negative side, the great mass upheaval was safely channelized within the Democratic Party, which, under the strains of a profound crisis, again fulfilled its well established function in the two-party system. As the reform party under firm capitalist leadership, it gave concessions to labor in order to preserve the system, and carried through necessary changes in the state-corporation structure which enabled monopoly to weather the storm and gain a new lease of power. It is certainly true that labor's role during this period assured the defeat of reaction, contributed decisively to a progressive rather than a fascist outcome from the crisis, and prepared the way for wartime national unity to defeat the Axis powers. However, labor failed to develop its independent role in politics and in government to the extent necessary to oppose the growing power of monopoly. During the war, monopoly greatly extended its positions in the economy and in the state, and prepared the ground for the shift to the cold war and to reaction which followed World War II.

Generally speaking, in the first cold war decade labor was rendered politically immobile by the policy of the dominant trade union leadership. Together with the liberals, the labor leadership threw its support to the cold war and the arms race, succumbed to the anti-Communist crusade at great costs to labor's rights and civil liberties, and pursued a full-blown class collaborationist policy. An effort was made by the Progressives and by the left wing in the labor movement to initiate a break-away from both old parties in the Wallace campaign of 1948. While effectively raising the peace issue in the midst of the cold war, the movement failed to rally substantial support. The main body of the labor movement continued to support the Democratic Party, which managed to put up a liberal front on domestic issues while pursuing a rampant cold war policy. Within a few years the remnants of the independent state parties collapsed or merged into the old parties.

Labor continued to function politically largely within the Democratic Party, through the action committees which had been established in the previous period of advance. This was carried forward by the merged AFL-CIO. Calls for a labor party were heard rarely within the trade unions, and then mostly as a form of pressure upon the Democratic Party leadership to obtain concessions. Even so, this form of pressure indicated in what direction labor might be pressing in the next stage of political advance.

By 1958, as economic and social issues which had been submerged or postponed in the era of cold war "prosperity" again came sharply forward, the working class began to stir politically. The elections of that year showed that when in an economic decline labor's rights are directly threatened, it can put up an organized and effective political struggle against Big Business. While operating within the established pattern of political action, labor organized its own campaign, against the state "right-to-work" laws, in some instances quite independently of the Democratic Party machine and leadership, with a consequent stimulation of extensive rank and file activity. In labor's campaign there was also a tendency to operate along a wider front together with the Negro people, the farmers and community forces, and to break out of the restrictive bounds set by the so-called moderates in the Democratic Party and in the labor leadership. Greater emphasis upon labor candidates was also apparent. Where labor political action was more aggressive it sought, in combination with the liberals, to take over the lower organizations of the Democratic Party, while also displaying considerable initiative toward the independent voters.

Although some promising tendencies appeared in this initial political reactivation of labor, the new Congress with its continuing anti-labor, anti-democratic and cold war policies, and particularly its failure to meet the problem of unemployment, emphasized that labor would be handicapped as long as it failed to go beyond narrow coalition policies confined to the old parties. The issues of unemployment, democracy and peace are of such magnitude and depth that under fire of concerted Big Business attack labor will be impelled to seek more effective political means than those provided by the old parties to curb the monopoly power and win basic reform.

Recent social and economic changes in the country and in the relationship of the United States to the rest of the world affect profoundly the course and the form of the next political advance by labor and the broad mass movement. These developments are changing the grounds upon which monopoly was enabled over a long period -- principally because of its favored world position combined with great internal resources -- to keep labor and popular dissatisfaction within the bounds of the two-party system.

Throughout the era of monopoly and imperialism, wars or war incitement played an extraordinary role in repelling and diverting into safe channels popular political movements in opposition to monopoly. Four of the five major political revolts were headed off in this fashion -- the Populists by the first wave of imperialist expansion culminating in the Spanish-American War; the Socialist and the Progressive reform movements of 1912-16 by World War I; the promise of expanding independent labor action during the New Deal period by World War II; the Wallace Progressive movement by the cold war, and its remnants by the Korean War. In each case, the Democratic Party took over enough of the reform program from the political radicals to appease the revolt while becoming the government party during war or intensified war preparations.

In the present period, as a consequence of the new world structure, U.S. monopoly no longer has its former freedom of action on a global scale. The progress of the socialist world and of colonial revolution, side by side with the crisis of world imperialism, create new possibilities for averting war, and thus for depriving monopoly of the opportunity to use war as a means of blocking and containing a new mass breakaway from the major parties. The contradictions of world capitalism, so to speak, are being centered in the United States. The conflicts arising from them, as monopoly seeks to place an ever greater burden upon the people, will tend to be fought out more and more within the country. The class struggle will grow sharper. As the true issues of competition between the two world social systems become clearer the workers will also become more radical, capitalism will not seem so rosy, and the old capitalist parties will be seen as a hindrance to social progress.

Internally, the relation of the people's forces is more favorable to the emergence of an independent labor-led people's party than during previous periods of mass struggle. The unions are far stronger and better entrenched in the key sectors of the economy. They are in a better position to express the demands of the broad wage-earning population and to lead a people's anti-monopoly movement in a new wave of independent political action. As an established political force within the present two-party system -- with the beginnings of coalition with the Negro people, the farmers and dissident liberal elements -- labor is in a strong position to lead a breakaway from the monopoly-controlled parties, as the process of political realignment leads to the disintegration of the outmoded party system. The mass displacement of farmers, which is countenanced and sustained by national policy, has for some time been rekindling the spirit of farm revolt, which under present conditions can find a positive outcome only in combination with the labor movement. As the city middle strata face the prospect of a deep financial crisis, on top of their increasing subordination to monopoly, they too would tend toward such a combination.

During recent years another social force of great dynamic potential has come forward, and will play a decisive role in the alignment of people's forces. The Negro freedom movement is developing a strong political consciousness. In some respects, it is pressing more persistently than the labor movement for political action independent of both major parties. It tends toward independent local political action, on the basis of its own organized forces, to elect Negroes to public office, and to press for full civil rights. The Negro people are more conscious than other sectors of the limitations and inadequacies of the old parties. They are inspired by the successes of the colonial revolutions, by the freedom victories of the colored peoples, and are keenly aware of the concessions that can be won in this country as a consequence of world pressures upon American imperial-

ism. In the developing economic and democratic struggles of this period, the fight for democracy in the South -- including unionization and basic agrarian and political reform -- will play a key role, with profound repercussions on the traditional party system, as in national politics as a whole.

The Negro freedom movement has a capacity of its own for independent political action, but it needs a sound and firm alliance with labor to be fully effective. It remains for labor to grasp this outstretched hand firmly in order to overcome its own political lag and to advance the interests of labor as a class. The combination of these two great social forces into a political coalition can initiate the next major political advance of the people.

Even under conditions of a new mass upsurge there may be strong pressures within the labor, Negro, farmers and people's movements to continue to operate politically within the Democratic Party as long as some immediate objectives can be obtained in this fashion. But this will be possible only up to a certain point, and then only if labor and other popular social forces are able to subordinate or subdue the Dixiecrats, city bosses and other reactionary elements. But the very process by which this is done will accentuate the decentralizing and disintegrating influences within the Democratic Party, and hasten the realignment of political forces. The direction of this realignment, if it is to represent a permanent and real advance, must be toward breaking out of the limitations of the monopoly-controlled parties in order to create a party which labor can call its own and to which all popular and anti-monopoly forces will adhere.

An orientation of working within the Democratic Party with the objective of transforming it into a liberal-labor party could well play into the hands of monopoly. The latter sees the Democratic Party as the alternate reform instrument to the Republican Party, which is the preferred party of Big Business and conservatism. If a labor party is to arise, monopoly would like to see it made safe for capitalism. The Democratic Party, under conditions of a new upsurge, may well make room for labor candidates if this is the way to stem a major breakaway and the rise of genuine working class politics. A narrow coalition policy, confined to work within the Democratic Party together with the trade union top bureaucracy and the liberals, amounts to looking backward and can be an obstacle to forward political action that will lead to a labor-led people's party. This advance will not be accomplished by missionary work at the top levels of the Democratic Party. The spade work will have to be done by the Left and Progressive forces down below -- in the labor movement, in the Negro freedom movement, among the farmers and in the communities.

Whether the advance comes as a leap forward or as a slower process, a new labor-led party is likely to emerge as a many-sided development. It will be composed of varied currents and elements locally and on a national scale, seeking common ground in opposition to monopoly and reaction. These might well encompass labor and Negro political action committees, minority movements within the old parties including community clubs and entire local organizations, electoral blocs and coalitions of the labor-Negro and labor-farmer type, community united fronts, regional independent parties, various socialist and liberal tendencies and groupings, and other new forms of political action that may arise. Political action committees of labor may operate on a broader scale than within the old parties, seeking to combine and lead independent political forces toward specific legislative and electoral objectives. There may arise again various intermediate forms between the existing labor political action committees and fully independent parties, such as appeared in the New Deal days. Left and progressive elements in the labor and people's movements might seek to focus these varied elements and currents upon the objective of a new labor-led party. The decisive turn in that direction would have to be made by the trade unions, as the central organized base for the new party.

While such a movement will include various socialist currents, it is not likely to subscribe to socialist aims, nor does it now seem likely that a party emerging from it will adopt a socialist program, at least in its formative and early stages. Essentially, it might be a labor radical reform party, with a democratic anti-monopoly and peace program. It would include people and organizations with different views on social questions, but ready to unite and work together for a common program of immediate demands. No one should be excluded because of their social philosophy, nor should such a party attempt to impose a single philosophy upon its members and supporters.

Communists should co-operate with all forces seeking to accelerate the process of political alignment leading to the mass breakaway from the monopoly-dominated parties and the formation of the labor-led people's party. They would expect to become an accepted component of such a party, according to the form decided upon for all, with the same privileges as other groups to advocate specific views, genuine working class politics and socialism..

The formation of a new labor-led mass party would constitute a great political advance and could win real victories for the people. Whatever limitations might in time appear in such a party, would have to be overcome democratically, and would no doubt involve further advances. It is not inevitable that the American working class, in the process of attaining maturity as a political and social force, would follow the pattern or the policies of the Labor Party of Great Britain. The British Labor Party has shown that labor reformism, defending capitalism and becoming dependent upon it, is incapable of leading the nation out of a deep crisis. Communists strive to assure a more effective labor-led people's party in the United States by fighting within the labor movement for independent working class politics, and for a party grounded on working class unity and pursuing a policy directed against monopoly.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 11

9. The Problem of Class Collaboration

The main obstacle within the trade union movement to economic and democratic advance is the class collaborationist policy which is prevalent in the leadership. This policy rests primarily upon the opportunism arising from the relatively high standard of living for important sections of the workers as a result of the continuing economic expansion of the United States late into the imperialist era. However, internally and on a world scale, the objective base for this position is changing.

The pattern of class collaboration established by the AFL at the dawn of the imperialist era lasted until the great crisis of the 1930's, despite formidable challenge from left end rank and file movements. It took the form of collaboration between the craft unions and monopoly, at the expense of the workers in the mass production industries. This pattern was broken by the CIO, in the great leap forward which brought the workers as an organized force face to face with top monopoly in the mass production industries.

During the period of economic expansion which began with World War II, a policy of so-called class partnership became prevalent in the leadership of the industrial unions. This new pattern of class collaboration was based primarily upon the long-term interest of monopoly to stabilize labor conditions in the decisive branches of production, so that it could take greatest advantage of the opportunities for maximum profit during the war and cold war periods. Significant concessions were made to the unions on wages and benefits, while monopoly relied chiefly upon labor-saving machinery and speed-up to keep labor costs down and maximize profits under conditions of rising prices.

Although the unions grew in membership during this period, the "class partnership" policy subordinated labor's interests to the principal economic and political aims of monopoly. The consequences are extremely serious. The most decisive sectors of the organized workers were kept within the confines imposed by the prevalent policy. The unions were in danger of becoming a component part of the elaborate system of economic coordination set up by monopoly through the state. They are hamstrung by long-term union contracts and by the elaborate machinery of government-backed or supervised management-labor relations. The capacity for independent economic and political action by labor is greatly hampered. The growth of business unionism and all forms of corruption within the labor movement stifles trade union democracy and restrains rank and file activity. The establishment over a period of more or less stable contractual relations between monopoly and the major unions tended to discourage drives to organize new branches of industry or unorganized regions, especially the South, with the result also that unions failed to pay proper attention to Negro and other underprivileged workers.

Most serious has been the support by the dominant labor leadership for the nuclear arms race and the cold war, which is at the heart of class collaboration as it has developed during this period.

The hold of labor opportunism depends directly upon the willingness and the ability of monopoly to grant concessions. Without them, the "class partnership" policy would be unworkable within the framework of the traditional democratic state. The rich home base of U.S. monopoly accounts to a large degree for its ability to grant concession when confronted with a powerful labor movement. But this maneuverability also arises from the favored world position of the United States throughout the imperialist era. Particularly in the period since World War II, when U.S. monopoly became by far the dominant power in world capitalism, the global position of the United States came to exert an extraordinary influence upon internal development.

With respect to the granting of concessions to decisive sectors of the workers, the world position of U.S. monopoly is felt in a number of ways. The central role of super-profits from colonial exploitation in creating a base for labor opportunism in Britain was already pointed out by Marx and Engels, and Lenin developed this explanation more completely for the period of matured imperialism. This was most pronounced with respect to the older imperialisms, with extensive colonial empires. In the new imperialism of the United States, characterized primarily by monopoly economic penetration abroad rather than outright colonialism, the role of super-profits of the imperialist type was somewhat disguised because they did not take the classical colonial form. Nevertheless, they came to play a very important role in providing an imperialist base for labor opportunism, especially in the more recent period.

Since World War II, American capital investments abroad reached unprecedented levels, as U.S. monopoly extended its holdings and controls throughout the world capitalist and colonial structure. Profits from foreign investment came to account for at least 15 to 20 per cent of the total profit of all U. S. corporations. But 90 per cent of these foreign profits are held by the 200 largest corporations, and probably represent about one-fourth of their total profits, and in the case of oil and other minerals, well over half. This helps account fundamentally for the opportunism prevalent in the labor movement, particularly during the height of the cold war which was also the period of the most extensive and aggressive economic expansion by U.S. monopoly abroad.

The connection between imperialism and labor opportunism in the United States was established over a long period during which monopoly took advantage of the geographic security of the country in two devastating world wars to expand at home and abroad at the expense of rival powers weakened by war and by colonial revolutions. Exclusive U. S. imperialist control of Latin America and the extension of the U. S. monopoly structure into Canada (both also remote from the theaters of world war) gave American Big Business command over the rich natural resources of the entire Western Hemisphere. The relatively high wage structure of the United States rests to a large extent upon the super-exploitation of Latin American labor over a long period, and the command of Canadian resources, to which have been added in recent years new extensions of monopoly penetration -- in the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia.

Obscured, but nonetheless real, are the additional huge super-profits obtained indirectly from the greatly expanded Wall St. investments in leading corporations of other imperialist powers (as in England, West Germany, Japan, etc.). An important role was also played in U. S. economic growth by the accumulation in this country of superior technology resulting from world scientific research and also of scientists, and technicians and skilled workers from abroad, when these could not be utilized in the lands of their origin because of certain local factors of deterioration as well as war.

These world factors, together with the rich home base, gave U. S. monopoly a wide range of maneuver with respect to labor, in terms of concessions on wages and conditions. In return, the dominant labor leadership -- the conservative as well as the liberal wing, each in its own way -- gave support to the cold war policies and to the splitting role of anti-Communism within the labor movement at home, as well as in the world trade union movement. The AFL has a long record in this respect. But the CIO, which had played a positive world role, together with the British trade unions led the walk-out from the World Federation of Trade Unions at the time when U.S. monopoly, through the Marshall Plan, was charting its course of aggressive expansionism. Simultaneously, the CIO initiated its own expulsion policy against Left-led unions in the United States, and took the lead in splitting the new Latin-American trade union movement, which it had previously helped unify. Both wings of the labor leadership have operated through the labor movement abroad to support Right-wing social-democracy against the peace forces and against the revolutionary colonial and democratic nationalist movement.

Changes which are proceeding in the domestic economy and on a world scale are beginning to undermine the base for the present class collaborationist policy in the labor movement. The relative slowing down of economic expansion and the growth of permanent unemployment are beginning to change the situation at home. The hardening of monopoly, on the one hand, and the re-emergence of rank and file militancy, on the other, are creating a crisis for the "class-partnership" leadership. The unfolding of present trends will lead to the growth of class struggle policies in the trade unions.

The acute contradictions in the world position of U.S. monopoly plays a decisive role in this respect. This contradiction deepens, as it becomes more and more difficult to attempt to solve the historic competition between the two world systems by war, as the national liberation movements place further restrictions upon monopoly expansion abroad, as labor and democratic movements in other capitalist countries defend their national sovereignty, and as inter-imperialist rivalries come forward more sharply.

Although monopoly may be forced to trim its sails in some respect in an extended period of peaceful co-existence, essentially it seeks to recompense itself from losses sustained on a world scale by stepping up its offensive against the workers at home and against the living conditions of the people as a whole. In this situation, greater mass struggles than in the past will be required to force concessions from monopoly, to protect the key positions of the trade unions, and to combat the austerity program of monopoly in general. The dominant labor leadership, under rank and file pressure, will be forced to seek new major concessions from monopoly. In

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new conditions of struggle, labor reformism may take other forms adapted to an advancing working class. But the key to progress will remain, as in the past, working class militancy and unity, on the political as well as on the economic front.

The direction and temper of these struggles will be greatly influenced by the factor of world socialism, particularly as the Soviet Union approaches its objectives of overtaking and surpassing American economic standards. There is no prospect that any leading capitalist country can even approximate the economic level of the United States. But the new competitive factor of the socialist world, with its well established potential for outproducing capitalism and, in the Soviet Union, surpassing the American standard of living within a decade or so, puts an entirely different light on the position of the American worker. The new basis of comparison with a socialist country can have the effect of encouraging the socialist consciousness of the American worker and his general class understanding. But as important as this factor may become, it can play but a supplementary role. The decisive role belongs to the American working class itself.

Accordingly, if there are to be new trade union advances on the economic and political fronts in face of the monopoly offensive, these must be sparked by a rekindled progressive and radical force, based on a reactivated and militant rank and file. Even on a new wave of mass struggle, trade union advances will not take place of themselves. What is required to give meaning and direction to a new labor upsurge is the emergence within the trade unions of a militant wing that will advocate a line of policy directed against monopoly and that will strive to develop the independent political role of labor as leader of a broad democratic front.

In the past, such a militant wing was always sparked by left-wingers with a socialist ideology and with class struggle perspectives, who were spokesmen for the rank and file movements. The greatest trade union progress was made when this leaven of radical workers in the mass movement led the fight for union democracy and working class unity, establishing common action with the middle and liberal forces against the old-line bureaucratic forces.

In the Communist view, such a combination of Left and Center forces on a common anti-monopoly program, weakening and isolating the Right in the labor movement, remains the key to trade union advance in the period ahead.

The basic thing in the trade union movement is the fight for higher wages and improved conditions. As the struggle sharpens on wages, hours, conditions, full employment and benefits it should be possible to make a much wider approach on the question of united action and unity. Militant workers pressing for these demands, and seeking agreement among the workers, can thus find the best means to overcome the barrier of "class partnership" policies, and advance the interests of the workers. Working class unity around the common needs of labor is the best ground on which class collaboration with monopoly can be defeated and new progress made. The new tasks and problems require an all-inclusive class unity -- Negro and white--employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled, industrial and craft. Of vital importance is cooperation and joint action of various unions at the job level in single enterprises, leading to greater organizational unity and the overcoming of jurisdictional disputes, as well as an end to the expulsion policy, both of which can be fatal in the age of automation.

The anti-Communist bans in the trade unions, as well as any discrimination on account of ideology or political beliefs, can prove disastrous. The cold war period at its height showed how harmful to the labor movement was its retreat before the anti-Communist crusade, which gave monopoly the opportunity to impose further legislative restrictions upon the unions, to broaden government interference in their internal affairs under the pretext of fighting corruption and subversion, and in general to dampen the militancy of the workers. When progressives fight against the Communist bans in the unions they are fighting for the very health and unity of the trade unions. The promising prospects for peaceful co-existence and the new pressures for shifting from arms spending to social welfare spending, coupled with the rekindling of a militant spirit among the workers, are creating a more favorable atmosphere for denying to monopoly the use of anti-Communist as a weapon against labor. The setting aside of the anti-Communist bans in the unions is needed to release the full potential strength of the labor movement for the battles ahead.

In the fight for a broad working class policy of struggle against monopoly, it would be a serious mistake to lump together all class collaborationist elements, or for that matter to treat even the most outspoken among them on a par with monopoly itself. The struggle against class collaborationist policies should be

based on the united struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, remembering that monopoly is the main enemy, and should be carried on as a strictly inner labor business. All interference from the outside should be opposed, whether directly from monopoly or from government. Within labor's ranks, differentiation needs to be made between those elements least responsive to the pressures of the rank and file and therefore more amenable to the policy of monopoly at a given time, and those elements which tend to move into opposition to monopoly policy under mass pressure. These positions are not given for all time. They tend to shift in response to the mass struggles, and crystallize for a given period under the impact of these struggles.

These positions are also affected by changes in production itself, due to new technology. Thus, the older differentiation between the craft and industrial unions tends to get blurred, particularly in the mass production industries, where the skilled craft workers are brought into closer relation with the mass production process and with the semi-skilled. At the same time, all are threatened by automation and unemployment, and new necessities are created for unity among all categories of workers, encompassing the new layer of technicians as well. Strong remnants of the old division remain, but the merged AFL-CIO basically reflects the process of change in the old craft unions, some of which are becoming semi-industrial in form, and the organic ties which are being created by modern industry among all layers of production workers. The tendency is for the further amalgamation of the craft and industrial form of organization, with the resulting capacity of labor to carry on its struggles on broader and all-inclusive industry fronts. This tendency should be speeded up by the action of the workers for amalgamation and unification, hand in hand with developing all forms and channels for effective rank and file participation in trade union affairs.

In the Communist view, the full potential of the powerful trade union movement can be felt in the struggle against monopoly at home only as labor simultaneously revives a firm spirit of international labor solidarity. As monopoly is rebuffed abroad by the forces of peace, national liberation and democracy, it sharpens its attack upon labor at home. By the same token, labor should learn that the strength of these world-wide forces provides an indirect but nonetheless extraordinary support to labor, the Negro people and all popular forces in their struggle against monopoly and reaction at home. As long as the labor movement does not cut itself loose from the aggressive expansionist foreign policies of monopoly, it will be caught in between the effective resistance to these policies abroad and the offensive of monopoly at home. But if labor learns to take full advantage of the opportunities for progress in the United States presented by the new world framework, and develops a policy of international solidarity with the forces of national liberation and social progress, it will be monopoly that is caught in between, and the American people will gain.

The Communists advocate international solidarity in the labor movement in order to advance the interests of the American working class, and to strengthen democracy and peace. They urge the reestablishment of a single world federation of labor to meet the common problems of workers everywhere. They urge support to the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the basis of a common struggle against imperialism and monopoly, and especially against the imperialist economic policies of U.S. monopoly anywhere in the world.

Particularly with respect to Latin America, U.S. labor has a great deal to gain from supporting the democratic, anti-imperialist advance taking place there. The combination of the struggles of the Latin American peoples against U.S. imperialism with the struggle of the American working class against monopoly can be a powerful and irresistible force for progress in the Western Hemisphere.

Above all, the struggle for peace in its home and world aspects calls for the curbing of monopoly power. For this the American working class needs to develop a deeper understanding of the role of international labor solidarity among the workers of all nations, which can be decisive in guaranteeing the elimination of war from world affairs.

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 12

VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

We have entered a period of mounting and aggressive offensive by the monopolists directed against the vast majority of the American people. At the same time, the dynamic power of the growing forces for peace and progress is having an increasing impact on the American scene.

This opens up great new opportunities and tasks for the working class, and this, as well as the developments of the past two years, confirm anew the indispensable need of the Communist Party, which is the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the American working class--the party of Socialism.

In the recent period, the Party has successfully fought and defeated the anti-Marxist revisionists as well as a group of anti-Party dogmatists. Waging a determined struggle against factionalism and for the unity of the Party, defending and applying the principles of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, in accord with specific American conditions and the best interests of our working class and nation, our Party has begun again to unfold its mass policies, to bring its program to the people.

It fought against those who would convert the Party into a hopeless sect while at the same time clarifying and disassociating itself from the distortions of the concept of the United Party of Socialism by which the revisionists sought to convert our Party into, or substitute for it, a party of a coalition type in which Marxism-Leninism would be but one tendency instead of the fundamental and basic policy of the entire organization.

Our Party has begun to play a constructive role in some of the unemployment, integration, peace, electoral and strike struggles of the people. As a result the Party's influence, mass contacts and relationships are increasing in a number of areas and fields of work. And there the Party is being consolidated and revitalized.

But these areas of positive activities and developments are the exception and do not reflect the general situation in our Party. A sober and objective estimation of the status of our Party today would result in confirming its inadequacy to give its most effective leadership and to make its full contribution to the great new tasks which confront the American people and its working class.

The cardinal problem of Party renewal, of building the Party and of establishing broader united front relations remain largely unsolved. Therefore the chief task before the Party still is to overcome its isolation from decisive sections of the labor movement, to strengthen the Party's mass base among the basic industrial workers, Negro and white, and among the youth. Without this, the Party's capacity for helping transform its policy into living reality will remain seriously impaired.

The monopolists and imperialists are impelled to place the burden of their economic and political problems onto the backs of the mass of people. To accomplish this, they will increasingly use every political, economic and social means to accomplish their aims.

It is clear that the American people do not intend to submit to this attack. They will join the developing movement toward peace, co-existence and disarmament with their struggle for political, economic and social security.

The perspective for our Party, therefore, is to bring our science and indispensable role to these movements. We can bring our Communist initiative, steadfastness and energy to help people in these struggles. We can find from among the most devoted and class conscious elements emerging in these struggles a source for new members to revitalize and rebuild our organization.

Certain weaknesses in the Party's work can be attributed to shortcomings in the work of the National leadership. Among these are a failure decisively to end factionalism, a lag in tackling important ideological problems, and insufficient vigorous fight for a united front policy, and inadequateness in collective work and the application of criticism and self-criticism.

But the main weakness of the Party leadership on a national and district level, has been the failure to come abreast of the new developments with analysis, policy and program and tactical leadership to most effectively equip our Party so that it may play its full role to influence and contribute to the mass developments shaping up today. Many of our leaders remain isolated from our Party membership and the mass movement.

Party building and the further implementation of the Party's mass political line will proceed very slowly and unsatisfactorily unless the entire Party and its leadership seriously raises organizational work to the high level it requires.

It will be idle for us to improve the political content of our work unless the entire leadership conducts a determined struggle to re-establish the organizational status of our Party from top to bottom. The fight for the revitalization of our Party needs to be seen as a two front task, each of which will be required. Progress on each front will enhance the other and both are essential for the solution of the key problems for the most effective functioning and role of our Party.

In this connection, it is essential that the Party leadership at all levels improve its style of work, eradicate subjectivity and cultivate closer, and more comradely relationships, in which criticism and self-criticism will be constructive and mutually beneficial. Care must be taken that criticism and self-criticism be of mistakes and directed towards overcoming them as well as errors and weaknesses of Party leaders, and not take the form of criticism of the Party as such, undermining its role, such as took place in the recent past period. And it is especially urgent that the leadership work at all times to reinforce the unity of the Party.

It is necessary to effect a marked improvement in the way in which the Party fulfills its vanguard role, especially in its ideological work, in extending its independent mass activity, and in unfolding its united front policies. Also, the readership and study of THE WORKER, and POLITICAL AFFAIRS, and of Marxist literature of all kinds, must be greatly expanded.

The exercise of its vanguard role requires, among other things, expanding to the maximum the organizational and political initiatives of the Party on all levels. Taking into account the deprivation of legal rights imposed upon the Party by Big Business reaction is violation of the Constitution, the Party's vanguard role must be exercised by its members in such a way as safeguards the ability of Communists to remain among the masses, strengthen their ties with them for the Party's mass policies. At the same time, the Party must boldly utilize all public channels for expression and activity, and intensify the fight for re-establishment of its full constitutional rights as part of the general fight of the working people to restore and defend the Bill of Rights.

Effectively to carry out the Party's mass political line, to accelerate labor unity and the development of the democratic front for peace, democracy and security, it is necessary to master and apply concretely and flexibly the Party's united front policy. In many respects, this remains our biggest unwon battle. Victory in this battle is the key to progress on all fronts, now and on the morrow. It is a battle which must be waged by every Party leader, and member, in shop and community, in the unions and other mass organizations.

The Party must search out what is new and promising in the current and unfolding mass struggles. It must find the ways and means of establishing more extensive personal contacts and friendships, and wider formal and informal organized political relationships with other progressive workers on key issues. It must work to revitalize the Left and promote the broadest unity of action of the Left with the progressive or center forces and, on certain issues, with the conservative forces as well.

The Party must give special consideration to the problems and mass struggles of American youth. It must give its support to the building of a Marxist-oriented youth organization in this country. Attention to work among the national groups must be restored. In this connection, it is necessary to combat the erroneous idea that these groups are disappearing as significant forces in the American scene.

The Party must also strive to strengthen international working-class solidarity. Above all, it must strive to build ever closer ties with the working people of the Latin American countries, who labor under the oppression of American imperialism.

As never before, it is important that the Party, from top to bottom, grasp more deeply and develop further the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, boldly grappling with the new problems confronting our working class and country, and learning from the experiences and views of the masses, as well as from world workingclass experience.

It is necessary to strengthen the ideological content of our mass work day in and day out. Anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism must be exposed as the chief weapon of the trusts to mask their robber plans of aggression and exploitation abroad and at home. Racism, anti-Semitism, bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism must be bared as a divisive hatchet dividing Negro and white, native and foreign born at home, and "justifying" U. S. imperialist domination abroad. The "people's capitalism" and "welfare state" panaceas must be unmasked as demagogic propaganda spread by the open apologists of Big Business as well as by the revisionists in their efforts to confuse and disorient the working people, to prevent them from struggling effectively against monopoly and to divert them from the path to socialism.

Revisionism is an opportunist trend which has its source in the ideology of the imperialist ruling class. Especially in periods of relative economic stability social reformist and "class partnership" ideas and illusions gain widespread support and these influences flourish and spread in the labor and the middle classes. Our foremost mass ideological task is the constant struggle to expose its roots and influences. Within our Party its penetration showed itself in the variety of Lovestone, Browder, and Gates revisionist theories, resulting in stripping our fighting capacity and leadership ability and which threatened the very existence of the Party. It attempts to replace our working class science with bourgeois ideas and methods. Our leadership was slow to recognize its harmful effects in the period from mid-1956 to 1958, as well as in earlier periods.

Much of our present weaknesses stem from the hangovers of revisionist thinking and methods seen in apathy, cynicism and continuing "holding action" concepts. These retard the revitalization of our Party and its subsequent rebuilding. Our Party and especially its leadership needs to be strengthened in the philosophical science and method of dialectical materialism in order to more effectively develop consistent working class theories and policies.

Our mass work and ideological responsibility demand that the most consistent struggle against revisionist tendencies be carried on simultaneously with the most vigorous opposition to dogmatic ideas and sectarian practices within our movement. Equally with revisionism, these stem from ruling-class ideology. And they are equally a form of opportunism--in fact, they are but the other side of the coin of Right, revisionist opportunism. The Party must wage a persistent struggle against deeply ingrained concepts, practices and influences of dogmatic-sectarian opportunist tendencies seen in rejection and underestimation of the united front, and in narrow, limited actions running ahead of the masses and causing isolation from them, and which leads to frustration and apathy. Above all, the Party must conduct an uncompromising struggle to eradicate from its ranks every vestige of the destructive evil of factionalism.

Major developments today are forcing many basic questions into the arena of public debate. Among these are questions which arise out of the developments toward peace and disarmament, as well as questions which arise out of the move toward peaceful competition. This has also given rise to a tremendous curiosity and interest in the Socialist world. Millions of people in our country today are beginning to weigh two social systems.

This interest is spurred by the tremendous developments of the Socialist world in the fields of science, education, industry and agriculture, as well as the historic Soviet seven-year plan which promises such epoch making advances.

The peace policy and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the recent proposal for total disarmament exert an even greater influence in world affairs, and has struck a responsive chord in the mass desire to avoid the holocaust of an atomic war.

It is therefore timely and essential to demonstrate anew the superiority of socialism over capitalism and the promise which Socialism holds of a happy and peaceful life for humanity.

Especially now, therefore, in order to make our Marxist contribution to the general welfare, to multiply our mass influence and build the party as a mass party, we Communists must expand our advocacy of socialism. We must explain how with the socialist reorganization of society our country, with its great working class, resources and technology, can bring forth an age of economic, cultural, social, intellectual and democratic well-being far beyond the boldest dreams of any generation of Americans. We must show that the Communist Party advocates and strives to help bring into existence this new social system by peaceful and democratic means, and we must show that in this new socialist society there will

be life, liberty and happiness for all Americans- Negro and white, under a government led by the working class.

The decade of the sixties is a period in which the American people will take great strides forward. And it is a period in which our Party and its influence can grow many times over, in which it can become a mass party of the American working class, in the vanguard of the struggles of the American people for peace and progress and throwing a beacon light toward an America of brotherhood and peaceful labor--a socialist America.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 13

## DRAFT DECLARATION OF AIMS AND TASKS

1. The Nature of the Communist Party

The Communist Party of the United States is a party of the American working class. Its roots reach back over a century to the first Marxist and Communist groups formed in this country. Organized in 1919, midst the great upheavals and controversies of the time, the Communist Party was founded by revolutionary Socialists and other radical workers who had matured in these earlier movements. The Communist Party seeks to advance the strivings of the American working people for a better life, a fuller and richer democracy, and peace.

The Communist Party bases its activity and outlook on the theories and teachings of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin. Marx emphasized that Communists have no interests separate and apart from the working class as a whole; that they differ only in that they see and urge the necessity of the working class taking political power into its own hands, and using that power to establish socialism -- the people's ownership and planned operation of banks, factories, mills, mines, utilities, public transportation, etc. in the interests of the whole people. Lenin, building on the basic teachings of Marx, saw and taught the necessity for unity of action in the struggle for power by the working class, farmers, the colonial peoples, and all peoples oppressed or restricted by the large monopolies that now dominate our country, its economic and political life, its domestic and foreign policies.

Their basic teachings on the transformation of present-day society into socialism have been confirmed by the momentous changes of recent years; one-third of mankind has taken the socialist road. These theories are enriched constantly by new experiences of the workers in their struggles against the capitalists everywhere. Communists seek to combine Marxist-Leninist theories with the specific conditions of our own country.

The Communist Party sees itself as a pioneering force in the same sense that the Abolitionists were the vanguard of the Emancipation movement. The aim of the Communist Party is socialism, which will be established when the American working class, in the struggle for a better life, becomes the leader of the nation. Communists attempt to the best of their ability to enhance the class unity, political understanding and socialist awareness of the workers, while participating together with them in their economic and democratic struggles.

Although a relatively small and constantly embattled group, the Communists over the years have made significant contributions to progress in the United States. Together with other socialist-minded and radical workers, they were the leaven in the mass movements which built industrial unionism, won unemployment insurance and other social benefits, and established the right of collective bargaining. Communists always encouraged and supported independent political action by labor.

They pioneered in the struggle for Negro rights in our day, helped open the South to trade unionism, and fought racism and chauvinism as it affected all national minorities and the foreign-born generally. They joined in every defense of democratic liberties and institutions against reaction, and supported all efforts to extend social legislation and democracy in our land.

Communists always stood for labor solidarity with all peoples seeking freedom from imperialism and with all workers everywhere fighting for their rights. They opposed at all times aggressive imperialist policies of our government in Latin America and elsewhere. They were among the first in this country to uphold the principle of collective security against fascism and to urge friendship with the Soviet Union as a requirement of our own national security. They fought alongside the democratic forces of Spain against the fascists led by Franco, and during the Second World War exerted all their energies for victory, giving of their best sons.

During the height of the cold war and of McCarthyism, the Communists suffered many hardships, including prison, loss of employment and general ostracism, when they urged negotiations for peace, outlawing the atom bomb and the restoration of democracy.

Whatever the persecution, Communists demonstrated their loyalty to principle, seeking to serve the best interests of the American people and to keep aloft the banner of democracy, peace and socialism.

Endless agitation by reactionaries about an alleged Communist conspiracy cannot bury the elementary truth that the Communist Party is a socially necessary, American-rooted political party of the working class of the United States. It is

an inevitable product of the profit system -- the response of the more advanced workers to the extraction of profits from their labor which is characteristic of our society. Many millions of Americans will come to understand that such a party is essential to them, for the present and for the future.

The Communist Party is the most democratic party in the country, despite every effort to label it a "conspiratorical sect." The freest exchange of opinion prevails in it, and complete freedom to join or leave. The principle of unity of action and central leadership under democratic control, enables it to function as a united political party, geared for the struggles of the American workers. Communists resist every effort to cut them off from the people. Their policies mean little unless laboring people know and understand them, and unless the Communists themselves know and share the common aspirations and experiences of the people.

The Communists of the United States feel they have won the right to be heard by their fellow countrymen, without obstruction or distortion. They here set forth their guiding principles, aims and tasks.

## 2. Peaceful Coexistence

Peace is the central issue of our time. The only alternative to a nuclear war of mutual destruction is peaceful coexistence among all nations, capitalist and socialist. The pivot of peace in the present-day world is cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, the leading powers, respectively, of the capitalist and socialist worlds. Cooperation between them for the settlement of outstanding disputes, for total disarmament, for trade and for scientific-cultural interchange can bring all countries -- the capitalist, socialist and newly liberated nations -- into a united effort to maintain world peace.

Communists believe that monopoly capitalism is the source of the war danger. They believe that a socialist society, in which there are no capitalists, has no incentive to war but generates peace. They hold that new conditions for winning and assuring world peace have been created by the global changes which have proceeded since World War II. The progress of socialism, the success of the colonial revolutions, and the growth of labor and democratic movements in many countries make it possible to avert war in the present world and, going beyond that, to eliminate the very danger of war even while capitalism continues to exist in a number of countries.

In the Communist view, the competition of the capitalist and socialist systems can be kept within peaceful bounds in the present world structure. They consider it their supreme duty to help realize these prospects.

For the American Communists, the fight for peaceful coexistence is not a tactic or a maneuver, aimed at securing exclusive advantages for the socialist world, or advancing special party interests in the United States. They fight for peace because it is a basic need of all mankind, especially in view of the utterly destructive character of nuclear warfare. Communists support the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries because they consider such a policy necessary and beneficial for our own country.

The cold war policy has proven itself bankrupt. Its continuance only brings discredit in the eyes of the world. Capitalism and imperialism no longer dominate the world. Our country must recognize and accommodate itself to the new world relationships that have come into being. Active cooperation for peace with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist lands has become the overriding national interest of the United States. All sections of the population and all classes ought to recognize this truth.

American Communists hold that the principal concern of national politics should be the firm establishment by our government of a long-range policy of peaceful coexistence and friendly competition. They support all policies that move in that direction. They favor common action among all elements--no matter of what class or political view--that agree on initial steps to end the cold war, to reach total disarmament, and to arrange affairs with other nations along peaceful lines.

To realize these objectives the American people will have to fight on many fronts to curb the propensity of die-hard monopoly and imperialist circles to keep the cold war alive. They will have to oppose intervention, direct or otherwise, against progressive social and national movements abroad. New war dangers will arise also if powerful reactionary circles are permitted to pursue these anti-labor and fascist-like course at home. The prospects for peace in the period ahead depend, to a decisive degree, upon the efforts of the American people to find a democratic way out of the growing crisis of our system.

### 3. Progress in a Peacetime Economy

The crisis of our society is developing within the framework of world competition between capitalism and socialism. The competition of systems is the hallmark of our times, and touches upon every important question of our national life.

Communists believe that the competition between the two systems should be turned to the advantage of the American people. It provides new ground for successful efforts to improve living conditions, to make new democratic and cultural advances, and to strengthen peace.

For their part, powerful big business and reactionary circles attempt to picture competition from world socialism as a threat to the United States, in order to use this alleged threat as a pretext for an all-out attack upon the living standards, democratic liberties and peaceful aspirations of the people. If they have their way, not only will the conditions of life deteriorate in every respect, but peace itself can be lost.

Socialism is proving itself able to exceed the American rate of economic growth by at least three or four times. It is able to make rational and constructive use of its production and science along balanced lines, and to spread resulting benefits widely among the people. However, it does not follow that the American people must resign themselves to becoming helpless victims of the decay, waste and corruption of our social system, while other countries build a new society, outpace us, and leave us behind. The road to progress is not closed to the United States.

Communists take the view that through the regeneration of the democratic mass movement in our country, it is possible to advance the economic welfare of the American people and to further peaceful world development.

An accelerated rate of growth, together with resulting social benefits, can be achieved only in spite of monopoly and in the fight against it. Monopoly capital creates its own obstacles to economic growth, obstacles which are built into the system. Furthermore, mere economic growth is not necessarily translated into social benefits under capitalism, as it is under socialism. Monopoly has no incentive to raise the rate of growth. On the contrary, it uses automation and other technical advances to accumulate maximum profits for itself within a structure of high prices and restricted output at the expense of the workers and the people.

Labor cannot be opposed to new technology and greater productivity, for these are essential to progress. But technical progress should be used to reduce the work week, lighten the burden of labor, and lower prices, instead of reducing the number of workers in production, intensifying speed-up, and raising prices. The new techniques should be used for the satisfaction of the needs of the people, and not to create a new layer of permanent unemployed -- a typical form of spreading distress in our high-level monopoly society.

The challenge presented to the American people by the competition of capitalist and socialist systems is to achieve a condition of full employment and to enlarge the area of social and cultural benefits without war or the threat of war. Only a revived labor and democratic mass movement can promote the struggle to achieve this aim. Only such a movement can create the political conditions that will enable this country to move in the direction of an abundant peacetime economy.

A peacetime economy, utilizing for constructive and useful purposes the billions now spent on arms, can find ways of offsetting crisis dangers and holding off a severe depression. Heavy arms spending did not prevent three economic crises during the cold war period. It only temporarily stimulated capital investment, and that at the price of increasing cold war tensions and war dangers, laying a heavy tax burden on those least able to pay, and creating constant inflationary pressures and rising prices.

A new and healthy stimulus can be given to the economy if the military funds are diverted to the solution of the unemployment problem, to the reconstruction of the South and other underdeveloped regions, to equalization of the living standards of the Negro people, to housing, schools, health, science and the arts, metropolitan planning and other pressing peacetime needs. Unrestricted trade with all nations, the removal of barriers to trade with the Soviet Union, China and other socialist nations, and foreign aid for the peaceful development of underdeveloped and poverty-stricken countries can be of great benefit to our economic growth and stability.

This is the way the American people should meet the challenge presented by the competition of systems.

4. Defense of Democracy

Communists see the battle to preserve and enrich democracy as crucial to peace and well-being. Our democratic and civil liberties and our representative institutions are today under attack from reaction. This attack has to be repulsed and the trend to authoritarian government has to be blocked to keep open the democratic road to social progress under conditions of peace.

The fight for democracy is basic to the entire Communist perspective. Capitalist democracy is necessarily limited, since it is based on the domination of the capitalist class, which severely restricts the freedom of the workers, the Negro people, and other sections of the American people. Complete and manifold realization of democracy will be made possible only by the abolition of antagonistic classes and the rise of real majority rule under socialism. Communists, however, fight to achieve the highest level of democracy possible under capitalism.

Within the limitations of capitalist society, our form of political democracy and of republican government has traditionally provided comparatively free and broad basis for the class and social struggles of the people. As a result, over the years, the people have been able to make many economic and democratic gains against the resistance of entrenched wealth and privilege. However, growing monopoly domination of the government now threatens to choke off these freer forms of struggle by replacing the democratic content of our political system with an authoritarian content, retaining only the outward shell of the democratic institutions.

This trend has been especially pronounced since the war. Immense power has been gathered in the Executive, where a great mushrooming of appointed agencies constantly invade and undermine the powers of Congress. A combination of big business and the military, to which science and administration have been subordinated, command the vast network of agencies. Congress itself, under pressure from the Right, tends to surrender its responsibilities as a representative body. It has passed an array of anti-labor and anti-democratic laws in violation of the Bill of Rights and has conducted investigative procedures which cannot be condoned under our Constitution. These trends have permeated into local and state governments.

The battle to defend our democracy from reaction is today a powerful stimulus to social progress and peace. Unless Congress and other representative bodies are revitalized as popular institutions, expressing the demands and needs of the people, confidence in democratic government will wither and an atmosphere will arise in which fascist movements may thrive.

In the Communist view, the representative legislative bodies are the most direct means for the expression of the popular will under our political system. Reinvigorated and restored to their proper function, they can provide the means for bringing effective popular pressure upon the other two branches of government, and for obtaining the maximum popular rule possible under capitalism.

Democracy should be strengthened by popular election of judges, direct ballot for President, proportional representation, universal referendum and recall, liberalization of the committee structure and rules in both Houses with elimination of the seniority system which has so greatly enhanced the power of the Dixiecrats. It should also be strengthened by doing away with the host of restrictions which now exist on access to the ballot by minority parties and independent candidates. The powers of the Federal Government should be enlarged to establish minimum national requirements in the fields of social legislation and Constitutional rights. The states should be deprived of the power to nullify such national legislation.

The democratic transformation of the South, with fully proportional Negro representation at all levels of government, can once and for all remove from our national life the scourge of Dixiecratism.

The leading social forces in the fight for democracy are the working class, the laboring farmers and the Negro people. Their tendency is to fight for unrestricted democracy because they need it for economic security and freedom. Labor and the working farmers are thrust into the very heart of the struggle by the monopoly attack upon their conditions of life and their rights. In their battle for Constitutional rights, the Negro people impart a powerful impetus to the fight for democracy in general.

With these social forces taking the initiative, large sections of the middle classes, professionals, technicians and intellectuals will also enter the common struggle for democracy. These have suffered from economic concentration and are being shut off from significant participation in government by the trend to a state totally dominated by the monopolies.

In this array of people's forces, alliance between the labor unions and the Negro rights movement plays the central role in the democratic struggle against the most aggressive sectors of big business and against Dixiecrat reaction. This is an outcome of our own history, in which the struggle for Negro rights has played so crucial a part. The organic link between the fight for Negro freedom and the striving of all working people for a better life is a permanent characteristic of social progress in our country.

By their struggles to safeguard the permanent gains of democracy under our system and to preserve the representative institutions, the American people can enrich democracy, preserve peace, and open the way to progressive change.

##### 5. The American Road to Socialism

The superiority of socialism over capitalism as a system of society is firmly established. A system based on the social ownership of the means of production and their planned use for the material and cultural needs of the whole of society is far superior to the system of capitalism, which is founded on private ownership of the basic economy and exploitation of the great majority for the enrichment of the few.

American Communists believe that socialism will prove necessary for the United States, because only such a radical transformation can solve the crucial problems of our present-day society.

All socialist countries have basic features in common. Yet, as recent history has demonstrated, each country takes its own road to socialism. Socialism in this country also will have the specific features of American development. It will be the product of our own history, as it is made by the efforts of the American people to solve the acute problems of our society in its present highly developed stage of monopoly capitalism. Socialism will be born out of our national striving for progress, with its own distinctive contributions to the future of the world.

The Communist Party advocates a democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the people within the developing and revitalized Constitutional process. Capitalism cannot simply be reformed into socialism. The transition from one to the other is a social revolution requiring a transfer of political power to the hands of the workers, who would use it to replace capitalist with socialist relations of production.

American Communists fight for conditions that will lead to a peaceful socialist revolution. They do so because this is the preferable and the least painful method of basic change. Further, they think that a peaceful road to socialism can be opened by the struggles of the people under the new conditions that have emerged in the world.

Through experience gained in a many-phased struggle, the American working class will attain the unity, political maturity and socialist consciousness to acquire political power as the leader of the entire nation. With the competition of social systems developing peacefully, conditions will be conducive to the Constitutional transfer of power, without civil violence, and to the subsequent establishment of socialism. The American Communists seek to realize such possibilities in the United States.

The way in which this country embraces socialism will be decided not only by the particular social and political struggles of the future, and by the world situation at the time. The road will be determined also, and perhaps decisively, by the struggle for peace, democracy and economic security, and the political form this assumes, in the period now before us.

In the Communist view, the road to socialism in this country will be shaped by the economic and democratic struggles of the workers and people's forces to curb the power of monopoly. The inherent tendencies in our society to aggressive expansionism, permanent unemployment, economic crises, authoritarian rule, cultural decay and moral corruption can be impeded only by a powerful mass movement deeply rooted in the working class, and encompassing the broad population. To achieve this a united people's movement will have to curb the power of monopoly over the economy and the political system. Such democratic curbs will lay the basis for eliminating monopoly from our society entirely.

Communists believe that in the course of the economic and political struggle by labor and its allies, ever greater concessions can be won from monopoly. The

people need a shorter work week, higher wages, adequate housing and schools, and extended social welfare legislation, including a comprehensive system of public health insurance, including a basic reform of the tax system in their favor, and strict controls over monopoly prices. Due to the disastrous social effect of automation and other technical innovations in the hands of the monopolies, labor and its allies will have to intervene directly, through contract negotiations and political action, to demand a growing degree of control over the management and production policies of the big corporations.

Extended government economic activities have become a permanent feature of our society. Monopoly now controls these activities in its own interests. Popular democratic movements in this domain can set up controls over the monopolies and strengthen the power of the people to win government economic measures favorable to the labor and non-monopoly groups.

This should in time involve steps to nationalize certain industries to the advantage of the people. At the start, this might include the public services, tele-communications, operations connected with city planning, atomic energy and space missiles, as well as other industries resulting from publicly-financed scientific advances or from the exploitation of natural resources.

Communists do not believe that capitalism can be remade into a "welfare society." Thus, nationalization can be utilized by monopoly capital for its own benefit, unless labor and the people are constantly on guard and fight for its establishment under democratic controls. Substantial gains can be won by the people in such a struggle under capitalism. But Communists also think that the people will come to understand the limitations of capitalism and the necessity of socialism if public welfare is to become a permanent principle of society. The labor and democratic movement, learning from experience, will arrive at the position where the struggle for mere reforms will be transformed into a movement to change the basis of society.

In the Communist view, the most important thing is to build the unity of the labor movement so that it can emerge as an independent political force, able to lead a broad movement including the Negro people, the mass of farmers and the middle class and non-monopoly groups. The necessities of the mass struggle will require the workers to overcome opportunism in the labor movement and the influence of capitalist corruption within it. Policies based on concepts of a common interest with monopoly will have to give way to policies based on constant struggle against monopoly, and a united front around such policies, if trade unionism is to thrive and if labor is to step forward as the effective leader of the people's united democratic movement.

The central task of labor is to build, out of the people's struggles in many fields, a common front against monopoly, and particularly against the most reactionary and aggressive monopoly circles that at a given time and on paramount issues obstruct the path to peace and democratic progress.

In the Communist view, such a combination of people's forces will seek some form of political expression which would embody the specific as well as the common interests of the various component anti-monopoly groups. Today there are many signs that a basic political shakeup is in the making. Communists hold that the labor and democratic forces should move toward the creation of a new people's party independent of monopoly. Labor's present political activities should be oriented in this direction.

A people's party, embodying the leading role of labor and the coalition of anti-monopoly forces, would constitute a great political advance. Prospects would arise of a people's government, representing the program of the democratic coalition. The achievement of such a government, through whatever phases it may have to pass, would amount to a radical shift in class relations favorable to the working people. It is through such a democratic process that Communists see the possibility of a people's government opening the way to working class political power and the subsequent establishment of socialism.

This, in general terms, is how Communists see the American road to socialism. Such a road can be opened under our Constitutional system by the struggles of the people for permanent peace, a better life, and a richer democracy.

6. Our Socialist Potential

The socialist potential of the United States is immense. Many marvel at the achievements of the socialist countries today, most of which started from a dead level of poverty. Communists believe that in the United States also socialism will perform wonders, beyond the dreams of most Americans today.

Our great advantage -- providing the people succeed in preventing an H-bomb war -- is the very high economic level at which we can enter the socialist era. We are not likely to confront the very severe hardships of the poverty-stricken countries which had to lay the economic foundations of socialism in the midst of a hostile world.

The nationalization of the monopolies by a socialist government would provide an adequate base in all decisive parts of the economy for rapid economic growth under comprehensive social planning. Socialism would immediately eradicate economic crises, unemployment, and the threat of war. The problem of want and insecurity could be solved quickly. With our wealth, great productive capacities and high labor productivity and skill in industry and agriculture, and with the initiative of the people fully awakened, we will have a state which truly serves the needs of the people, providing total security from the cradle to the grave.

Without injustice to anyone, since work will be guaranteed to all, we should be able to realize quickly the principles of the first stage of socialism: "He who is able but does not work, neither shall he eat," and "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

With the immense monopolies socialized at the start, it should be possible to transform gradually, along socialist lines, small and medium agriculture, industry, trade and finance. Proprietors in these branches would be enlisted in the common task of bringing their enterprises and themselves, voluntarily, on the basis of their own self-interest, into the orbit of socialist planning, thus completing the abolition of class exploitation.

We can learn much from the matured socialist societies, which will have solved many problems of social reconstruction and planning of the kind that would confront the United States. Our own progress would be greatly accelerated by the free and full interchange of science and technique. Using our social surplus to aid those countries which had been victimized by U.S. monopoly and imperialism, our emergence as a socialist power could well inaugurate a new period of global progress.

The substance of government power would be the leading role of the working class, ruling together with its people's allies. It would, in fact be a government of the people, by the people and for the people--the aspiration of the common folk from the very beginning of our nation. We would realize the essence of socialist democracy. In place of the wealthy and privileged, the working people would take over the running of society, actively participating in the work of planning and administration at all levels of the economy and of government. The trade unions would participate directly in the management of industry, in planning production, in setting the norms of work, in assuring proper wages, working conditions, housing and health-- in a word, in translating every advance in productivity into better conditions for the people.

The ideology and practices of racism are totally incompatible with socialism. Full and equal representation of the Negro people at all levels of government and economic management will guarantee that all forms of discrimination would be combated and eradicated. The lag in the conditions of the Negro people and other ethnic groups, inherited from capitalism, would be overcome, establishing equal economic conditions as the base for complete social and political equality. As a first principle, a socialist United States would eliminate exploitation or repression, in whatever form, of other nations--a decisive blow at the ideas of race or national superiority spread by imperialism.

The form of the political system will be determined to a large measure by the struggles during the period preceding socialism and by the changes wrought in the process. There is nothing in socialist principles that would prevent the new order from taking over our traditional form of government and transforming it to serve the needs of socialist society. Our present Constitution, with appropriate amendments, may suffice; or the people may prefer to write a new Constitution.

A socialist political system will take over those democratic guarantees that have proved their worth--like Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, the Bill of Rights, labor's right to organize and strike, freedom of religious conscience, and the principle of equality regardless of race, religion or sex.

The transition to socialism will stimulate a great ideological and cultural revolution, arising from the needs of the new society and sustained by effective government aid. Education, science, the arts will not have to go begging for sustenance. It will be possible for all, without exception, to educate their children, at state expense and with the aid of living allowances, from nursery to university. Adult education can make up for years of neglect and lack of opportunity. Movies, radio and television can in truth become the mass media of culture and education. Enthused by the prospects opening before them, saved from the moral decay and stagnation of capitalism, our youth will blossom in the new environment of growth, opening new frontiers of science and learning.

With the initial stage of socialism, we will have won the decisive ground for the greatest upsurge of our productive and creative forces. We will proceed to communism, the higher stage of socialism. Then, as Marx said, together with the all-round development of the individual, the productive forces also will grow, and all the sources of social wealth will flow more abundantly, and such plenty will prevail that the United States will be able to inscribe on its banner: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Such is the glowing socialist potential of our country. Present struggles of the people for peace, democracy and economic security will determine our road. The essential thing is to assure active peaceful coexistence during the entire period, and the best way to do so is to keep open the democratic way to progress and a better life. Thus will the American people themselves create their road to socialism.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 14

## RESOLUTION ON CUBA

Cuba's military commander-in-chief warned his people this week, on December 7, that the nation may be invaded by the armed mercenaries of Dictator Trujillo, of San Domingo, before January 1. The world has already been told about the five thousand cutthroats from the Nazi army and the Franco fascists, who were being trained to make the invasion. Thus, Cuba -- the country where the revolution against imperialism in Latin America has reached the highest point in history -- is in great and immediate danger.

This poses an immediate responsibility of utmost historic gravity before the American people, and its most decisive sectors, Labor, the Negro 18 million, all honest democrats and progressives who want to see a nation achieve sovereignty, independence, economic and political advance. The issue is one that must be at the very top of the agenda for Communists in the United States.

Not only is revolutionary Cuba threatened by military invasion, it is subject today to the combined onslaught of powerful forces manipulated by American imperialist interests who dread the remarkable advances being made by the new government. Capitalist newspapers, State Department officials, television, radio, the combined agents of ex-Dictator Batista as well as Dictator Trujillo -- all have joined forces to defame, libel, smear, and injure in every conceivable way -- economically, politically, militarily -- that country whose advances are regarded as sacred by the 200 million inhabitants of Latin America, as well as by the vast majority of the people of the world -- in the colonial and semi-colonial world, the socialist nations, and all enlightened mankind everywhere.

Imperialism fears that the new Cuba will succeed. It sees that unity of all revolutionary forces within Cuba has been strengthened this year since the hosts of freedom forced Batista to flee just over a year ago the end of this month-- December 31. He and those he represents hope to make their comeback on the anniversary. They want to make it before that unity -- which cements all genuine revolutionary forces in the island--makes such advances that the forces of reaction can never again possibly win the day.

Advances are being made, first of all, in the countryside. The Land Reform is moving ahead at a magnificent rate. Peasants are getting land. Farms appropriated by the government from Batista hirelings are being run as cooperatives. Farmers are not only getting land from the new government, but also farm implements, farm instruction, substantial credits. Cement homes are going up to replace the age-old, rickety bohios, the straw-thatched one-room huts. Schools are being built everywhere to wipe out the more than 50% illiteracy.

Similarly in the cities, among the working people. Rents have been cut by 50 % everywhere. Electric rates have been reduced drastically by intervening in the enterprises of the big Wall Street corporation, Electric Bond and Share; telephone rates, for example, were cut 50 % from a dime to a nickel.

It is also necessary to note that trade-union democracy has been strengthened greatly by ousting the labor-dictator Mujal who fled with Batista, even though he had had the blessings of ORIT, the Regional inter-American workers organization, the State Dept. instrument to work among the Latin American workers which never found it necessary to declare one word of criticism against his bestial acts, this Mujal whom Cuban labor calls the "chivato" -- the stoop-pigeon -- because he turned over any unionist Batista wanted to the dictator's Gestapo for torture or death.

The tenth Congress of the Cuban Labor Movement, the CTC, saw further labor advances when the most powerful mujalista elements were ousted from office and influence; when the two million strong confederation voted to break ties with ORIT, which they branded as a tool of the State Department and reactionary leaders here in the USA.

The people of the USA can learn much from Cuba's democracy. The new government, in enunciating its set of principles a year ago, placed the elimination of racism as one of the major immediate objectives. The advances in this decisive field can be gauged by the fact that Cuba's head of the army today is a Negro; the head of the airforce is a Negro; the head of the military forces of Orianta, the principal province, where a third of Cuba lives, is a Negro. Consider the advance here in the USA the same could be said of us. No wonder the press has clamped a conspiracy of silence upon such advances; and instead, has embarked on a smear campaign of unprecedented proportions.

The United States is the most powerful imperialist country in the world.

The imperialist forces that exploit and oppress the Cuban people and the rest of the Latin American nations are the same monopolists that exploit the workers of the United States.

This fact places upon the workers and progressive forces of the United States the responsibility of developing solidarity with and aid to the embattled people of Cuba and the other nations of Latin America.

One hundred years of struggle by the Cuban people against Spanish and U.S. imperialism resulted in very little freedom for the Cuban nation until the democratic-popular anti-imperialist revolution led by Fidel Castro and the 26th of July movement and supported by 95 percent of the Cuban people including the Popular Socialist Party brought into existence a genuine liberation movement for the first time, free from corruption and determined not to compromise with the main enemy of the Cuban nation: American imperialism. That is why American imperialism is forcefully resisting every step taken by the Castro government.

Whether through diplomatic channels such as the recent State Department statement protesting against Cuba's anti-Americanism, or by direct armed attack from airplanes based in Miami, Florida, U.S. imperialism is using every means to undermine Cuba's progress toward complete freedom from U.S. imperialism.

The people of the U.S. and especially the working class have much in common with the Cuban liberation movement. Cuba is fighting for her sovereignty and freedom from foreign intervention as did the American people in the course of their revolution of 1776.

Moreover, the working class of the U.S. today has a big stake in solidarity with the Cuban workers. The workers of Cuba harbor no illusions as to who is their real enemy. When they cry "Down with Yankee imperialism," they are resisting the same monopolists who are the bitterest exploiters of American labor.

Cubans emigrating to the U.S. have set high standards of militancy and courage in trade union struggles.

#### WE THEREFORE PROPOSE TO:

1. Mobilize U. S. public opinion and try to organize support, especially in the trade unions, for the Cuban people.
  - a. To answer the lies and slanders being spread by imperialist circles about Cuba and its new government, through The Worker, leaflets, meetings, and forums, wherever possible.
  - b. To encourage sending telegrams of greetings from trade unions to their opposite numbers in Cuba on appropriate occasions.
  - c. To help organize assistance to Cuban workers' families -- money, clothing, blood donations.
  - d. To organize help for Cuba's school children -- contribute paper, pencils, recording machines, etc.
2. Develop continuous activity, not just sporadic actions, in support of Cuba. Keep supplying facts of background on the latest developments and outlook of Cuba.
3. Build Friendship Organizations involving non-Cuban people with the specific and main slogan and actions of "Hands off Cuba."
4. Send delegations to Cuba for trade union and cultural exchanges.
5. Popularize Cuba as an ideal vacation spot and thus help build up the tourist trade of a free Cuba.
6. We shall strive to arouse our people to combat any reactionary move to wreck the Cuban sugar quota and other measures directed to weakening Cuban economy.
7. We call on progressive Americans to protest the unwarranted action of steamship companies trying to destroy Cuban tourist trade.

For all these reasons, this convention must see a great emphasis put on the entire question of Cuba and Latin America.

# # #

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 15

THE WORKER

As favorable as are the objective conditions for the successful realization of the decisions of the 17th Convention of the Communist Party, these historic goals will not be reached without the building of The Worker into a popular, mass, Marxist-Leninist press which has gained the confidence of tens of thousands of labor, the Negro people and other minority groups.

The Editorial Board and Staff of The Worker are conscious of the need to strengthen, improve The Worker politically, in coverage, in analysis, as well as to make its style more popular. A recent all-day critical review of The Worker in which Comrades Hathaway and Kushner participated with the Staff and representatives of the National Committee and the New York State Committee, decided on a number of measures towards this end.

In this direction we also greet the agreement reached by The Worker and the Midwest comrades to publish a Midwest Edition beginning May 1, 1960.

The anti-monopoly movement, the peace forces of America, the Negro Liberation movement, organized and unorganized labor, the national minorities of our country, those forces fighting for the peaceful co-existence of countries with divergent social outlooks will find in The Worker a dedicated supporter of all for which they fight and a press that interprets events from a Marxist-Leninist position and in the interests of a socialist society in the USA.

The Worker has been seriously affected in terms of its circulation and its financial supporters by the critical struggles through which the progressive forces of America fought against the intrigues and anti-Constitutional hysteria provoked by the McCarthyites and directed in the main against the Communist Party. It has been seriously weakened by the inner struggles of the Communist Party.

But despite these blows, despite weaknesses associated with the production of The Worker in its content or management The Worker stands today as one of the ideological bulwarks against the attempts of the metropolitan press of monopoly to win the minds of the American people for its war economy.

The building of The Worker is not for Communists just another of its several tasks. The building of The Worker, strengthening the financial base and support of The Worker, giving fundamental aid to those who seek to restore the Daily Worker becomes that task without the successful achievement of which the establishment of a powerful peace movement, an invincible labor and Negro liberation movement is impossible.

Therefore, the 17th Convention of our Party instructs the incoming National Committee to make the building of The Worker a responsibility to be assumed by the Party as a whole and by every individual member of the Party.

In assuming this great responsibility this Convention believes that the National Committee should place a major political duty upon all Party leaders to give guidance and specific attention to the building of Worker circulation.

The Worker can and must be carried to the American people.

This Convention believes that promises and preparations should be made early for financial aid to The Worker's 1960 financial campaign.

This Convention proposes to the incoming National Committee to organize a financial campaign for support of The Worker for \$75,000 or more which will begin on the 36th anniversary of The Worker, January 13, and end on or before the first of May.

The present circulation of The Worker is between 13 and 14 thousand. This Convention believes that that circulation can be successfully raised to 20,000 within the year 1960.

It therefore instructs the incoming National Committee to create a standing Worker Builders Committee which will immediately formulate a circulation campaign to begin together with the financial campaign.

It is obvious that conditions do not permit uniform responsibilities. But this Convention believes that no District of the Party should be without a press director.

We believe that the greatest possible coordination should exist between those responsible for the building of The Worker and those responsible for its production.

COMMUNIST PARTY—NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT 2267

Everywhere efforts must be made to help create Build the Press Committees, or Volunteers for the Worker, or what have you.

While The Worker is not the official Voice of our Party, we hereby declare its building indispensable to the building of the Communist Party and the many movements seeking to create a security and peaceful life to the American people.

# # #

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 16

FARM RESOLUTION

The political assault against the labor movement is paralleled by an attack on the existence and living standards of small and middle farmers. These attacks also aim to split the natural alliance of labor and small and middle farmers and pit these two classes against each other. Farmers are fed the false propaganda that labor causes inflation; while labor is falsely told that farmers and their legislative programs cause high food prices.

The cold war years distorted the channels of world trade and shut off American farm products from sale abroad, and substituted the products of the armament factories for the products of our harvests.

Big agriculture pays; middle-size and small agriculture is being dealt heavy blows. In the South the shift from cotton to livestock, and toward increased mechanization, is creating an upheaval in the lives of large masses of Negro tillers.

Middle farmers are being eliminated as well as the so-called "inefficient" small farmers. The hands of the banks, processing monopolies and feed trusts are taking a tighter grasp on agricultural production, especially through vertical integration.

During the past decade one million farm families and five million persons have been eliminated from agriculture. One-third of the farmers' income is from off-farm wages and salaries. And by the end of this year, it is estimated, net farm income will have fallen two billion dollars from what it was in 1958, and for next year an additional drop of one billion is forecast by the Dept. of Agriculture.

Meanwhile we continue to produce "surpluses" while millions of Americans are underfed and hundreds of millions throughout the world hunger.

The Administration knows only one answer: cut the "surplus" by cutting out farmers. In this it has the support of the big farmers who hope to take over what the family farmers must sacrifice.

As Communists our answer to the major problems outlined above must always have a class approach of favoring smaller farmers against their class enemy in the countryside -- the big farms; and includes the following:

1. A main advantage of big farmers is the vast profits they sweat out of the terribly underpaid and exploited farm workers. The organization of effective unions among farm workers would be a major help to small and middle farmers. The initial steps already taken by the AFL-CIO deserve all-out support.

2. The method of farm price protection must be changed to reduce the cost of farm programs and discourage all-out production by big farmers. Farm produce should sell on the open market, and prices under parity should be supplemented by deficiency payments on only that amount of production per farm that will sustain a family-size farmer.

3. We oppose crop curtailment but where there is reduction it must be imposed entirely on the big farmers.

4. The Communist Party urges full participation of its members in every struggle to maintain small and middle farmers on their farms, including support of legislative programs for low-interest credit, soil conservation, crop insurance, Federal aid to education and other demands of small farmers.

5. We favor the enactment of a national food stamp plan that will supplement the starvation wages imposed on millions of Americans, and that will provide adequate food and clothing to the millions in depressed areas. Such a program would be of direct help to both labor and farmers.

6. The world, too, needs a food stamp plan. Let us subsidize the shipment of food instead of hardware for destruction.

7. Agriculture in the South has special complex problems tied up with the fight for democracy in the South. Some of these special problems are dealt with in the Negro resolution.

PERSPECTIVES

Our neglect of the farm question is a serious weakness in our practical activity, and represents a big gap in our efforts to apply Marxism-Leninism to the tasks ahead.

In particular, this defect in our theoretical understanding threatens serious consequences for our electoral activities for 1960. An essential component of the 1960 electoral campaign is the coordination of farmer, labor and Negro efforts, enlarging to the national arena the splendid 1958 state campaigns against right to work laws.

The common interests of the farmers, workers and Negroes requires an offensive against the Dixiecrats. It is the Dixiecrats who are the gun runners for the offensive against the labor movement. It is the Dixiecrats who block the democratic advance of the Negro people. It is the Dixiecrats who defend the interests of big farmers and plantation owners.

Farm state liberal Congressmen trade with the Dixiecrats to help pass farm legislation. Deals are made whereby the Dixiecrats trade their votes on farm laws for support of anti-union and anti-civil rights positions. The Dixiecrats must be isolated in national politics and then totally eliminated. This can only be done by a farm-labor-Negro coalition that understands and supports one another's basic needs; and develops urban support in the North and West for adequate farm legislation.

The 17th Convention should spark serious turn toward implementing the basic Marxist-Leninist principle -- the alliance of farmers and workers. The first requisite for achieving this turn must take the form of every District leadership adopting measures to guarantee that especially the trade union cadre of our Party become conscious of their responsibility to win the trade union movement for a full understanding of the stake that labor has in lending the fullest support to the pressing needs of the family farmers and in the labor-farm alliance.

Secondly: it should take the form toward the full participation of all farm comrades in their farm organizations, seeking to direct the attention of their fellow farmers toward more consistent and purposeful activity to save the family farmers from extinction, to establish bonds with the city working class, and to advance the program of the party on the peace, civil rights, civil liberties, and trade union fronts.

The Party favors the immediate preparation of pamphlets and literature which will (1) provide a survey of the existing farm situation to the broadest masses of farmers, workers and middle class people, (2) make known the party's position on the critical issues facing the farmers, and on the methods of their solution.

The national executive committee should be directed to establish a functioning farm commission to include a member of the NEC, and to establish regional farm commissions under the regional subcommittees of the party. The political perspectives which have been outlined in our national draft resolution and in Comrade Hall's speech, and in this resolution, will only become effective if serious organizational steps are undertaken.

# # # #

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 17

RESOLUTION ON THE WORK AND STATUS OF WOMEN

In order to achieve the fulfillment of the goal and ideals set for our Party and the people's movement - in this Convention - for peace, security, civil rights, the future of our youth, political voice and the strength of our working class party - we must understand and seek the full participation of women.

Women are already in motion fighting back against exploitation and discrimination in the home, in the shops, on the farms...and against the bars from full participation in the economic, social, cultural and political life of the country.

Ninety percent of the women are housewives; 35% of all women also hold jobs outside the home. Their unpaid labor as housewives and underpaid labor as workers are the source of superprofits to big business.

Of the 22 million women who work, only 3 to 1/2 million are organized. Their average wage is 60% of men's wages. They are forced into the lowest grade jobs, and have few opportunities for upgrading. Negro women workers are subject to extra exploitation. Their average wage is 1/2 that of white women; 62% of their jobs are limited to domestic and service work. These degrading conditions and barriers to better working conditions affect the working standards of all workers. Unless the trade unions undertake a consistent campaign for the rights of women workers.

Not only is it necessary to organize the unorganized and extend minimum wage benefits, but it is necessary to undertake a special campaign to wipe out the pay differentials, upgrade women workers and open the doors of job opportunities.

Puerto Rican and Mexican-American women are also at the lowest rung of the job and pay ladder in light manufacturing industries and agriculture.

Mothers, wives and sweethearts, long the silent victims of war, are the vociferous fighters for peace.

The family tax payments have gone to pay off the superprofits of big business in the war budget, at the expense of decent housing, schools, health, recreational facilities, and a full program for our youth.

The cold war has been the biggest thief in the lives of our children. War psychology has put the stamp of approval on force and violence - war scares have made them unsure of their future.

Women can take a war budget and turn it into a peace budget.

Jennie Higgins, community worker, can help convert bombers into schools, houses and a decent life.

Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American women face the ghetto problems of smaller than average pay checks to meet exorbitant prices and rents, the worst housing and school conditions, racist attacks upon themselves and their families and are in constant battle with the slum atmosphere of dirt, disease and deterioration.

This is the spreading epidemic that infects our whole society. White women and society as a whole, in their own interest, must undertake concrete plans to eradicate it.

A more effective program for progress can be carried out by encouraging and using the power of women as a political force in the 1960 elections. We must help bring into action the vote of the Negro and poor white women in the South; the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American women's right to register in Spanish, and all women's right to political participation and representation.

The main barrier to understanding the status and needs of women is the concept of the "weak-kneed, weak-minded, unstable woman." Big Business uses male supremacy as a means of carrying out this concept, in order to guarantee its super-profits from this whole group of underpaid workers.

Women in our country are highly organized in social, civic, church, religious, political, professional, business community, historical and auxiliary organizations. Most of these organizations have programs for peace, civil rights, economic security, civil liberties, youth problems and women's rights.

United actions among women's organizations on the above issues can be a powerful force in support of the American working class and the people's movements... an integral and necessary part of an anti-monopoly coalition.

The Party has long recognized the special exploitation of women... their status, special needs and the value of enlisting their vigorous fight back in behalf

of the working class and broad peoples movement. ...But this attention has been uneven ... inconsistent.... and of late... not at all! Therefore we propose to this convention:

1. The consciousness of the status of women, the rights of women, and the role of women should be drawn like a thread through every aspect of Party work.
2. Set up a National Women's Commission with all deliberate speed....also commissions in the Districts wherever possible.
3. The Party has the task of putting forward a program that will bring forth the all women in work and leadership... with special attention to the problems of Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American and Indian women.
4. An ideological and popular program to understand the source of discrimination against women.
5. A program to understand and popularize the role of women under Socialism.
6. Conferences and discussions to develop local, and national program of work and status of women.

March 8, 1960, the whole world will celebrate the 50th Anniversary of International Women's Day ...Born in the USA. .. We can take this occasion to renew ties with the International women's movements. We will also celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the women's right to vote. We ask everyone to help us make these celebrations a big leap forward in recognizing the role and power of women's activities and organizations.... the tremendous value and impact of a united women's movement... and a program for the rights of women that will encourage them to add their militant fight-back with the peoples movement against the common enemy... monopoly capital... for a peaceful world, economic well-being ... equality... and soon the goal of Socialism.

# 2272 COMMUNIST PARTY—NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

17th Convention

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 18

### RESOLUTION ON THE YOUTH QUESTION

As the American people enter a decade of sharp struggle for peace, democracy and security, American youth are showing powerful beginnings of a new upsurge. Coming out of a period in which youth felt the greatest impact of McCarthyism and the cold war, in which the drive to conformity and the fear of speaking out weakened and in some cases destroyed their organizations and prevented the development of an experienced leadership--they entered the new period with a march of 26,000 on Washington to demand immediate school integration, with a delegation of 400 to the Vienna World Youth Festival, with widespread sentiment and organization among students for Peace, against compulsory ROTC, for exchange with the socialist countries, against loyalty oaths for federal scholarships.

Every section of the country can point to signs of the upsurge. One area reports its local Young Democrats breaking with their long dominating adult leadership and entering the struggle for a progressive platform. Another reports youth participation in the fight against "Right-to-Work" laws. In many others the Youth March still marches forward with teen-age organizations of Negro and white, continuing committees, and other varied forms which represent the most widespread youth activity. Actions of support for strikers in food collections have taken place.

And the youth are coming to socialism and to our Party. The Sputniks and the socialist peace initiative have a profound effect on the youth, reared on a diet of cold war and Soviet hating. The youth membership of our Party is growing faster than any other section, multiplying in some areas as much as ten-fold in the past two years.

Our Party youth, feeling the need to advance the democratic movements of youth, have--with the rest of the Party--begun the process of breaking out of isolation and can point with pride to accomplishments in the Youth March and in other struggles.

Groups of youth interested in Marxist study and action have appeared in a number of cities among college students, teen-agers, and other youth.

But this new upsurge is still evidenced unevenly, in a great variety of forms, on a variety of issues and in a variety of geographical areas. The task before us is to help bring about national movements around specific issues. Today's youth have been deprived of organizational experience, and lean heavily on adult support which is not always forthcoming, especially where it is most needed.

Youth, particularly Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American youth, are faced with two to four important formative years lost to the draft, insecurity, and the lowest pay, with limited chances for advancement on the job, and a lack of social, recreational and athletic facilities. To hinder the youth from solving their problems, they have an educational system characterized by overcrowded public schools, incapacitated by segregation North and South, trade schools which cost much but teach little, deprived of some of the best teachers by the witchhunt, and offering curricula designed to produce an anti-union, anti-Communist, and chauvinistic population.

Monopoly's answer to the problems and challenge of youth is to bend them to its own ends. It shows youth a world of moral destitution, brutal culture and a future of dog-eat-dog and nation-eat-nation. And when some youth respond to this as so-called juvenile delinquents, monopoly answers with an iron hand for them and all other youth with cynical police brutality for the working class and minority young people.

The greatest responsibility for answering the monopolies lies with the trade unions. The steel workers have issued a pamphlet on trade unionism for high school students. Some locals open their facilities to their sons and daughters and to youth in the community for education in trade unionism. Many locals and some internationals supported the Youth Marches. But on the whole there is a lack of Trade Union initiative on the youth question.

Increasingly, adult community organizations are working for a bright future for their children. PTA's and others move on providing adequate school facilities and teacher's salaries. Community groups try and provide more recreation. Larger numbers of adults undertake to sponsor teen-age social and sport groups. Some even try to provide after-school jobs and job training in church facilities. Some act on juvenile delinquency through often not in a very effective manner.

The importance of the trade unions and adult community organization for the winning of youth for democracy and peace and away from monopoly necessitates the involvement of the Party as a whole on the youth question. Comrades still say by their deeds that this is a question for the young comrades alone. The problems and

outlook of today's youth will not automatically leave them after their 30th birthday, but will leave their mark for their entire lives.

The significant gains of the Party in youth membership and influence help guarantee our Party's growth. Truly youth represent the future of the Party and the Party is the bearer of the future for American youth.

#### PARTY WORK AMONGST YOUTH

The Party is the vanguard of the working class and, therefore, of its youth, as well as of non-working class youth. It should not, and does not delegate its vanguard role to any other group or organization. To do so would mean to set up more than one center of Communist leadership, more than one Communist Party.

To work amongst youth is to work for the future. The present generation of youth, led by the working class, is the guarantee for success in the struggle for peaceful co-existence. They are also our party of the immediate future. Without full attention to their needs and development, the Party jeopardizes its own existence as an effective vanguard.

Youth work shall be placed next to labor and the Negro people's movement as our major areas of mass work.

First attention must be paid to the existing mass youth movements and organizations, helping to build them based on their own programs, and winning them for united action for peace, integration, support for labor, and political action. Special attention should be paid to bringing the question of peace to all groups, especially to working class youth. Aid should be extended to those youth who are setting up local youth councils for peace, friendship, and exchange.

Many more adults can be involved in youth work in organizations of parents, anti-delinquency committees, youth services and settlement houses, etc. These are also important areas of mass youth work. Consideration of their own youth problems must become the concern of all people's organizations.

Major amongst such organizations are the trade unions. Organization by unions of their sons and daughters would be of inestimable value to both the youth and the labor movement. The solution of the special problems of working and unemployed youth must become a major concern of the trade unions themselves.

All possible encouragement and aid shall be extended on a local basis as well as on a national scale to the party and non-party youth in their efforts to set up Marxist youth organizations, growing as much as possible out of mass relationships.

Encouragement and aid should be extended to students organizing Marxist discussion clubs and other such groups on campuses.

The building and development of teen-age groups and clubs of all kinds should be encouraged.

The education and youth commissions should prepare a special educational program for the training of party youth to include, amongst other forms, full time and other types of schools, material for classes, discussion groups, self-study, etc.

A two-month ideological campaign throughout the whole party, beginning March 1 and ending on May Day, on the youth question, should be organized. The purpose of this campaign is to develop our understanding of this question and to orient the whole party membership towards the youth in all areas of activity. Material for this campaign shall be issued by the education and youth commissions.

The Party should find both the opportunities and forms for speaking directly to non-Party youth on the issues of the day and on socialism. Forums, debates, leaflets, meetings, etc., should be encouraged to the fullest degree.

State committees are urged to involve youth in every level of Party leadership in all commissions and committees.

The incoming National Committee, within a period of no more than 30 days after the adjournment of this convention, shall appoint a full-time director of youth affairs and establish a functioning national commission on youth affairs composed of youth and adult members. This commission, amongst other things, shall issue a regular national party youth bulletin. We urge that in a brief period of time those state committees which have not done so, shall establish political and organizational responsibility for youth affairs.

## TOWARD A MARXIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION

A Marxist youth organization is essential to the development of a mature American youth movement. It could help further the present democratic youth groupings and movements in the direction of support to and alliance with the labor and Negro people's liberation movements. It could contribute to the task of helping to unite the present generation of youth against monopoly capital. It could win tens of thousands of young people to the cause of socialism.

The conditions for the establishment of such an organization must include the existence of a substantial number of non-party socialist-minded youth who are ready to join with party youth to set up such an organization. It is desirable that as many of these youth as possible be participating in the activities and struggles of existing youth organizations and movements.

The formation of such a national organization today would be premature and therefore doomed to isolation, since the conditions for its formation do not exist in a sufficient number of areas in our country.

We urge every State Committee to develop its mass youth work through education and action in such a manner that the conditions for setting up local Marxist youth organizations will emerge as rapidly as possible. Our work with youth in existing mass movements and organizations, our agitation for our Party youth program and our education for socialism will help guarantee such a base.

We look forward to the emerging of a national, organizationally independent, socialist organization of youth which is dedicated to participation in the everyday struggles for the immediate demands and needs of youth; which consistently conduct agitation and education for socialism amongst youth; and educates its membership in the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Such an organization, to grow and develop, would have to give serious consideration in policy and organization to the interest and other differences existing between working and trade union youth, student youth, and teen-agers.

Through its educational, cultural, sports, social and political activities, it should be made as attractive as possible to all honest young people, from those who agree to all its principles and activities to those who want just to learn about socialism or participate in certain of its activities. It should be sufficiently flexible to include all except conscious anti-Communists, racists, and the dead-end sects.

A PROGRAM FOR YOUTH

The struggle for the needs, desires, and aspirations of American youth is a struggle to which this Convention dedicates our whole party. Our participation in these struggles will help unite youth -- in alliance with labor and the Negro people -- against the enemy of all, monopoly capital. To enhance this struggle, we present - for the consideration of America's youth, the following youth program:

The right to learn, to become educated:

1. Free education and educational facilities, from kindergarten through college.
2. Elimination of all forms of discrimination, including the quota systems, to guarantee full integration at all levels of education.
3. Federal school financing to guarantee:
  - a. All necessary improvements in physical plant, facilities, and educational staffs to eliminate inequalities created by discrimination.
  - b. Expanded scholarship grants, loan funds, and part-time work projects freed of all loyalty provisions.
  - c. Free night schools, from public school through college for those unable to attend full-time institutions.
  - d. Decent wage standards for teachers.
  - e. Expanded vocational training to include new skills needed because of growing automation, and a non-discriminatory job placement program.

- f. Review of present curricula, text-books, etc., to guarantee provision of education for higher skills, an accurate picture of labor and minority groups' contribution to American life, education for democracy.

4. Academic freedom. The elimination of all restrictions on the right of students to organize, to listen, to discuss, to debate, to evaluate, to conclude and to act.

5. The restoration of all political rights to teachers where they have been curtailed so that they may again become full fledged citizens. A teacher whose citizenship rights have been curtailed by law or otherwise, cannot teach others the rights and duties of citizens in a democracy.

#### The Right to a Job.

1. A Federal Youth Works program to provide on-the-job training at prevailing wage rates, especially in the new skills demanded by modern automated industry.

2. Expansion of present apprentice training and on-the-job training programs. The right of Negro and other minority youth to participate in all job training programs and to have the same rights to jobs, equal wages, and trade union membership as other youth have.

3. Unemployment insurance for students who leave school or other youth seeking jobs for the first time.

4. Adequate pensions and voluntary earlier retirement for adult workers to help create additional jobs for youth.

#### The Right to a Decent Home, Recreation, and Culture.

1. A vastly expanded program of slum clearance and low-rent housing developments in all communities on a fully integrated basis. Opening of all present housing to Negroes and other minority groups. Legislation making discrimination in private as well as public housing a crime.

2. All public school, public park, and other public institutions with recreational and athletic facilities to remain open after school hours and on week-ends for use by young people on a non-discriminatory basis, and the establishment of such new centers.

3. Youth participation in the administration of all after school recreational and athletic, and social service center programs should be encouraged and developed.

4. The addition to present teaching staffs of newly trained youth workers, to work with these youths in the organization and use of the present and future facilities.

5. A people's educational campaign against the attempted brutalization, demoralization and immoralization of America's youth, directed against the monopolists in all cultural media in their glorification of war, murder, crime, brutality and sexual perversion.

6. The opening of trade union halls, churches, and facilities of all people's organizations for use by the sons and daughters of their members, by the youth in the particular communities and the development of youth activity programs by such organizations.

7. Adult legal status, including the right to vote, should be granted to all reaching their eighteenth birthday.

#### In a World at Peace:

1. Abolition of the draft, -- of compulsory military training and service, and of the ROTC.

2. Ending of all atomic testing.

3. Complete disarmament. All funds needed for the implementation of this whole program could easily come from a part of the present armaments expenditures.

4. Development of youth exchanges -- students, workers, athletes, musicians, teachers, etc. -- between the United States and the socialist countries.

This program should be incorporated into an American Youth Bill (certain states might consider incorporation of what is applicable into a State Youth Bill) in time for involving youth in the 1960 election campaign.

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 19

## 17TH CONVENTION RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

## IN THE UNITED STATES

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The decade of the Sixties will mark the hundredth anniversary of the emancipation of the Negro people from chattel slavery in the United States. It will also register the hundredth anniversary of the enactment of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. These Amendments proclaimed that Negroes should enjoy equality of citizenship status and constitutional rights with all other Americans.

Yet today, almost a century after the enactment of the Civil War amendments, Negroes are not free and equal citizens. On the contrary, now numbering some 18 millions, 11 percent of the total population, they are the most severely oppressed and exploited of all the peoples that constitute the American nation. They are subjected to a systematic pattern of segregation, discrimination and racist defamation in varying degrees, in all areas of the country and in all aspects of life.

The oppression of the Negro people manifests itself in three characteristic features: the denial of equal economic opportunities, of political rights and of social advantages. All three are rooted deep in the historic development of the nation -- in slavery and in the long period of oppression which has followed emancipation.

Though a specially oppressed part of the American nation, the Negroes in the United States are not constituted as a separate nation. They have the characteristics of a racially distinctive people or nationality. They are a component part of the whole American nation which is itself an historically derived national formation, an amalgam of more or less well differentiated nationalities.

Though deprived of equal rights and of the possibility to participate fully in all aspects of the national life, the Negro people (no less than the other national components) have contributed to and have an inseparable stake in the American nation's common territory, economic life, language, culture and psychological make-up.

As a result of their singular historical experiences the Negro people are deprived of equal status in the life of the American nation free of all manner of oppression, social ostracism, economic discrimination, political inequality, and racial segregation.

To conclude that the Negro people in the U.S. are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in our country is not a national question. It is indeed a national question. The question is, however, a national question of what type, with what distinguishing characteristics, calling for what strategic concept for its solution.

The fact that the Negro question is not one of an oppressed nation fighting for national-state sovereignty does not diminish the revolutionary import of the Negro people's struggle in the United States. It is a special feature of the American road to socialism that the requisite preparation of the forces for effecting fundamental social change in the system requires the completion of the bourgeois-democratic norms of political, economic and social development for the South and the Negro people as a whole. In this respect the Negro question differs from that of other minority groups.

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The chief oppressor of the Negro people, and the primary beneficiary of their oppression, is the class of monopolists, the capitalist commanders of the economic and political heights of our present social system. It is mainly into their pockets that the super-profits flow as a consequence of the extra exploitation of Negro workers of factory and farm. It is their system of reactionary, ruling class political control that is bolstered by the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South and their under-representation in government everywhere; by the perpetuation of lily-white state governments dedicated to the maintenance of white supremacy and pliant submission to the demands of Northern industrialists; and by the presence of a sizeable bloc of Dixiecrats in the Federal Congress who block all programs for social welfare.

It is their domination and pollution of the cultural life and social customs of the nation that is strengthened by the prevalence of a far-reaching system of social indignity and abuse ranging from the customary exclusion of Negroes from tax-supported public facilities to the barbarous crime of lynching.

Negro freedom can be achieved, therefore, only at the expense of the super-profits and the political power position of the monopolists and their Dixiecrat partners. It can be secured only through struggle against racist oppressors and exploiters--the Dixiecrats, the monopolists and those who serve their interests.

For this reason the Negro people's freedom movement must be seen as one of a tripod of social forces upon which monopoly has built its empire of exploitation, which are in irreconcilable opposition to it and which are compelled by the nature of their position to struggle against it.

The other two forces of the tripod are: (1) the working class which seeks, through the labor movement, a bigger share of the fruits of its labor and must eventually contend for control of the means of production, and (2) the world anti-imperialist forces, consisting, in the main, of the colonial revolutionary movements and the Communist-led nations and parties.

Each advance of the Negro movement weakens the power of reaction in American life. It has the most revolutionary import. It must therefore command the active support of all other victims of reaction and monopoly greed--the workers of mine, mill and factory, the working farmers, small business people, etc.

Conversely, every victory of the working class in its battle for higher living standards, better conditions of work and increased social security, every general democratic and social advance of the nation, marks an inroad into the mammoth economic power of the capitalist spawners of Negro oppression. It therefore calls for the sympathy and the aid of the organized Negro movement.

Sufferers at the hands of a common enemy, the Negro people's liberation movement and the forces of organized labor must increasingly make common cause to find relief from the ills imposed upon both by their mutual foe.

Not only the working class but all social classes and currents which are in any degree restricted in their democratic development by the reactionary monopolists have a stake in the cause of Negro freedom. Thus, the family-size farmer, the small businessman, the professional middle classes are called upon to champion the Negro's struggle to be free.

This way, the Negro movement will be able to hurl against the monopoly stronghold of American racism not only its own proper and growing strength, but also the massed power of all groups in American life which are, by the nature of our society, the Negro's most likely allies and monopoly's natural enemies.

The Negro movement's need and possibility for sympathetic alliance do not end with the nation's borders. In recent years, especially, the fight for equal citizenship has been enhanced by the sympathy and support which it has aroused abroad.

The continuation of flagrant oppression of Negroes at home undermines the prestige of U.S. imperialists and contradicts their efforts to extend their influence among colonial and recently liberated nations.

This stands in contrast to the continuing development of genuine solidarity relations which the Soviet Union, China and the rest of the socialist countries maintain with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This international aspect of the Negro question is of major importance in the struggle for equality at home, favorable to wresting concessions from the ruling class.

The Negro movement will be further strengthened as it forges bonds of conscious alliance with the rising colonial, semi-colonial and newly independent nations of the world: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who have taken a glorious and irreversible path which leads to freedom from imperialist domination. Negro Americans have much to gain from their successes and many lessons to learn from their struggles.

Likewise, the Negro people must come to look with favor upon socialism which, in vast areas of the world and among more than a third of the world's peoples, has wiped out national oppression and eliminated the source of class domination, the profit system. It points the path to full realization of genuine equality and enduring prosperity.

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Given this setting within which the Negro movement functions today, how shall the movement grow? What are its foremost goals and how shall they be attained?

The question of Negro freedom is the crucial domestic issue of the day and a factor of international consequence.

The circumstances of their common oppression and the unanimous demand for equality of rights and status as American citizens are the ties that bind together all strata of the Negro population. The steadily growing unity of the Negro people is manifested in the continuing growth of their mass organizations and institutions, in the singularity of their basic demands, in the militancy of their advocacy and action for equal rights, in the developing coordination and collaboration between the organizations which constitute the Negro people's movement.

This new strength of organization not only provides for the greater mobilization and exercise of the fighting power of Negro Americans to advance; it also establishes the basis for more formal and equitable alliance relations with organized labor and other progressive organized formations of the general population.

The struggles of the Negro people and the resultant significant advances have inspired Negro Americans with a new quality of self-confidence. A profound spirit of national consciousness and pride in their racial identification permeates the Negro people of the U.S. today. It fires their determination to build ever closer their unity in order to wage the struggle even more militantly to break down all barriers to their exercise of any and all political, economic and social rights enjoyed by other citizens.

The great masses of Negroes unite not in order to separate themselves from the political, economic or social life of our country. They unite to more effectively employ the strength of their own numbers and the weight of their alliance with other parts of the population to level all barriers to their fullest integration into all aspects of the economic, political and social life of the American people as a whole. They are forging an internal national unity to facilitate their struggle for integration as free and equal American citizens.

The Negro people's movement is today's standard bearer in the struggle to open up the now-restricted areas of democracy. It is the decisive strategic ally of the working class in the current struggles for liberty and livelihood and in all stages that lead to the subsequent achievement of the necessary fundamental transformation of American society from the present capitalist exploitative system to that of socialism. To cement the Negro-labor alliance now through powerful mass struggles for Negro rights, is to lay the cornerstone for those broad anti-monopoly groupings of labor and people's forces on which the progressive future of our country depends.

Against the background of this estimate of the Negro people and their freedom movement, what are the special tasks and responsibilities of Communists? First and foremost, it is the obligation of the vanguard Party of the American working class to lend every support to the Negro people's struggle. More, it is the task of Communists to rally the working class and the American people to the support of the Negro people's just demands. It is especially the duty of Communists to promote an awareness among the white pro-democratic forces of their own self-interests in the fulfillment of the freedom aspirations of the Negro people. We must continually point out that no major social advances can be made without a resolution of this question. Negro equality and freedom is a basic question of principal, not a fringe issue. Every compromise on this question weakens the general democratic struggle of all the people.

The main obstacle to consolidating higher forms of Negro-labor alliance is the continuance of racist practices and discrimination within the trade union movement. These practices are reflected in the compromising, vacillating, ineffective approach of the labor movement to the key task of organizing the unorganized Negro and white workers of the South on a basis of equality; in the perpetuation of lily-white constitutional clauses in two international unions of the AFL-CIO; in the continued existence of Jim Crow locals in some internationals and Jim Crow practices in locals of other internationals; in the slow pace of the advancement of Negro trade union leaders to posts of top leadership and responsibility in many unions, and, most dramatically, in the crude attack of AFL-CIO president George Meany on A. Philip Randolph at the recent AFL-CIO convention.

It is a duty of Communists to help the trade union movement right these offenses against class unity.

Since the character of Negro oppression is delineated by the widespread denial of economic opportunity, political rights and social advantages, the urgent demands of the Negro freedom movement must be to secure these necessary ingredients of equality. Negroes of all classes, with a practical unanimity, subscribe to these demands; for no Negro, whatever his class position, can fully escape the yoke of exploitation, discrimination and derision. As a result, the Negro movement embraces all classes of the people for whom it speaks.

Yet the yoke of oppression does not impose an equal burden on Negroes regardless of class. It rests with special weight on the back of the Negro worker. For it must never be forgotten that the cardinal aim of anti-Negro oppression is super-profits, and those profits are most readily and directly realized out of the poorly paid toil of Negro workers.

Therefore the Negro workers, and especially the two millions who are members of the organized labor movement, have a special and decisive part to play in the fight for Negro freedom. Segregated largely in the hard-labor, basic production functions of U.S. industry, they are denied promotion to highly skilled jobs, often excluded from apprenticeship training programs, and often denied equal pay for equal work. They are still excluded from some unions and shamefully discriminated against in others. In the ranks of the unemployed they loom proportionately twice as large as white workers.

The most immediate and pressing material needs of the Negro worker, therefore -- food, clothing and shelter for himself and his dependents, security for his loved ones, and education and cultural advancement for his children -- depend upon an unrelenting fight against Jim-Crow. His interest is in eliminating every vestige of discrimination from his industry, his shop and his union, first of all; but it also extends to every phase of American life, for he knows that his inferior status in the economic life of the nation is partly fixed by the subordination of Negroes in the nation's affairs generally.

To the struggle for Negro freedom the Negro worker brings many indispensable contributions. Foremost among these is mass action, in the best tradition of the labor movement of which he is a part. Without this element the battle for Negro equality cannot be fully effective. Never has there been a more apparent need for joining the legal campaigns and educational activities which constitute the bulk of the program of the main Negro people's organizations with well-conceived, militantly directed actions involving masses of Negro people and their allies.

As such actions take place the Negro worker may be expected to support and initiate them, not only with his own considerable and strategic strength, but also with the co-operation of thousands and eventually millions of his white fellow-workers.

Communists have long advocated the united action of the Negro workers to enhance their fight for equality on the job and in the labor movement, and to add their organized weight to the struggles of their people for freedom. We greet and will support the initiative which Negro workers have taken in forming the groundwork for a national Negro labor organization to accomplish these ends.

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Fully one-third of the Negro population who live within the deep Southern areas of Negro majority are farmers and rural toilers. It is at once apparent, therefore, that the struggle of the Negro medium and small farmers, the sharecroppers, the tenants, the land-poor and landless farm toilers to secure their ownership and tenure of the land and to improve their livelihood and social, cultural and political conditions, represents one of the major factors entering into the solution of the Negro question in the U.S. It is an important part of the immediate struggles for the economic well-being and democratic rights of the Negro people as well as for the strategic solution of the Negro's aspiration to political equality.

Pending a more basic development toward nationalization and socialization in American agriculture, the present struggle of the Negro farm masses for the land manifests itself in the advocacy and support for a whole series of reforms. They demand a moratorium on debts and evictions; interest-free or low interest, long-term government financed loans for the purchase of land, for private farms and cooperatives, livestock, farm equipment, seed, fertilizer, house construction and repair, etc. They demand that the government insure the availability of land to the landless and land-poor farmers through the forced purchase of the idle lands of the large estate and plantation owners with government control of its resale and minimum

rates on long-term credit basis with priority to the poorest farmers. They demand firm price controls on farm machinery and cheap rental rates for the use of such machines.

Furthermore, the Southern Negro farmers are engaged in struggle for schools, hospitals, the right to vote and political representation, for cheap electric power, adequate roads and a fair share of various other public services.

The Negro farmers conduct their struggle through organizations and in such forms as are common to farmers generally in the country and to the Negro people in the South particularly. They strive to express their will at the polls to the meager extent that they can vote and are much occupied with activity for the right to vote. They petition, send delegations and hold conferences to formulate and make known their demands to the authorities. Though represented to some extent in all of the major farm organizations, the Negro poor farmers, like Southern white poor farmers, are largely unorganized in terms of a class organization with their white brothers in behalf of common economic and political demands. The organization of the unorganized working farmers, Negro and white, is an outstanding urgent need of, and task before, the labor movement as well as the Negro people's freedom movement.

While properly emphasizing the importance of the struggle of the Negro farmers for the land in the total struggle of the Negro people for economic, political and social equality and national freedom we should not exaggerate. If in the past we were able to speak of the struggle of the poor farmers for the land as the "main thing" in securing the conditions for the solution of the Negro question in the U.S., it was because of two considerations which no longer obtain. First, decades ago, over two-thirds of the Negro people were rural folk bound to the land in one form or another and therefore any basic improvement in the conditions of life of the Negro masses presupposed an improvement of their economic status on the countryside. Secondly, the oppressive, reactionary, Jim Crow political and social superstructure of the Southern states had as its primary economic base the feudal-capitalist cotton, tobacco and cane plantations. The economic base of Bourbon rule and Negro oppression was the plantation economy, the smashing of which would deprive the Bourbons of their primary material stake in the oppression of the Negro people.

Landlord capital is no longer the capital base, or dominant form of the economic power of the modern Dixiecrat ruling circle -- the heirs and perpetuators of the vicious regimes of Negro oppression and exploitation which continue to prevail in the Southern states. The Jim Crow political and social superstructure with its disfranchisement and economic robbery of the Negro people now serves (and is sustained by) the dominant industrial and financial branches of absentee Wall Street and local Southern capital. Therefore, to deprive the Southern ruling oligarchy of the economic base of its power (and motive for the oppression of the Negro people) it is no longer simply a matter of breaking its monopoly grasp upon the land (the plantation). The breakup of the plantations (as necessary as that is) will not of itself deprive the present oligarchy of Southern political reaction of its economic base for, or stake in, subjugating the Negro people.

Hence, we see that the struggle for the land, "for the breakup of the plantations" cannot be cast as the exclusive axis upon which the entire outcome of the struggle for Negro freedom pivots; rather it should be viewed as a major, but derivative and subsidiary part of the struggle of the Negro people's movement for economic, political and social equality, on the one hand, and an allied struggle of the working class against the monopolists and men of the trusts on the other.

The main class enemy -- robber and oppressor-- of the Negro people is seen to be, therefore, the common class enemy of labor and all toiling masses -- monopoly capital, the imperialist robber class. Hence, it is clear that the decisive class force in the Negro people's freedom movement, which ultimately will ascend to the leadership of that movement, is revealed as the workers.

The Negro workers have special bonds with the semi-proletarian, poor farmer masses of the countryside; they stand in a special durable relationship with each other within the all-class Negro freedom front.

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As a further barrier to the Negro's freedom aspirations, in many areas of the South disfranchisement, sustained by illegal trickery, intimidation and terror, all but exclude him from effective participation in government. Roughly 1,260,000 Negro

citizens have, by painstaking and brave effort, won the right to vote in the eleven ex-Confederate states. But this is only a fraction of the 6,000,000 Negro adults who are entitled to the franchise in this area. On the strength of this disfranchisement, Negroes are denied public office and have no part in running the state, county and municipal governments which oppress them with an iron hand.

Though Negroes are a fourth of the Southern population, not one of their number occupies a seat in the national Congress. The determination of issues of greatest concern to their welfare is invariably in the hands of racist politicians who through long tenure and seniority based squarely on Negro disfranchisement, rise to dominant positions in the Federal legislature.

In Northern communities, where the vote is more readily available to Negro citizens, they are nevertheless denied the direct representation and influence which their numbers would warrant by entrenched political machines. This is ordinarily accomplished by gerrymandering of election districts to deny Negroes representation, by excluding Negroes from positions of real power in the capitalist parties, and by various other maneuvers.

The fight for Negro freedom, therefore, requires a determined crusade to win the right to vote and to be voted for in the South. The flagrant disfranchisement of millions of Negro citizens in the middle of the Twentieth Century, and in the face of the monopolists' loud boasting about the quality of American democracy, is so shocking and repulsive that great masses of people in all parts of the country can be rallied to force an end to it. This is especially true if these masses are helped to realize that the result of this battle will be the extension of political democracy, not for Negroes alone, but for all democratic forces in the nation. This battle for political equality can provide the next big breakthrough in the continuing struggle of the American people to wrest the political machinery of government from the hands of the economic barons.

In an immediate sense, this requires, as part of the 1960 electoral campaign, a mighty movement to force the Federal government to use its power and its constitutional authority to guarantee and protect the unhampered use of the franchise by the Negro people of the South. The proposal of the Federal Civil Rights Commission for Federal officials to replace biased Southern registrars must become a rallying point for masses of Americans.

A united Negro electorate in Northern communities can become a decisive force in winning the right to vote in the South. In many Northern states the Negro vote constitutes a balance of power between the two major parties. The development of independent, non-partisan political unity movements, bound to no party, but including Negroes who are committed to both parties, and also including independent voters, provides a means of unifying the Negro vote in the North. Such movements should support those candidates who will work and vote for guarantees of political equality for the Negro people of the South, and oppose and defeat those candidates who refuse to do so. In this respect the Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party and their supporters in the Republican Party must be singled out for the main attack. The unified Negro vote in Northern communities must also increasingly address itself to the task of overcoming the under-representation of Negroes in elective and appointive offices at all levels of government. Furthermore, united non-partisan political action of Negroes will advance Negro candidates for public office and exert pressure for advanced social measures in the state and national legislatures. Such united efforts of Negroes, whatever form they take, will be strengthened to the degree that they form working alliances with other non-partisan forces dedicated to independent action in the political field.

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The common objective of Negroes, wherever they may live in the United States, is to be free of discrimination. Negro Americans everywhere aspire to legal equality with their fellow white countrymen in the political, economic and cultural life of the country. The popular expression "to fight for Negro rights" is understood by the Negro people to mean the struggle for these general objectives.

To be able to realize these objectives it is required that the Negro people in the U.S. must secure their full rightful share of governmental power. In those urban and rural communities where they are the larger part of the population generally, and in the Deep South area of the historic American cradle-land of the Negro people particularly, they must constitute the majority power in government.

In its essence, therefore, the struggle for Negro rights is not a mere "civil rights" fight, it is a political struggle; a struggle for a just share of representation nationally; a struggle for majority rule in the localities where they are the dominant people in the population; a struggle for genuinely democratic representative government in the southern states in particular and in the country as a whole.

While the essential character of the Negro people's movement for democratic rights and national equality is a political struggle for adequate governmental power and representation in government in order to enact, enforce and defend freedom and equality demands of the Negro people, it is also a fact that economic struggles and popular manifestations can compel changes in practices and treatment long before they are given expression in law.

At the heart of this political struggle for Negro rights at the present time is the fight for the ballot, for free and universal suffrage rights. Accompanying this central demand and limited only by the advances made in achieving full suffrage rights, is the fight for Negro representation. To register successes in this regard, certain things are required:

1. A mobilizing, activizing and uniting, to the greatest possible extent, of the Negro people and their allies in support of "unity" candidates committed to a program of equal rights for Negroes.

2. Maximum mobilization and unity of Negro voters in support of "unity" candidates committed to a program of equal rights for Negroes.

3. Mutual assistance pacts for political action; an ever solidifying alliance between the organized Negro suffrage movement and the Negro electorate on the one hand, with the organized labor movement and popular democratic rights and peace movement on the other. The latter point, i.e., the linking of the particular struggle of the Negro people for Negro rights to the general struggle of labor for democratic advancement and peace, for the welfare of the country as a whole, is required for winning either immediate or long range successes. As a minority people in the country as a whole, victory of the Negro people requires that the struggle be fought in alliance with the oppressed majority of the whole people, i.e., with the working class, the poor farmer masses, and the other strata victimized by the monopolists.

4. In order to unite the Negro people and to forge the alliance between them and organized labor for the struggle for Negro rights, it is necessary for the Negro workers to exercise the initiative and leadership.

5. To fulfill its historic role of the "leading force" in the freedom endeavors of the Negro people, the Negro workers must be fully organized alongside their fellow white workers in the mass organizations of their class, the trade unions.

In the conduct of all these struggles -- for economic, political and social equality -- there inevitably arises in the Negro movement different approaches and estimates of the task and the best means of accomplishing it. These differences rise largely out of differences in class orientation of the component economic classes which constitute the Negro movement.

The outstanding and fundamental feature of the developments in Negro life in recent years has been the progressive emergence of two million organized workers as a major influence which has mightily affected and is now transforming the character of all institutions in the Negro community. The organizational experience, heightened demands for equality and the militancy of these workers has left its stamp in all areas of Negro life. From these organized Negro workers rise the impetus for militant mass action in the struggle for Negro rights. From them arises the main impetus for unity in Negro life. On the basis of the strength which they bring to the Negro liberation movement, the major organizations of the Negro people, and their leaders, have been increasingly enabled to adopt a more independent stand in the struggle for equality.

This has awakened important progressive currents in the organizational life of the Negro people -- in their religious, civic, fraternal and political organizations. This is reflected both in struggle on issues of urgent moment to the Negro people, such as housing, jobs, school integration, police brutality, and others. The Montgomery bus boycott and the movement flowing from it, the school struggles in the South and in many Northern communities as well, are examples of this. It is also revealed in a growing development of united independent political action, as witnessed in Harlem, Memphis, Chicago, San Antonio and other areas.

All Negro organizations reflect this development in the heightened effectiveness of their contributions to the common goal of Negro freedom. Fraternal groups, women's organizations, social organizations and others have increased their independent social action programs and their service to the cause of Negro unity for freedom. Of particular moment has been the notable expansion of the role of the Negro church and many of its leaders in mobilizing the Negro community against various manifestations of social injustice.

Among these institutions the NAACP remains, in terms of size and influence, the major organization of the Negro people's movement wholly dedicated to the fight for full freedom. It reflects within itself the major harmonies and contradictions of the present level of the Negro freedom movement. It deserves the continuing support and attention of all progressive forces. Nonetheless constructive criticism must be made whenever necessary. The Negro movement is moving to higher norms of unity. Especially is this noticeable in the political arena. Notwithstanding the growing unity of the Negro movement, there are conflicting views, tactics, etc. What is decisive is that no approach, no tactic is likely to succeed unless rooted in a strategic concept based on reality. And that concept must be one of mass action of the Negro people, in alliance with labor and all other pro-democratic forces both at home and on a world scale. Communists must always stand in the forefront of building unity among the Negro people. But at no time do we surrender our ideological viewpoint. In this connection we should avoid two dangers. On the one hand, ideological agreement is not a condition for unity in action. On the other, while participating in united progressive action, we retain our ideological independence.

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Throughout its history the Communist Party has been a proud participant in the struggles of the Negro people for freedom, equality and justice. The Negro people, like all oppressed peoples and classes, are burdened by the yoke of reaction, plundered by capitalists, or under the heel of imperialist domination. Increasingly they will become aware that their most cherished aspirations and needs are reflected in the program of the Communists, in their science of social emancipation, Marxism-Leninism, and in their noble goal of replacing the reign of capitalists by a new social order. That social order--socialism and communism--which promises a truly just society without exploiting classes, a society of material abundance and cultural richness equally accessible to all.

Communists are expected to take their place in the front ranks of the fighters for the rights of the Negro people against their oppressors and racist defamers. The struggle for Negro rights requires a continuous and effective ideological campaign against racism, against every manifestation of "white supremacy" thinking and big nation chauvinism. It has been and remains the duty of Communists to patiently and persistently point out to the workers that anti-Negro racism is the ideology of the ruling class, that its purpose and effect is to wring superprofits out of the sweat of the doubly exploited Negro workers and to frustrate the demands of the trade unions and all workers for a greater share of their production. It has been and remains our duty to point out, without ceasing, that the racist denial of political and social rights to the Negro people of the South is the shield behind which the Dixiecrat-minded capitalists restrict the exercise of democratic rights by all Southerners and sustain the reactionary rule of monopoly in the country as a whole.

Particularly in light of the upsurge for colonial independence in the East, in light of the historic achievements of the Chinese People's Republic, the emergence of India as a potent world fact, the straining of the whole African continent against centuries-old shackles, it is our responsibility to convince all sections of the American masses that the cause of Negro freedom serves the cause of world peace.

Many among the staunchest and most farseeing sons and daughters of the Negro people join the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class and the Negro people's freedom movements. It is the Party of Negro and white unity in the struggle for equality, social justice and world peace. The Communist is one with the people. Whether on the job, in the neighborhood or in a particular organization, the Communist seeks to help the people in their strivings to better their conditions. He helps the people to recognize and support those policies and programs which truly advance and serve their interests, and to fight most effectively against those programs, conditions and forces which harm the people and hold back their progress.

The Communist has no interest alien to the best interests of the people.

Their aspirations for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are his deepest commitment.

The source of the Communist's strength is in his membership in the Communist Party. Here he equips himself with the generalized experience of all who serve in good causes, of those who struggle for the welfare of the people on a thousand fronts. He studies the laws of social development and change in order to serve the people better. He seeks to master the science of Marxism-Leninism. He exchanges experiences with his comrades and deepens his understanding of the problems of our times and how best to assist the people in working for their solution.

Early in its formative years the Communist Party put forward a program for the full economic, political and social equality of the Negro people. It was the first political party in the United States to do so. This demand sloganizes its program today.

#### On Withdrawal of the Slogan of Self-Determination

In 1930 the Communist Party adopted further programs on the Negro question in the United States in a pioneering attempt to theorize and project a principled solution to that special feature of Negro life -- the oppression of the plantation-bound masses of Negroes in the so-called Black Belt area of the deep South.

Nevertheless, this particular program for the solution of the Negro question in the U.S. was revealed to be an incorrect orientation by the course of the development in the country and within the Negro people's movement. Life experience and greater knowledge of the question have exposed its deficiencies and for this reason the "self-determination" projection and program for the solution of the Negro question in the U. S. is now discarded. (See National Committee Document February 1959: Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question.) Our Party's view and policy in respect to the solution of the Negro question in the U. S. is to secure to the Negro people with all speed the complete realization of genuinely equal economic, political and social status with all other American citizens.

Such an objective can only be realized through intensive struggle of a mass action character spearheaded by the united mass action of the Negro people themselves and joined in by the labor movement and all democratic, progressive and anti-monopoly and anti-Dixiecrat forces in general.

The Communist Party declares that the main unrealized task of bourgeois (capitalist) democracy in the United States is revealed in the special oppression of the Negro people.

There is no national task of greater moment for all the forces of social progress of our nation than that of joining into the struggle for securing the full and equal economic, political and social rights of the Negro people. The accumulation of this objective in the coming period would have the most salutary effect upon the development of the whole front of social progress in our country. Victory on this sector would open the way to rapid developments along the whole front for radical social advancement of the entire nation.

Basic successes in the struggle for the Negro's political, economic and social equality and against racial segregation and discrimination are indispensable prerequisites for the further rapid development of working class unity, working class consciousness, working class political initiative and advanced working class-led people's anti-monopoly political action. It will prepare the way for the extensive introduction of socialist and communist ideology and outlook into the labor movement.

A central task of the progressive forces within the Negro people's movement is to aid in the promotion of a recognition of the inseparability of the struggle for world peace to the realization of necessary objective circumstances favorable to the triumph of the cause of Negro freedom. The foes of world peace and the oppressors of the Negro people have a common class root-- monopoly capital, imperialism. A common bond of interest links the fighters for peace and the fighters for the democratic rights of the Negro people.

The bonds of Negro oppression can and must be shattered. All signs point to an early and triumphant resolution of the century-old battle of the Negro people for full and equal citizenship. This in itself will represent a long-

overdue achievement of great historic significance. In addition, by providing the basis for a higher unity of the working class, it will help pave the way for a socialist transformation of the national economy. The Communist Party will work toward the attainment of this noble objective with unstinting effort and unwavering dedication.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 20

## RESOLUTION ON THE 1960 ELECTIONS

The new developments in our foreign policy symbolized by the Khrushchev visit have been welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the American people. They support the current relaxation of tensions and have hopes that there is developing an era of peaceful coexistence.

At the same time the country has witnessed a major reactionary offensive on the home front. The 86th Congress scuttled the rights of the Negro people, and the same Dixiecrat-reactionary Republican alliance, aided by important Northern Democrats, fastened the Landrum-Griffin Bill on the labor movement.

The development of peaceful coexistence is by no means guaranteed. In both parties, powerful elements are trying to reverse this trend, or failing this, to reduce it to the barest minimum. It is in the people's most basic interest that all developments toward peace be reinforced and given further impetus.

In both major parties there are strong currents counter to the peace sentiments. Nelson Rockefeller is the high-octane cold warrior of the Republicans, representing gigantic combinations of oil and finance that aim to abort the developing peace movement. In the Democratic Party, the Truman-Acheson cold-war line continues to permeate its policies.

Congress dramatized these counter-currents by refusal to enact meaningful civil rights legislation and its passage of anti-labor legislation. George Meany, AFL-CIO president, summarized our domestic problem when he told an Urban League banquet that the Dixiecrats are the common enemy of both labor and the Negro people.

But labor must recognize that it is the cold-war policy which George Meany and others support that provides a bulwark for the Dixiecrat-GOP alliance.

The fact is that some big business forces seeing the new turn in world affairs are developing their own economic program to meet it. The essence of their program is intensified exploitation of American workers so that a handful of monopolies can maintain an exorbitant rate of profit despite the new obstacles and restrictions and competitive challenges in the world market. Rather than this program of big business, labor and the people must advance their program for a peacetime economy that will mean jobs and higher living standards. The peace issue in the 1960 elections will be strengthened by this program. Linked to this must be labor's drive to halt and reverse the reactionary offensive in Congress.

The brazen big business conspiracy to emasculate and destroy the trade unions has already had the widest repercussions in the labor movement. In some quarters a beginning has been made in re-evaluating the political role of labor. Moods of resistance and struggle are growing.

Labor contrasts two recent experiences. The first was a successful fight to smash the right-to-work initiatives in five states. In this struggle labor developed a high degree of independence and unity and fought back militantly.

The second was the passage of the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy bill to which the AFL-CIO top officials failed to organize effective resistance.

Civil rights legislation was betrayed by the same Dixiecrat-Republican alliance. The President has failed to extend and guarantee constitutional protections to the Negro people in the South.

These rights and these protections are basic to any democratic advance. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended appointment of federal registrars throughout the southern states to guarantee the Negro people the right to vote, along with others now denied that right through local restrictive practices. Enforcement of the 14th Amendment long used as a shield by corporate monopoly is being urged in behalf of civil rights. This amendment provides for the reduction of the Congressional delegation of any state that denies the right to vote to its adult citizens.

In New Deal days, the Dixiecrat veto over Democratic presidential nominations was eliminated by abolishing the two-thirds rule at national conventions. But the power of the Dixiecrat members of Congress, who through disenfranchisement of the Negro voter guaranteed themselves constant re-election, expresses itself in national politics through control of Congress, through the seniority rule for Congressional committees. A measure vital to defeat of the reactionary alliance is elimination of the seniority rule to end Dixiecrat control of the Congress. Smashing the usurped power of the Dixiecrat bloc will remove a major barrier to the struggle for peace, democracy, labor and civil rights.

The lesson of the 86th Congress is clear: To the extent that labor and the Negro people's movement further advance independent political action, press forward their own positions and candidates, to that extent will they win their demands against the monopolists and their political henchmen.

The dissatisfaction of liberals, labor and the Negro people with reaction and bossism is reflected in the independent trends and groups in the Democratic Party and is based on varied issues in different localities. In Congress these are expressed by the struggles of Senators Clark, Macnamara and Proxmire against Lyndon Johnson. In New York, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Herbert Lehman and Thomas Finletter, and more successfully, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, conduct the fight against Carmen DeSapio. In California the Democratic club movement reflects grass roots political organization and has considerable influence in shaping policies and directing candidates. A similar form exists in Chicago. In Michigan the power of labor, especially of the UAW, is a decisive factor.

The debate around the role of the liberals in the Democratic Party likewise reflects these dissatisfactions. Such forces as the ADA and the Liberal Party in New York are concerned by the continued concessions to the Dixiecrats.

The internal struggles and the fluid situation within the Democratic Party can be utilized by the forces of labor and the Negro people to influence issues and candidates. What is needed is unity and cohesion, established independently of the old party machines. Movements in each of these fields with their own immediate task will confront a common enemy--the alliance of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans. But they also share an important goal and the prospect of victory.

In these circumstances, the central political task confronting the labor, peace and democratic forces are:

- 1) To bring the fight for peace up to the pace demanded by current developments in the struggle for total disarmament and peaceful coexistence, it is urgent to bring these issues before every community, church, labor union and other organization of the people, and to compel every leader and specifically every office holder, candidate and potential candidate to take a public position on peace and these other vital issues.

While giving priority to the peace issue, all the people's needs must be fought for -- wages, jobs, labor's rights, civil rights and liberties, social security, housing, health, youth needs, etc. How the cold war and vast military expenditures balk the people's social and economic needs must be emphasized. The people must understand that only an end to the cold war, radical reduction in armaments and the full functioning of the economy for peace can bring satisfaction of their needs.

- 2) On the basis of the movements already mentioned and in connection with the election campaign, it is essential to work for broad electoral unity to oppose the chief candidates of reaction and the cold war, and to promote nomination and election of pro-peace, pro-labor and pro-civil rights candidates at all levels. Such candidates should include trade unionists and representatives of the Negro people, as well as nominees of other minority groups, especially Puerto Rican and Mexican.

Labor and the Negro people cannot make further progress on the basis of the present tiny representation from their own ranks in the Congress and public office. This election must see a substantial increase in labor and Negro candidates from the primaries through the elections.

- 3) It is imperative that the Dixiecrats be made a major target of attack, that they be exposed and isolated. Defeat of their reactionary Republican and Democratic party allies in the North is equally urgent.

- 4) The Civil Rights Commission has proposed a system of federal registrars throughout the South. This system must be installed in 1960 to guarantee the Negro people their full rights to register and to vote.

- 5) Every encouragement and full support must be given labor proposals for conferences early in 1960 on a national and local scale of labor and its allies. These conferences can lead to an independent position in the elections and exert powerful influence on the selection of candidates, the drafting of programs and other vital aspects of the election struggle. Such local and national conferences called by the Negro people and liberal and people's organizations generally could further influence the political parties in a progressive direction.

6) The major party primaries will reflect these dissatisfaction and progressive forces will contest the reactionaries. Where reactionary candidates have been nominated by both parties, democratic and peace candidates on the independent ticket should be promoted.

7) The Communist Party to advance the unity of the people, promote and clarify the issues of the campaign and educate for socialism, will run its own candidates, as it did in the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Ben Davis campaigns in New York and the Archie Brown campaign in California. Where because of undemocratic election laws, bans and undemocratic restrictions, it will do so in whatever way is open acting jointly with others.

It is essential to build, strengthen and multiply the independent electoral apparatus and organizations of labor (COPE) not only on shop and union basis but particularly in the communities. Also among the Negro people it is essential to promote the independent political action and organizations such as the non-partisan Negro Voters Association both in the North and South. It is further necessary to support the struggle of the Negro people and disfranchised whites in the South to vote and it is important to launch a national campaign to ensure maximum registration, electoral activity and casting of votes.

In addition a fight should be launched against the growing undemocratic restrictions which keep minority parties off the ballot and for proper reapportionment of representation and the abolition of gerrymandered districts.

An important condition for the widest mobilization of the people in the interests of peace and for a progressive outcome of the elections is the establishment of joint action of Communists, Socialists, union militants and progressives.

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By working along these lines, by building its independent strength and uniting all peace and people's forces, labor and the democratic forces can make headway in 1960 in ousting leading reactionaries from office and electing peace and progressive candidates. They can be in a strong position to determine the character of the next Administration and Congress and help prevent wavering and backsliding of the elected friends of labor and hasten the trend toward a new political alignment and a mass people's party.

Recognizing the dominance of Big Business over the two major parties, we constantly advocate the necessity of a new, a farmer-labor party. Such a political realignment will not be just a minority opposition party but one which can win the majority, a new party based on the mass of labor, the farmers, the Negro people, and other sections of the population in which labor fulfills a leading role. In the course of all election activity it is necessary to advance such an objective on the basis of experiences in the elections. We do not, however, set a blue print and then try to make experience fit it. Nor do we advocate such an objective in any mechanized, sloganized way. We hold that such an objective gives perspective to immediate work and must increase participation in every election campaign. We warn against premature and adventurist splits which result in isolation. All of this must be said in relation to 1960 because we recognize that the major election campaign, including the independent movements, will be within the two-party system. The election requires more attention to the development of independent movements and the many forms which that independence can take, with special attention to the Democratic Party through which the major sections of labor function in the elections.

These goals cannot be achieved, however, through the formation of "independent socialist parties" such as have been attempted in some areas. These supported by some liberals, progressives and socialist-minded radicals and used as a base of operations by some Trotskyites represent premature, sterile movements which can only serve to isolate the Left from the masses of labor and the Negro people.

It is essential to educate the masses of the people in socialism, in the accomplishments of the socialist countries and what socialism would mean for the U.S.A. But such education cannot be viewed as a task apart from the struggles of the people. The main task of the class conscious forces at the present time is to organize the unity of the widest masses of people to struggle for their most vital needs, above all peace, through which struggle are created more favorable conditions for wider socialist understanding and organization of movements.

## COMMUNIST PARTY--NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT 2289

The Communist Party will cooperate with and help stimulate the independent political organization and activity of labor and all other democratic forces and will support and participate wherever possible in united and democratic front alliances and movements. At the same time it will develop its own independent activity, help clarify issues and popularize its basic program for an American road to socialism.

The 1960 elections afford to the Party and left and progressive forces generally a great opportunity to strengthen their forces and identify themselves more closely with the mass currents and movements stirring our country.

The elections will also enable the Party to make a special contribution to the question which will overshadow the immediate issues-- namely, the competition of the two systems, socialism and capitalism. These will be discussed and debated and socialism will therefore be an issue in the broadest sense. The Party will bring the truth of socialism and its superiority over capitalism to the American people.

To advance the cause of peace and progress, the Communist Party will enlist support for the following immediate program:

1. Guarantee peace for our country and the world by outlawing nuclear war, and war as a means of settling differences between countries. End the cold war and establish a policy of peaceful co-existence with peaceful relations, recognition of and normal relations with People's China, trade and friendship with all nations. For total disarmament and cuts in the military budget. Start reduction of taxes on low incomes.

2. Defend the Constitution and restore the Bill of Rights. Abolish the witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee. Freedom for Henry Winston, Robert Tompson, Gilbert Green, and all other political prisoners, including Morton Sobell, who is now serving his ninth year of a brutal 30-year sentence. Protect the rights of the foreign-born against deportation and harassment. Repeal the Smith and McCarran Act and establish the full legality of the Communist Party.

3. For equal rights and full citizenship of the Negro people. Abolish Jim Crow segregation. Enforce the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. Enact civil rights legislation to establish these rights immediately.

4. Advance labor's right to organize, strike, to participate in political action. Repeal the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws. Prohibit strike-breaking by court injunction. Halt all Taft-Hartley prosecutions. Guarantee the right to a job and improved living and working conditions.

Adequate compensation for all unemployed for the entire period of unemployment. Establish the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay. Increase social security payments.

5. Protect the rights of the small farmers to their land and their implements. Assure adequate income through price supports. Provide credit and government loans at nominal interest rates. Market farm surpluses through foreign trade and to feed the hungry here and abroad.

6. Aid small business by tax relief and easy credit.

7. Enact an American Youth Act to meet the needs of the youth for education, recreation, health, and jobs. For the 18-year old vote.

8. Enact health, education, cultural, and housing programs to meet the people's needs without corruption and profiteering.

9. Establish public ownership and operation of all atomic energy facilities, railroads and public utilities.

10. Halt monopoly profiteering. Put the tax burden on corporate wealth and high personal income, on the basis of taxation according to ability to pay.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 21

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON TRADE UNION PROBLEMSAnti-Labor Offensive and Resistance of Workers

A mounting strike movement is sweeping through America. The intensity and scope of the current class battles taking place, the tenacity with which the workers are resisting, is well shown in the 116-day solid strike of the 500,000 steel workers. Their strike broken only temporarily by an eighty-day Taft-Hartley injunction, these workers are showing readiness to resume the struggle if an acceptable agreement is not reached.

The same spirit evident in the steel industry, is displayed by 35,000 copper workers out on strike more than four months; by the striking Standard Oil and other oil and chemical workers; packinghouse, Henderson textile, and others on strike for months; by the rubber, East Coast longshore, West Coast shipyard, New York hospital and other tens of thousands who have struck earlier.

The strike movement continues to mount with a million railroad workers preparing to strike if negotiations fail, as are many other hundreds of thousands of workers in communication, New York City transit, machine and electrical, aircraft and missile and in other unions in line for negotiations in the weeks ahead.

Not since the strike movement immediately after World War I or the upsurge of the mid-thirties, has the American working class experienced such rise of struggles. The current strikes are most often referred to as "automation strikes." This is because most common to them and most militantly disputed are issues arising out of the present-day sweep of technological changes, including automation, and the immense casualty of jobs in the process. The strikes are mass resistance to the condemning of millions of workers to the scrapheap, to relief rolls, to permanently depressed areas and ghost towns, and to a life of permanent insecurity.

The strikes are a mass fight-back against the offensive launched by big business on the economic and political fronts. This assault on unions, unmatched since the open shop drive of the twenties, was long prepared. The campaign for "right-to-work" laws in the states; the three years of Senate McClellan Committee hearings designed to smear and discredit trade unions in general; the propaganda by industry and government blaming wage increases for inflationary prices; the agitation against unions as "monopolies" and now the use of all the arts on Madison Avenue against "featherbedding" and so-called "management's right to manage" -- these are all stages of the anti-union campaign. These union-busting forces have scored a major success with enactment of the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Law through which, for the first time, the trade unions come under a fully-rounded government control and regulation system. Moreover the law gives the employers new weapons to limit the strike and boycott and the right of unions to organize, bargain, and assist each other in strikes.

The plan of attack calls for additional anti-labor "killer" legislation, such as applying anti-trust laws to unions, outlawing industry-wide bargaining, banning strikes in transportation industries, prohibiting use of any funds for political activity, a national "right-to-work" law, and compulsory arbitration in major industries.

The strike movement has reached a high level of intensity because Big Business, led by the steel corporations, have carried their attack to an assault on the most vital element of union protection -- the work rules and rights that give the workers at least a minimum of protection against insecurity, inhuman speed-up and exploitation under capitalism. Big Business, hypocritically crying for the "right to manage" aims to wipe out all such protective clauses and rules to weaken and eventually smash unions, and to clear the road for new technological changes at the expense of the workers.

As yet the workers are in the main limited in their current strikes to a defense of some of their long established rules and conditions, as protection against the encroachment of automation. But the unity and determination displayed by the steel workers and others have already registered deeply in the consciousness of the labor movement. The persistence of the struggle and its widened scope, can, if properly led, extend the current strike movement to an offensive character -- to a fight for more basic objectives, like the shorter work week already endorsed by most unions and other demands to meet the new technology and the new attacks.

Moreover, the attack of Big Business upon the trade unions goes hand-in-hand with the general drive of reaction against the common people, spurred primarily

by the most rabid pro-coldwar forces of the country, to foist an austerity era upon America. By austerity, Big Business means higher taxes and other belt-tightening sacrifices by the common people. The monopolies of America are beset by increasing contradictions in the world as increasing numbers abroad revolt against Wall Street domination; as the progress of the billion people in the socialist countries becomes more known to the peoples under capitalism; as more colonial peoples gain their freedom, and as within our country there is a "post-McCarthyite" awakening among the people. These monopolies seek to shift the burden of their difficulties, including the heavy armament load, on to the backs of workers, farmers, the Negro and other small-income people. That was the essence of the program outlined by Governor Nelson Rockefeller at the Economic Club and by other monopolists at the recent Congress of Industry of the NAM and other Big Business-run organizations. Some sections of Big Business seek to pump more vigor into their sagging coldwar drive by shouting such austerity is needed to "meet the Soviet challenge." They hope to hide the fact that in the Soviet Union living standards are constantly rising.

The sharp struggles, especially in steel, and the offensive of capital refute dramatically and forcefully, the class collaboration theories of top AFL-CIO leaders. They turn to nonsense the "mutual trusteeship" idea of David J. McDonald, the "non-aggression agreement" with Big Business put forward by George Meany, the "common denominators" between labor and capital sought by Walter Reuther and claims by these leaders that there is no class struggle in America. Moreover, the attack of Big Business upon the key and powerful steel union, has alarmed the trade unionists of the entire country and aroused on a general scale a greater spirit of unity and vigor and to some degree even class consciousness to resist the offensive of capital. The developing struggle is also identifying to the people their common enemy -- the same enemy of workers, of the family farmer, of the Negro people, the Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and other groups suffering discrimination and superexploitation. Thus, in the process of the developing movement, the struggle of labor will increasingly merge with the struggle of the Negro people and other groups for full rights as citizens and of the people on the farms whose purchasing power has reached a new post-war low.

The current strike movement is the most significant fight-back development since the labor movement, in the main, was taken by its leadership on the road of accommodation to coldwar policies, and even acceptance of the McCarthyism that the cold war came with. It is the first important break in more than a decade of stagnation and defeats.

We Communists meet at a moment when the labor movement has, indeed, come to a crossroads. Which course for labor -- the one that leads to new vitality and the passing over from a defensive position to an offensive for new goals and major advances? Or the course that leads labor further down the road to ineffectiveness and retreat? That is the question that today faces the labor movement in face of clear evidence that the workers are willing to fight and march forward.

That is the question that thinking trade unionists and union leaders are today pondering in the ranks of unions under pressure of widespread dissatisfaction among the rank and file and a recognition by ever-rising numbers that new answers are needed for the questions and problems facing labor in the present period. This questioning of old policies and re-examination of issues in quest for better answers is stimulating a powerful force for a new progressive trend in the labor movement. It is a challenge not alone to the old guard conservatism among trade union leaders; it is no less a challenge to the Communists and all other progressives and militants in the trade unions. How to stimulate this quest for new answers; how to encourage it into developing as a fighting movement for progress -- that's the big problem facing the active progressives of labor, and especially the Communists, to whom many rightfully look for initiative.

It is with that challenge and problem that the Communist Party concerns itself in this resolution.

#### The Situation in the Labor Movement

The steel and other strikes; the new vigor and stature of the Negro trade unionists in the struggle for conditions and for equal rights; the pressure for greater political independence in labor ranks; the growing demand for all-inclusive working class unity; the pressures for a real peace policy in many quarters

-- all these trends are influences for a new forward-looking course. These trends are influences for a new forward-looking course. These trends are developing in spite of the hard-crust of old discredited policies and bureaucratic, institutionalized union machinery through which they must break through.

Some of the top leaders, above all Meany, laid the labor movement open to the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Law by collaborating with the McClellan Committee and, in fact, initiating through "friendly" Senator Kennedy a "moderate labor reform" bill which opened the floodgates of reaction in Congress. The end result was a measure termed by even the leaders of labor, the worst anti-labor law since Taft-Hartley. But even after the law was enacted, many labor leaders promptly decided to "live with" the new law and accommodate themselves to it as they did to Taft-Hartley without appreciable resistance.

In face of the intense struggle and clear evidence that big business is on the warpath against labor, George Meany revived the idea of an overall "capital-labor" agreement to eliminate strikes that he unsuccessfully advanced four years ago. Within the current framework, the Meany proposal can have no other effect but to hold back the resisting workers. The fact that Meany called for such capital-labor unity to revitalize the coldwar policy, makes his proposal all the more ominous. Moreover, just as the proposal for a "moderate reform" bill helped to enact the anti-union Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy law, so this proposal of Meany paves the way for the projected anti-strike bills.

Meany's outburst in the manner of a racist, at A. Phillip Randolph at the San Francisco convention of the AFL-CIO: the effort of some top AFL-CIO leaders to build up Senator Kennedy, the original "reform" bill author, as a candidate for the Presidency; the continuance of craft versus industrial union struggles among some leaders of unions when unity is needed to organize the 70 percent still unorganized; the refusal of the leaders of labor to open the way for contacts with unions of socialist lands in face of a breakdown of walls in most other spheres -- all these attitudes are the old policy of refusal to recognize the realities and the great changes that have come about in the United States and in the world.

The background to the harmful policies of many in top AFL-CIO officialdom is the history of the past 12 years, beginning with their acceptance of Wall Street's coldwar policies. This brought a new and a more reactionary content into the traditional class collaborationism of these leaders. In taking this course, these leaders based themselves on the concept that it will bring easy concessions to the labor movement, greater "respectability" and a "permanent prosperity" propped up by unending and rising expenditures for armaments and maintenance of military bases in all corners of the world. This course brought many of the labor leaders to a common ground with the outstanding warmongers, war profiteers and notorious enemies of labor.

To prove to employers that they were "dependable" and "responsible" leaders who could check the militancy of the rank and file, many of these leaders joined in the McCarthyite Un-American campaign to drive out of the trade unions Communists and other militant non-conforming trade unionists under the guise of safeguarding unions from Communist control. Thus in 1949 the CIO leaders expelled unions with a fourth of CIO membership who were among the most militant forces in the American trade union movement.

The consequence of this coldwar course are well known. It led to conformance with the Taft-Hartley Law, and virtual abandonment of efforts to repeal it. It led to a weakening of the labor-Negro alliance that could be built only on the basis of a real cleanup of Jimcrow practices inside labor. It led to a halt of organizing efforts in the South and almost everywhere else. It led to alienation of labor from substantial sectors of the population that have been moving towards a peace policy. It led to the fostering of a virulent anti-Sovietism that culminated in the shameful spectacle of labor leaders, in contrast to most other sectors of the population, displaying a rudeness to visiting Nikita Khrushchev. It led to a decline of trade union democracy and an entrenchment of corrupt influences in some sections of the labor movement, while all attention was given to an alleged "Communist menace." It led to more than a decade of stagnation in the labor movement.

A serious consequence of those top leadership policies, that proved very harmful to all labor, has been a weakening of the influence and activity of progressive influence within the labor movement as a whole. The effect was a weakening of the positive influence progressives traditionally have upon the labor movement. This also narrowed the character and perspective of the trade union move-

ment. This weakened the challenge to business unionism practices and the racketeering practices, initiated and inspired by employers, that it breeds. Weakened also because of this decline of progressive influence, was the vigilance against trading off of working conditions, speed-up practices, and violation of other vital interests of the workers.

Today it is not only the progressives on the left who realize that the rosy perspective envisioned by many labor leaders on the basis of the cold war was a sham. Many thousands now recognize it. It did not bring any of the promised results. Three recessions, with a fourth predicted by 1961, proved that there can be no permanent prosperity under capitalism, even with huge expenditures for armaments. The real effect of that policy of "class partnership" for the cold war was to expose the labor movement to the present fierce offensive by Big Business. It is precisely this weakening of the trade union movement and "flabbiness" (as Reuther called it) that encouraged the foes of labor to launch their offensive. But the steel strike and other strikes have shown that the workers are not "flabby" and that the trade union movement possesses the potential power which, if properly mobilized and directed, can defeat the offensive of big business.

The past decade was not, however, all negative. There were some notable and militant strikes in that period (Harvester, Westinghouse, coal miners and three steel strikes, etc.) The "right to work" campaign of the employers met stiff and successful resistance in many areas, notably in California, Washington and Ohio. Some leaders, usually at lower levels, took a progressive position on certain issues or in some struggles. There were some notable manifestations of unemployed.

The AFL-CIO merger of 1955 was also a positive development, reflecting a growing pressure in union ranks for an upward swing, for organization of the unorganized, for an end of inter-union strife, for more effective political action, and, above all, for a unification of strength and preparation for the oncoming offensive of capital that was already taking shape.

Unfortunately, the many good decisions and promises of the merger convention hardly went beyond the stage of resolutions. Like most of the objectives of the labor movement in the past decade, those decisions were blocked by coldwar and "class partnership" considerations. The employers, on the other hand, were spurred by the merger to work all the more vigorously for their drive against what they called the "labor monopoly."

#### The Re-emergence of Progressive Currents

In the recent period there has developed a growing dissatisfaction and restlessness in the ranks of the working people. These are arising from the ever-sharpening pressures and exploitation by the monopolists, and from the failure of labor's leadership to cope with the key problems and challenges confronting the workers. There is a mounting demand for fresh answers to such problems. There is, in particular, a growing dissatisfaction arising from the failure to deal adequately with problems of automation, organization, unemployment, speedup, anti-Negro discrimination, union democracy, independent political action, peace and other issues.

The working people and their more militant leaders are becoming increasingly aware of the efforts of monopolists to resolve their problems at the expense of the workers. The demand is therefore arising that the problems of automation, high taxes, inflation and competition must be met at the expense of the huge profits of these monopolists, and not at the expense of the working people.

It is becoming increasingly evident to an ever larger number of trade unionists that the labor movement cannot advance, but will instead continue to stagnate and retreat if it continues to pursue the policies and philosophy personified by George Meany.

This realization is giving forth some new progressive currents in trade union ranks for departure from "official" policy on one or more important issues. Some of these currents are stirring beneath the surface. Others find more open expression. They are evident in the rank and file movements in the struggle for shop conditions, often through "wildcat" strikes; in the dues protest movement in steel; in the broad and effective solidarity movement in support of the militant New York hospital strike; in the expressions from some leaders for greater independence by labor in the political field, some even calling for action or discussion of a third or labor party.

Other such expressions are the sharp criticism of the effort by some top leaders to build up Kennedy as a friend of labor; the movement for the impressive New York City Labor Day parade; Randolph's bold demand at the recent AFL-CIO convention for prompt and effective action to end racist discrimination in unions, and the strong indignation against Meany's abuse of Randolph; the movement for Negroes in top union office; the pressure for mass activity at the grass-roots level to combat anti-labor legislation, and for the building of an all-year round labor political action machinery from the precinct level up and for labor candidates. Then there were a number of trade union expressions away from cold war policy and closer to a peace position, as in part of the auto union's foreign affairs convention resolution.

Hitherto these currents have come to light in struggles mostly on individual issues. They have not as yet taken the form of movements embracing a progressive position in a fully rounded out program. Moreover, the effect of these trends have so far remained limited in top leadership ranks. The present anti-labor offensive, however, and the sad turn of the partial 1958 election victory, are driving home a costly lesson among many that are bound to stimulate fresh thinking and strength for a renewed progressive trend.

All such thrusts in a progressive direction should be singled out as examples that could advance the entire struggle. All progressive tendencies among the rank and file and among leaders, should be welcomed, encouraged and further developed for the purpose of promoting progressive action and class struggle policies and cementing greater unity and solidarity within the labor movement.

The necessity of struggle imposed by the current offensive, the militance of the rank and file, and the development of progressive trends are bound to have their effect on some of the present labor leadership, which can by no means be regarded as an unchangeable reactionary bloc.

Thus there is a realistic possibility for the emergence before long of a much broader base for progressive policies and democracy within the trade union movement -- a trend that could be strong enough to appreciably influence the unions to a new and higher stage of struggle against the monopoly interests and their political power in our country.

#### The need for a Counter-Offensive of Labor

Organized labor cannot content itself with mere defense against the growing torrent of blows rained upon it. On the contrary, if it is to defeat these and move forward it must launch a counter-offensive -- a crusade for advancement of the well-being of our country's working people.

Such a crusade can succeed if it is based on united action of the entire trade union movement, including the Teamsters' union and the independent unions, as well as greater unity of action within the AFL-CIO itself. It precludes demoralizing jurisdictional disputes and raiding. It demands broad rank-and-file participation in democratic unions, unity of all regardless of political beliefs, and the inclusion of Communist and other militant class-conscious trade unionists whose dedication to the interests of the working people has been proven to be an essential factor in organizing the unorganized and in waging effective struggle against labor's enemy. Such a crusade, above all, must be based on a higher level of Negro-white unity.

A counter-offensive of labor will necessarily embrace the problems of automation, peace and disarmament, Negro rights, organization of the unorganized, independent political action, democratic rights, and international trade union solidarity.

#### 1. Automation and a Fight for Jobs and Security

Automation and the use of atomic energy are ushering in great possibilities for new industrial progress. The advances of science and technology in the service of the people should indeed be something to cheer about.

But when science and new technology are in the hands of Big Business, whose interest is not the welfare of the people but only the lust for maximum profits, then this great achievement turns into its very opposite. Automation, added to already unused productive capacity, creates still more unused capacity and unemployment, and a permanent army of unemployed even during an economic uptrend.

Life, especially the example of the Soviet Union, has now brought forth ample proof that only the social system of socialism can give the people the maximum benefits from automation and other technological advances.

But American workers are faced with a growing problem of insecurity and mass unemployment, mounting even in periods of economic uptrend. The displacement of workers by automation and other technological advances is adding to the industrial reserve army at a growing pace. Along with this, the shifting of plants gives rise to a growing number of "distressed areas" and "ghost towns" of chronic mass joblessness. Automation is being used as a means to increase speed-up, destroy skills, increase the work-load and cut wages.

The fight for the shorter workweek has therefore become the No. 1 economic objective in the fight for jobs and security. A cut in the week can, no more than any other measure, be a fundamental solution of job security under capitalism. But it is at least a significant measure of protection against the steady trend of throwing workers on the scrapheap.

Other demands are also called for, such as the establishment of "automation funds" by employers to be used for retaining of workers, severance pay and other such purposes. These, however, should not be accepted as a substitute for the shorter work week. Still other demands are coming to the forefront, such as smaller work loads; longer rest periods and vacations; greater and not less control of speedup by unions; the right to strike on speedup and arbitrary layoffs; retraining, resistance to wage cuts, and higher wages.

The unions must fight to prevent those workers who are displaced by automation or other changes from being thrown on the scrap heap. They must also wage a struggle for governmental measures to assure that the benefits of automation are passed on to the general public in lower prices and greater consuming power.

## 2. The Fight for Peace and Disarmament

The desire for peace and friendship among peoples the world over is no less strong among the rank and file membership of the trade unions than among the American people generally.

The world-wide movement for peace, including particularly the aspirations for peace on the part of the American people, as well as the great successes of the socialist world, have created the conditions and the atmosphere for the success of Khrushchev's visit.

The Khrushchev visit and its fruits, outstanding among them the prospects of a summit meeting and the greatly enhanced movement for disarmament, have in turn tremendously advanced the fight to end the cold war and have raised the fight for peaceful coexistence, disarmament and ending of atomic tests, to a new level. In the struggle for these goals, it is essential to include the influence of labor. Yet, despite the overwhelming popular sentiment for peace, the leadership of the labor movement has not based itself on these realities, and by its support of reactionary cold war policies has kept labor from taking its rightful place in the fight for peace.

But the desire for peace is no less strong among the rank-and-file membership of the trade unions than among other sectors of the American people. The progressive forces in our country properly look to the trade union movement to assume leadership in the struggle for peace and disarmament, and must wage a determined fight to alter the present state of affairs. Communists and progressives must urge the labor movement to adopt a policy of full support to peaceful coexistence and closer relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union. In particular, every effort must be made to end the policy of shunning all contacts and to open up exchanges of union delegations between the two countries, and with other socialist countries as well. Toward this end, the resolution adopted by the convention of the Woodworkers Union, calling for such exchanges with their Soviet counterpart, is most helpful. So, too, are similar sentiments which have been expressed in other sections of the trade union movement.

In addition, the labor movement must be brought fully into the fight to open up trade with the socialist world. It must be won to support of disarmament and a peacetime economy, and away from adherence to the hoax that armaments are the answer to unemployment.

Total disarmament or even partial disarmament at first, is both a glowing promise and a serious challenge. The promise lies in the possibility of releasing and utilizing the huge sums now wasted on armaments for social benefits, lower taxes, advancement of health research, recreation, housing, education, and above all the realization of mankind's dream for an end to wars, to fears of atomic annihilation and poisonous fall-out.

The challenge lies in the need to evolve a program designed to provide jobs for workers displaced by disarmament and for those released from the armed forces, and to replace wasteful war production with useful peaceful production that will benefit the people.

The working people and all people of this country have a right to look to the trade union movement for a practical program to meet this challenge for the realization of the hopes of all people for a peaceful world. (In another document the Communist Party has proposed such a program.)

More and more of our working people are becoming aware of the fact that the challenge of the socialist countries for peaceful coexistence and competition between the capitalist and socialist systems for a better life for the people is not a threat but a promise from which our people, especially our working people, can only gain.

### 3. The Struggle for Negro Rights

Working class unity in daily struggles for economic demands and in the bigger struggles against the enemies of the working class demands the fullest recognition by white workers and white union leaders of the right of Negro workers to a status of full equality.

For the unions and the entire labor movement to energetically champion the struggle for equal rights for Negroes inside and outside the unions, is to serve their own interest as well as the human rights of the Negro people. The disgraceful attack by Meany on Randolph at the recent AFL-CIO convention, because he justly demanded action in the unions against racist discrimination, and the shameful defeat of the efforts at the UAW convention for the inclusion of a Negro on the Executive Board, demonstrate that too many union leaders do not yet grasp this truth.

The formation of the American Negro Labor Council under the leadership of A. Philip Randolph will undoubtedly advance Negro-white unity, bring nearer the end of Jim Crow in some unions, and raise to a higher level the labor-Negro alliance, which is vitally necessary for the unions and for the interests of the white workers as well as for the Negro people.

The Negro workers have been hardest hit by unemployment and by all other measures directed by the employers against the workers. Discrimination in regard to upgrading in plants and in other ways is still a general practice in industry. The labor movement must fight more energetically against such discrimination. To this end it is essential that the promise of fair employment clauses in contracts, non-discriminatory apprentice training programs must become an effective part of every union program.

There are increasing signs in many parts of the country that a greater recognition of these problems is developing in unions. To move forward, there must be a greater recognition that the labor-Negro alliance cannot remain merely a relationship between top officers. It must be reflected on all levels and based on united struggles of Negro and white. There can be no greater contribution to such an alliance than effective action inside the unions to end all racist discriminations.

Such action is especially necessary if the trade union movement is to succeed in launching an effective counter-offensive against Big Business.

### 4. Organizing the Unorganized

A major objective of a counter-offensive of labor is necessarily a militant, all-out campaign to organize the unorganized and especially to organize the South.

The South can be organized only if the campaign is not just a routine effort as in the past, but an all-embracing crusade for the economic demands, for the right to vote, and other democratic rights of all the people in the South, Negro as well as white.

Such a crusade would break down the barriers between white and Negro workers, forge their united action and thus generate the power to sweep out the domination of the Dixiecrats -- the backbone of anti-labor and anti-Negro reaction in Congress.

Only such a crusade can evoke and inspire a new upsurge of unity, militance and solidarity in the South, as well as in the North, that can result in the organization of the South and in the extension of unionization in every other part of the country.

#### 5. Independent Political Action

Another major front in labor's counter-offensive is independent political action.

Organized labor has not moved forward adequately to establish its political independence. The AFL-CIO has pursued a policy of dependence on the two parties of big business, tailing after them and, with some limited exceptions, neglecting to build its own year-round political activity and organization.

Such a policy has failed adequately to protect the interests of the working people and their unions. The Taft-Hartley Act, the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy Act, the use of the Taft-Hartley injunction to break strikes, the blocking of civil rights legislation, the constant invasion of civil liberties and the unholy alliance between the Dixiecrats, reactionary Republicans and reactionary Northern Democrats -- these are the fruits of such a policy.

The defeat suffered by labor and all the people at the hands of the 86th Congress after labor's successes in the 1958 election against the "right to work" measures, has aroused demands in labor's ranks for a reassessment of political action policies pursued by the AFL-CIO. It is becoming increasingly clear that the trade union movement cannot cope with the all-round offensive of capital without a more effective and realistic policy of independent political action.

To achieve such a policy the task of the progressives is to influence the trade union movement to come forward as leader of all progressive and forward-looking people in our country in order to forge united political action with its allies and all democratic forces. This can be accomplished if the trade union movement brings about a serious change in its political policies and program.

An effective independent political action program calls for the development of labor's political action organizations (COPE, LLPE, PAC) as year-round people's precinct organizations of movement on issues, and not just as skeleton machinery during elections. It calls for pressure for labor candidates, vigorous participation in primaries in support of labor, Negro and other candidates with forward-looking ideas and consistent pro-labor positions. It calls for practical and realistic alliances of labor's political organizations with the organizations of the Negro people, and extensive direct cooperation and unity with farmer groups and organizations and with other forward-looking sections of the people. The proposal of the recent UAW convention for a conference of such a nature prior to the nominating conventions of the Democratic and Republican parties for a united approach on candidates is a welcome step in the right direction.

Such a policy would lay the basis for effective political action in 1960 and from this could emerge the understanding, the experiences and the forces for a new coalition for the realization in the near future of a new party of labor, the Negro people, farmers -- a party of the majority of the American people, capable of curbing monopoly domination in our country.

To achieve this end, all Left and progressive forces in the trade union movement should devote their utmost attention and energies.

#### 6. Democratic Rights

The reactionary forces in Congress have erected a wall of restrictive anti-labor legislation from the infamous Taft-Hartley Act to the shackling Landrum-Griffin Act. This wall must and can be broken down by means of a sweeping campaign of united trade union action for the repeal of such legislation or the trade union movement will become chained to government control of unions for the benefit of the monopoly interests.

In the center of labor's counter-offensive must be a fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, a fight against new anti-labor legislation, and a fight for positive legislation to protect labor's rights. At the same time there must be the utmost resistance to all plans for accommodation to anti-labor legislation.

But it is high time that the trade union movement realized that it cannot defend its own rights without fighting for civil liberties of all Americans, and in particular without conducting a struggle against anti-Communism and the denial of the rights of Communists. The labor movement should recognize anti-Communism for what it is -- a weapon directed against the working class, the trade unions and the American people generally by their common enemy, reactionary big business. It is incumbent upon labor to raise its voice, as some unions have already done, against Taft-Hartley conspiracy trials as well as against other repressive laws and witch hunts.

The Communist Party will do all in its power to spread the understanding of these vital tasks in the labor movement, the understanding that its fight for constitutional liberties is part of the whole fight for the democratic rights of the labor movement.

#### International Trade Union Solidarity and Unity

American workers have a common interest with the workers of other countries. The American imperialists, who strive to exploit the workers of all countries, seek to maintain their position by pitting the workers of one country against those of another. Today, American big business interests are moving many plants abroad and exporting with them the jobs of many American workers. At the same time they try to convince our workers that it is the workers of other countries who, by virtue of their low wages, are depriving them of their jobs. About 1,000 American companies have producing plants abroad employing about one million workers.

To meet these problems, our trade union movement must help to advance the welfare and living standards of workers in all countries, and develop cooperation and united action between our unions and unions in other lands.

It should give all-out support to the efforts of the Latin American peoples to free themselves from the bondage of American imperialist profit hunters, and in particular to the valiant struggles of the Cuban people and working class.

Moreover, our working people should stop our union leadership from playing the game of American imperialism abroad by acting as its anti-Communist spearhead within the labor movement of other countries. This only divides and weakens their unions in the fight for higher living standards.

#### The Communist Party

The past few years have witnessed an all-out campaign to destroy the rights of Communists within the trade unions, through the anti-Communist provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act, through security firings, through congressional committee witch hunts and other measures. This has been all too often abetted by some in the union leadership itself who strive to lead the pack in "cleaning out the communists." Communists have been attacked as "foreign agents," as elements which have interests separate and apart from the working class and which "use" the trade union movement to achieve these ends.

These slanders must be tirelessly exposed, and the fact that Communists have no interests apart from those of the entire working class must be brought home to the American workers again and again. This is a fact which the past history of our working class has repeatedly demonstrated. The Communists have a proud record -- a record of pioneering in industrial unionism and organization of basic industries, in the fight for unemployment insurance and other social welfare measures, in the fight for the rights of Negro workers and in many other of the major advances made by labor. Even our enemies are compelled to recognize that Communists are capable of the utmost devotion and self-sacrifice, and many in the trade union movement know from their own experiences that effective organization and struggle is impossible without such a dedication. The annals of U.S. labor history for the past 40 years give a great deal of evidence of the vital role the Communists have played in many of the historic struggles and advances of labor.

Although weakened by McCarthyite repressive laws, by persecutions, imprisonment of its leaders, and hounding of its members in the unions, Communists have nevertheless made their contributions also in recent years in the struggles of the unemployed and in the struggles for labor's rights and the rights of the Negro people. Communists, as active unionists alongside their fellow workers, have helped in every way to defeat the assault of the steel companies. In all such struggles our Party has striven to influence the entire labor movement toward more effective solidarity and united action.

In regard to our Party's position on key problems confronting labor, our Party leadership nationally and on State levels has not adequately brought the Party's ideas to the trade unionists. There has been an inadequate appreciation of the importance of trade unions and activity in them. We have not always reacted in time and with required energy. Whenever we have done so, the working people whom we reached have displayed interest in the opinions of Communists and have considered our ideas as constructive contributions to their thinking and to their struggles.

Our Party must strive to overcome these shortcomings. In this manner we shall more effectively fulfill our Party's objective to help strengthen the labor movement, advance the interests of the workers and all people.

Communists in the unions seek to establish the closest and friendliest personal relations with their fellow workers, to create the utmost unity and cooperation for their common objective of advancing the best interests of the working people and the trade union movement.

Today the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act seeks to shackle the unions, and also seeks to place further obstacles in the way of participation of Communists in the labor movement. But it should be clear that this Act, using the bogey of anti-communism, opens the door to prosecution of trade unionists of all political views. It demonstrates anew and more sharply than ever the harmfulness of anti-communism to all of labor. The Communist Party itself, while continuing to make its contribution to the present struggles of the working class will fight tirelessly for the abolition of all such repression. And it will do so in relationship to the fight to advance both the immediate interests of the working class and its ultimate interest -- socialism.

Today, socialism has become a subject for the widest discussion. More and more, American workers are weighing its merits and examining it in all seriousness as a way of life. Communists will join in these discussions and strive to foster the understanding of socialism among workers. They will promote the circulation of the Marxist press and literature. They will find ways of building the Party in the ranks of the American working class and of bringing to the American workers, out of their own experiences, the understanding of the necessity for a socialist solution of their problems and needs.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 22

RESOLUTION ON PUERTO RICAN WORK IN THE UNITED STATES

The Resolutions Committee on Latin America considers that it is necessary to have a ringing statement on Latin America, finishing it up with some concrete proposals. That is, aid to the Latin American peoples against exploitation and oppression by American imperialism. However, because Puerto Rico is the most directly exploited colony of American imperialism, and because of the urgent need for stepping up activities in behalf of the Puerto Rican population in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois and many other states where Puerto Ricans are now living in considerable numbers, we propose a special resolution on Puerto Rican work.

Puerto Rico is a nation. It is a direct colony of American imperialism.

The Party has a two-fold task in relation to Puerto Rican work.

First, to aid the people in Puerto Rico in the fight against economic, social and political oppression by Wall Street imperialism, and for full sovereignty and independence.

Second, to aid the Puerto Ricans in their struggles against extreme conditions of poverty, slum ghettos, discrimination, police brutality, and other forms of oppression against the Puerto Ricans in the United States.

Puerto Rican youth has been used as cannon fodder, without consultation or consent from the Puerto Rican people, in all U. S. imperialist wars.

Over 65,000 Puerto Ricans participated in the Second World War. Puerto Rico suffered one casualty for every 660 inhabitants of Puerto Rico as compared with one casualty for every 1,125 inhabitants of the United States in the U. S. imperialist invasion of Korea.

As of December 1958 there were 608,000 Puerto Ricans by birth and 241,000 of Puerto Rican parentage living in the United States. There are sizeable Puerto Rican communities in large cities from coast to coast, with a Puerto Rican population of 654,000 in New York City alone.

The National Convention therefore declares that it is an imperative duty for our Party to turn its face to the Puerto Rican people, to learn their conditions and needs and to give them practical and political aid in their efforts to organize themselves into unions, to raise their desperately low wages, to improve housing conditions and abolish slums, to attain proper education, to meet the social, cultural and economic needs of their youth, to combat the chauvinist campaign of slander and lies about the Puerto Rican people, and to struggle against every act of discrimination and oppression.

The Convention considers that appropriate attention to the vital needs of the Puerto Rican and Negro people is a test of Communist integrity and responsibility because the Communist Party has always been distinguished by the fact that it is the defender and champion of the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working population.

This Convention decided upon the following concrete steps to overcome the long neglect and grave weaknesses in relation to our work among the Puerto Rican people:

1. The incoming National Committee shall make a thorough study and evaluation of our work in every community and industry in which there is a significant number of Puerto Ricans throughout the United States. Special emphasis in this study shall be given to housing, jobs, peace, and political action.
2. Consideration shall be given to Puerto Rican Commissions in states where there are large populations of Puerto Ricans, and Puerto Rican concentration clubs, enlisting for such clubs Spanish-speaking and other comrades interested in Puerto Rican work.
3. The National Convention shall organize a Party seminar and classes on Puerto Rican work in every city with large Puerto Rican communities.
4. A special bulletin shall be issued in Spanish devoted to facts of Puerto Rican life and experiences in struggles based upon the proposed study and experiences.
5. Within a reasonable time and after adequate preparation, state conferences shall be called of delegates from all clubs (or sections) to draw up a fuller state-wide plan of work. An important feature of such conferences shall be the question of jobs for Puerto Ricans and Negroes.

6. A special commission on Puerto Rican work shall be set up by the National Executive Committee.
7. The Worker, Political Affairs, and other publications shall give major attention to Puerto Rican work.
8. The Party shall make a conscious and persistent effort to involve Puerto Rican members and leaders in all phases of leadership.
9. This National Convention shall send a message of greeting to our brother Party of Puerto Rico paying tribute to the courageous stand taken by the witnesses called before the Un-American Committee in Puerto Rico, and shall pledge them our full aid in the struggle against proposed contempt citations as well as other attacks against the sovereignty of the Puerto Rican nation. This convention recognizes the self-criticism by the National Committee of the inadequate support given to the Puerto Rican comrades and others in connection with the Un-American Committee hearings both here and in Puerto Rico.
10. This Convention of the Communist Party of the United States demands the freedom of Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos and all other Puerto Rican political prisoners now in Puerto Rican and federal prisons in the United States.

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 23

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON PARTY ORGANIZATIONIntroduction

The Party is rallying in unity around policies for mass work, for peace, democracy and security. It is consolidating its ranks on the basis of the universally valid principles of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the specific conditions of American life.

For these reasons, and because of increasingly favorable objective conditions in the overall, it faces the urgent necessity as well as new opportunities for rebuilding and revitalization. The correct mass policies of this 17th Convention arm the Party with the first essential, in the new conditions, for the renewed development of the Communist Party, USA.

But the opportunities and possibilities flowing from our correct general line will come to naught unless we grasp one other essential: the need to gear the Party, in every facet of its activities, to the correct application and fulfillment of its mass policies. Given these conditions, our small Party could, in the conditions shaping up, almost overnight become a large and influential force in the life of our country.

To do this, it will be necessary:

1. To shake off and overcome apathy, certain concepts, practices, and shortcomings which remain with us from the past;
2. To make a turn in the fight for the Party's ideological and organizational work directed to the realization of the mass line.

The perspective before the American people, and hence before our Party, is one of heightening mass struggles as the conflict over the future economic and political course of our country sharpens.

Already a new fluidity characterizes the national and local scenes as groups and individuals begin to shift their positions to meet changed conditions.

These developments are a signal to the Party to be ready to react more quickly and with greater boldness to events, both in the application of the united front and in timely projection of Party and Left initiatives.

They are also an alarm clock rousing us to the time of day, advising that while we have time to make a break with the primarily defensive posture of "holding operation" conceptions, we have no time to lose.

To gear the Party to the fulfillment of the 17th Convention decisions requires that in good time -- the shortest necessary time -- we overcome our most serious weaknesses, we solve a number of long-unsolved problems.

I. Overcome Our Shortcomings

The Party approaches the task of drastically improving its ideological and organizational work, of eliminating weaknesses, from the standpoint of confidence in its scientific socialist theory and with the knowledge that, despite the ravages of the recent years, it has the capacity, the vitality and the will to fulfill its guiding role in relation to the mass struggles of the people.

The wave of revisionism which threatened to engulf the Party has been repulsed, and those who sought to deny the need for a Marxist vanguard party of the working class have been routed. The anti-Party sectarians have been rebuffed and incorrigible domatism finds itself more and more isolated.

The ideological unity of the Party has been restored in very considerable measure. Today, it is possible for a united Party to wage the struggle against opportunist tendencies to the right or to the "left" as they arise concretely in the course of mass work.

The Party's capacity and potential for mass work has been demonstrated in difficult conditions and at the very time when the revisionists were proclaiming its death and the sectarians were clamoring for policies which would further isolate the Party.

Despite certain glaring gaps and much unevenness, the Party played an important role in a number of electoral struggles (California, Ohio, New York, Illinois, Michigan, etc.); in a number of strike struggles (steel, auto, packing, hospital, etc.); in the fight against unemployment (national and state marches, lobbies); in the fight for integrated schools, housing and for state FEPA; and in the development of peace actions, especially in relation to A and H bomb tests and other issues in a number of areas.

A number of districts (Illinois, California, etc) have developed their capacity for united front actions on local and national issues, a capacity which extends to a growing number of sections.

At the same time, the Party has advanced its public role in numerous ways: the distribution of over 1½ million pieces of national and local mass materials of all kinds since the 16th convention; the growth of the number of Party and Left sponsored mass meetings and forums; the more frequent appearance of the Party at public hearings, on radio and television; the growth of invitations to Party speakers on college campuses and before mass organizations.

Marxist education has been revived in a number of areas. There is a growth of Marxist study circles and classes for non-Communists. A beginning has been made toward re-establishing a cadre training program. Major headway has been made in the resolution of basic theoretical questions relating to the Negro question. Attention to youth work, for some time completely abandoned, has been resumed. Recruiting has been renewed in a number of areas. And important advances have been registered also in other fields.

Recognizing that these accomplishments afford proof that the Party has the will to live, to fulfill its vanguard role, the fact remains that they are only a small indication of what must and can be done, if we overcome our weaknesses. That this much was done in the midst of the critical inner situation and great objective difficulties attests to the basic health of the Party, to the fact that it has the inner strength and resources to make the required drastic improvement.

Side by side with these accomplishments, and hampering their spread and development, are a number of serious weaknesses:

1. The temporary loss of the Daily Worker and the checking of the decline in Worker circulation at such a low point as to prolong the critical situation of the press. (see special resolution).

2. We are plagued with continued underestimation of organizational work, with much organizational looseness, reflected in unsatisfactory functioning of many Party organizations, departure from the principle of democratic centralism, in the low ebb in the circulation of literature as well as the press, in the absence of systematic recruiting, and many other ways.

3. Great unevenness of participation in the Party's mass work from district to district, section to section, club to club, member to member.

4. Insufficient collectivity at all levels in working out mass policies, planning mass work; in the course of its execution, and in subsequent evaluation and exchange of experiences.

5. Failure to rally the Party as a whole to react in time and with sufficient strength to a number of important situations affecting the interests of the working class, the Negro people and their allies.

6. Failure to give necessary attention to a number of important areas, such as national group work, - especially the Spanish-speaking minorities, - farmers; and the problems of women.

7. Insufficient attention to ideological work and cadre development;

8. Insufficient attention to problems of mass education, especially to the development of class, political and socialist consciousness on the urgent issues of the day.

It is imperative that we be unrelenting in the struggle to overcome these weaknesses in the shortest possible time.

### III. Gear the Party to its Mass Policies!

#### A. Master the United Front!

Mastery of the theory and practice of the united front policy is the key task before the whole Party -- every organization, every member.

The united front is the basic style and method of our mass work. Its validity encompasses comrades in the labor and mass organizations as well as those comrades able to function publicly as Communists in or out of mass organizations.

Our ideological work must be directed first of all toward re-arming the Party with a keen understanding of the theory and practice of the united front, and how to build the Party in the course of its development. It must combat concepts which require ideological agreement as the basis of unity in action. It should develop understanding of the role of Left initiative and of the Party's independent role in relation to the united front. It must imbue the entire Party with the confidence that all members, all Party organizations can and must play a role in winning this biggest unwon battle: whether on a large scale of helping to move many organizations in concert on one or more issues, or on a small scale of moving 3, 5, 7 people on single issues.

Practical leadership must be directed first of all to helping members, clubs and sections solve problems of developing the united front. The absence of attention and guidance to work in the mass organizations must be overcome.

Work in mass organizations must be placed on a selected, concentration basis just as it is vitally necessary to overhaul and modernize the Party's time-tested main policy of concentrating its attention to basic, decisive sections of the working class. As in the policy of industrial concentration, studies must be made of the mass organizations and issues to determine focal points of priority attention which are decisive to moving masses on their urgent needs.

Know/how in the development of mass work must be promoted through restoring the practice of exchanging experiences and evaluating activities, through conferences and other appropriate means.

Assistance must be provided comrades in unions and mass organizations toward learning how to advance Party policies, how to go about building Left groupings, how to develop political and class consciousness, how to bring people closer and closer into the Party.

The remnants of distorted concepts of security left over from the McCarthy period, which hamper the Party's capacity to develop the united front, must be overcome. Real problems of safeguarding the Party and its members from reactions persecution must be separated out of the mass of confusion and distortion which surrounds this question in many areas, and resolved on the basis of collective application of a general Party position to each specific, individual case. Above all, it must be approached from the viewpoint of safeguarding the capacity of Communists to do mass work, to increase the influence of the Party's policies, to advance the united front--and not as an excuse to evade these responsibilities.

#### B. For Renewal of Left Initiatives.

A number of recent experiences confirm the value and need of timely and properly project Left initiatives in building the united front, and in, sooner or later, helping to rewin acceptance of Left as well as Communist participation in united fronts.

At the present level of development, there are many cases in which Left initiative can stimulate united activities and movements. The emergence of a more militant, Left in the struggle of the labor and Negro people's movements today affirms this necessary and places a new urgency upon more conscious efforts to help reconstitute the Left in the mass movement.

At the same time, outside the existing mass organizations of labor and the people, the experiences of the Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born nationally and in some areas, of organizations for defense of civil liberties in Illinois, California and elsewhere, as well as of certain other organizations, prove the value and the need for reviving certain types of Left organizations where they can stimulate - not conflict with-- the mass movements.

#### C. Strengthen the Party for Its Mass Tasks.

The irregular functioning of many Party clubs, the unsatisfactory level of literature and press circulation, the widespread organizational looseness and

lack of attention to political organizational work, the neglect of educational work in many areas--all seriously impair the Party, capacity to carry out its policies.

The maintenance and strengthening of the Party is indispensable to its ability to help build the united front, to help the great majority of the American people find their way to a common arena of struggle against monopoly reaction.

The tendency to transform the two harmonious sides of Party work into conflicting, antagonistic interests, as expressed in the erroneous concept of "inner work versus mass work" inflicts the great damage to the Party. It must be resolutely overcome.

There can be no effective Party work which is not directed in one way or another to the solution of mass problems, to the development of united action of the people for peace, democracy, economic and social advance. There can be no effective work in the labor and people's organizations which is not directed in one way or another, to winning non-Party people to support in their own best interests united, mass action for peace, democracy and security, and to strengthen the Party's influence among the people, and to build the Party.

The Party exists and labors for the people. All Party work is mass work, including that which maintains and strengthens the Party itself. All mass work by Communists is Party work, including that which cannot, by virtue of objective factors, be known as public Communist work. Both advance the interests of the people, both advance the interests of the Party.

Moving to increase and strengthen its work among the organized and unorganized sectors of the population, the Party must, therefore, all the more move decisively and rapidly to strengthen the organizational and educational work of the Party.

Improvement of organizational and educational work must be directed first of all to strengthening the role of the Clubs. Club life must be enriched with the restoration of ideological and theoretical discussions, and liberated from the mass of administrative detail now bogging them down. Necessary administrative functions, dues collections, financial contributions, etc. clog up club agendas only when they are not properly handled, lack responsible people to handle them, or where clubs find little else to do.

Every club must have a specific character and concrete reason for existence arising from the blending of Communist content and policies with the specific nature of the problems of the given mass of people amongst whom it lives and works. Each club must know its shop, its community, its area of responsibility as it knows its own members. It must develop a program to meet the needs of the people whom it seeks to influence. It must plan its meetings in advance aimed at working out the means of advancing the club program.

The method of planning work must be restored, discarding the negative features brought to light from past errors. It is necessary to distinguish between plans for what the club (or section and district) can do in conditions it directly influences - such as the public work of the Party - and planning in relation to the mass movements of the people.

It is one thing, and essential, for plans to determine how much we shall increase the circulation of The Worker and where and how; what leaflets we shall issue, on what, where and how often; what contacts we shall work up for recruiting, etc. It is another, and harmful, thing to transpose this type of planning to the arena of mass organizations and trade unions.

For this, another type of planning is required. To achieve this type of planning, it is necessary to develop not only maximum clarity on the Party's mass policies, but also to thoroughly learn the problems and needs of the people amongst whom we work, to be ever-attentive to their thoughts, moods and state-of-readiness to respond, to develop maximum flexibility in tactics based on what we learn from listening to the people, and readiness to consult with them on ways and means of advancing the common interest.

Through such mass work, each club can build groups of people around itself to work with and draw upon to build the Party. And in such conditions of thriving Communist mass work, the clubs will find the healthiest state for the solution of the vital administrative functions of the Party.

Especially imperative is the need to strengthen the Party's base among the industrial workers and the Negro people. To re-establish the concentration policy it is necessary to overcome the separation which has developed between the Party's industrial and community work. The whole Party must come to know the problems of the working class, Negro and white, and its unions; of its decisive sectors first of all; and the Party's policies toward them.

The Party's community members are a vital force for reaching industrial workers in their homes and neighborhood organizations - not only with important distribution and sale of mass literature and press - but also in helping to generate united labor-community activity and political action on the urgent issues of the day, in building the united front.

The relationship between industrial and community work must be re-examined with a view to their maximum possible integration or coordination consistent with the needs of maintaining and strengthening the basic shop and community clubs.

New organizational forms must be sought and tested to improve the Party's ability to reach the people with its mass and concentration policies. Tendencies to conservatism in organization, to tenaciously hold onto outmoded forms from sheer habit must be surmounted while guarding against tendencies to liquidate proven basic shop and community forms.

### C. Develop Collective Work:

Related to the decline in attention to Party organization, and proceeding parallel with it, has been a departure from collective methods of work. This has become a serious weakness, and the strengthening of and the fight for collective work has become a prime necessity.

Collective work means not merely that leading bodies<sup>meet</sup> regularly and arrive at decisions together. It also involves Party discipline - the responsibility and subordination of each individual to the collective. It means a constant review of the work of every leading body and its individual members and a continual process of Marxist criticism and self-criticism in the course of the work. It requires full restoration of the principles and practices of democratic centralism while combatting bureaucratic tendencies.

But the concept of collective work is by no means confined to relations among members of leading bodies. It also includes those between leadership and membership, between higher and lower organizational levels -- all the more so today when the Party must learn to operate with far fewer full-timers. Real collective work means pooling the experience and judgment of membership and leadership as the best basis for arriving at correct decisions. This concept includes sending out checks on policy matters in advance of meetings to secure verification or improvement from the field. It is this which constitutes the essence of Party democracy, which resides not so much in the formal counting of votes as in the extent to which decisions are based in actuality on the widest participation of the Party membership.

It is important also to foster initiative from below. The action of the Michigan Party, setting up area councils consisting of club leaders and state committee members, is a commendable effort in this direction.

Today, as a result of all the Party has gone through, the membership will no longer simply take the word of the leadership but insists on being convinced and helping to formulate policy - a sign of greater health and maturity.

Although there has been improvement in collective work during the past two years, the present situation leaves much to be desired. Both nationally and on the district level, there is a widespread tendency to substitute individual action for collective leadership. Individual leaders report on their work infrequently or not at all, are not held sufficiently responsible to the collective.

The leadership, especially in the national center, is not sufficiently close to the membership. It fails to give adequate guidance to the Party's work, is not sufficiently felt in the ranks of the Party.

Considerable improvement in style of work is required. Leadership must make itself more readily available, must develop much greater initiative and boldness in maintaining contact, in giving concreteness to its guidance of the Party's work. Among other things, every Party leader should not only be a member of a club, but also attend meetings and participate in the club's activities as much as possible. This will aid the clubs in question, aid the leaders in turn, lessen the gap between leaders and members and further help to renew confidence in leadership. Other means of increased contact and exchange should be sought, such as meetings with

representative groups of club and section leaders or comrades active in specific fields of work, to discuss particular problems. Such consultative meetings can in many cases be extended to include non-Party people.

Every Party leader should, as part of a systematic cadre-training policy, select and help develop newer and younger cadres; and to achieve a proper blending and utilization of older and younger comrades.

Consideration should also be given to the establishment of regional organizations as exists for the Southern region. These can serve as valuable links in the chain of leadership, providing a means of more frequent, more extensive and more concrete discussion of problems than is possible on a national scale.

The fight for collective work demands an all-out struggle to put an end to all manifestations of factionalism and factional approaches. This vicious evil, grown to menacing proportions in the course of the Party crisis, has in the main been rooted out of our ranks as the Party has turned more and more to mass work. However, manifestations of incorrigible factionalism persist in a few quarters, threatening to disrupt the work of the Party anew. These must be eliminated, for nothing is more destructive of Party unity and collective work. The pernicious theory that inner-Party differences inevitably give rise to factionalism, assiduously spread by the factionalists in self-justification, must be exposed as an anti-Party idea. Factionalism is an evil which cannot be tolerated if the Party is to play its role and grow.

Finally, attention to recruiting as a systematic, ongoing activity of the Party must be re-established (see special resolution). Not only are new possibilities developing for recruitment, especially among industrial, Negro and young people; organized attention to recruiting is indispensable to achieving the restored growth and influence of which the Party is capable. We must attempt to win back the sound elements among those who left the Party, through a recruiting drive.

Above all, far more attention must be paid the Marxist press. In the Party's present circumstances, the need of The Worker as an organizer and mobilizer of the membership, as an instrument for reaching out beyond the Party, is considerably greater than in the past. This includes not only greater attention by Party organizations, but the building of independent organizations to promote and support it wherever possible. Building the press is mass work. Party leadership should participate more in writing for the press. The incoming National Committee must also explore the possibilities for developing conditions favorable for the re-institution of the Daily Worker.

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The Communist Party USA has come through the fires of many ordeals. It is being steeled and tempered. It has begun to achieve the quality of maturity. Armed with correct mass policies, aware of the need to fight for correct application of those policies to every locality and to strengthen the Party organizationally and ideologically, the 17th Convention is confident that our Party will succeed in transforming the new qualities it is acquiring into mass influence to help advance the best national interests of our country in a world of peace.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 24

## DISARMAMENT AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

(Report of Hyman Lumer, National Ed. Director, to 17th Nat'l Convention)

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Among the most far-reaching consequences of the Khrushchev visit to our shores is the impetus it has given to the demand for disarmament, not only in this country but throughout the world. His dramatic proposal for total universal disarmament in four years, made in his speech before the United Nations, has especially contributed to raising the issue of ending the arms race to one of first rank.

In this country, disarmament has become the subject of the most intense interest and discussion on all sides--not as an ideal whose realization is relegated to the remote future, but as a goal within actual reach. Today, conservative business publications discuss in all seriousness the prospect of cuts in military expenditures of 50% within a single year and devote much space to probing their consequences. In the pages of our daily newspapers, leading economists write extensively on the subject. And everywhere the question is being asked: What will be the effects of total disarmament? Will it bring depression and mass unemployment?

What prompts this question is the fact that since World War II, military expenditures have become a highly important factor in our economy. In 1939, they were less than 1½% of the national product. Even at their lowest point after the war, in 1947, they were nearly 5% of a substantially larger national product. During the Korean war they rose to 15%, and since then they have remained at about 10% of our total output. About 7-8% of the labor force is directly employed in military production. If we add those indirectly employed in connection with it, the total comes to about 15%.

Currently, arms outlays on a world scale total about \$100 billion. Of this, American outlays come to nearly half. Moreover, for a number of years, the United States has been exporting arms to other countries to the tune of some billions of dollars a year. For a number of years now we have been living under a permanent peacetime arms economy, and in what has been termed a "garrison state."

Whole communities have become economically dependent on arms industries. The 40-odd billions a year spent on arms is widely viewed as a necessary prop to the economy and a protection against crisis. And American workers have generally come to look upon arms production as a guarantee of jobs--the answer to unemployment.

But it is in reality none of these things. The American people have been made victims of a hoax.

THE NATURE OF ARMS ECONOMY

Military expenditure is a form of state monopoly capitalism--that is, of using the financial resources of the government to protect and augment monopoly profits, with the working people footing the bill. In other words, it is a way of using the state apparatus to increase the extraction of surplus values.

It is the form of government spending most preferable to big business. Its desirability to them lies first in the fact that it provides a guaranteed market which is also extremely profitable--as a rule much more so than civilian production. Thus, while profit on invested capital of the 500 biggest companies in 1957 averaged 11.4%, profits of the twelve largest recipients of military orders ranged from 14.1% to 21.3%. (Fortune, July, 1958). The actual rate of profit is often much higher than these figures show. If we take into account the fact that in the aircraft industry much of the plant and equipment has been built at government expense and turned over to private corporations to operate, profit rates have in a number of cases run at well over 100% -- a doubling of investment in a single year.

Second, the products, in view of their uselessness except for war, offer no competition with production for the civilian market. Third, since the basis presented for arms production is an alleged need to defend the country against aggression, workers can be induced to sacrifice for it, say in the form of higher taxes--something which they would not readily do for other purposes. And finally, it dovetails with monopoly capital's aggressive tendencies and aims. And the atmosphere of war hysteria which is the necessary justification for militarizing the economy is one which is conducive to McCarthyite political repression and an anti-labor drive. It is not surprising, therefore, that military expenditures have become by far the most extensive form of state monopoly capitalist operation, comprising well over half of the total federal budget.

Economically, the significance of military expenditures lie in their utter wastefulness. They are as wasteful as if the goods were simply dumped into the ocean, or as if armies of men were put to work digging holes and then filling them up. Consequently, they serve especially well as a means of destroying the economic surplus which capitalism inevitably generates. In an economic crisis, the surplus is in large part destroyed, at the expense of the capitalists. In military production the same thing is accomplished to the profit of the capitalists and at the expense of the workers.

For what is wasted must be paid for by someone. The money which the government spends is obtained through taxation or borrowing. Either way, a share of civilian purchasing power is appropriated by the government and then redistributed through the military expenditures. And in the process the workers invariably come out on the short end.

They pay a disproportionate share of the heavy and growing burden of taxes. For example, a much higher share of personal income tax is paid by low-income groups today than before the war. And today the average worker pays out fully one-third of his earnings in taxes. As for government borrowing, it is chiefly the big corporations, banks and insurance companies which own the government bonds and collect the more than \$8 billion a year in interest on them. It is the working people who pay the major share of that interest, amounting to more than ten cents of every federal tax dollar.

Furthermore, since it destroys a part of the national wealth, the money spent on arms maintains a given level of demand without producing an equivalent supply of goods or services. It therefore leads to rising prices. And if the government, instead of borrowing from the existing money supply, finances its operations by printing additional money, this forces prices up still more. Either way, workers pay through inflated prices. Since 1946, consumer prices have risen by no less than 48%.

But working people pay not alone in high taxes and rising prices. They pay heavily in terms of the social services for which the money spent on arms could have been used, and of which they are deprived. This was dramatically expressed by none other than President Eisenhower himself, in a speech delivered in 1953. He said:

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies--in the final sense--a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

This world in arms is not spending money alone.

It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities.

It is: two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population.

It is: two fine, fully-equipped hospitals.

It is: some 50 miles of concrete highway....

We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people. (Quoted from Lumer, War Economy and Crisis, p. 229.)

It would be well for the people to remind the President of these words.

More recently, the effects of the arms economy have been shown in a study presented in the AFL-CIO publication, Labor's Economic Review (June-July, 1959). Here a recent report prepared under the direction of General J. S. Bragdon, Special Assistant to President Eisenhower, is quoted as saying: "In almost every field in public works--hospitals, schools, civic centers, recreational facilities--shortages are the rule, not the exception. In almost every category we are falling farther and farther behind in meeting even current demands."

The study shows that whereas 100,000 classrooms a year are needed, only 60-70,000 are being built. The estimated need for public school construction is about \$4 billion a year; but only \$3 billion is being spent. Add to this the need of funds to raise teachers' salaries enough to attract competent teachers and end

the growing shortage, or of funds for scholarships to enable the many talented young people to attend college who cannot now afford it.

We need two million new housing units a year; only 1.3 million are being constructed. We need more than 1,200,000 hospital beds a year; not much more than half this number are provided for. We need 5,000 public health centers, 15,000 diagnostic or treatment centers, 500 rehabilitation centers for the handicapped. We need 20 new medical schools now, and an equal number of dental schools in the next ten years. We need far more money for medical research.

And so on.

The study manages somehow to avoid mentioning the fact that it is because of the huge burden of spending for arms that we cannot "afford" these things, and that the money now being thrown away on instruments of destruction would more than cover the costs of these vital social needs.

To be sure, military expenditures offer a temporary stimulus to the economy. Large-scale war production provides an outlet for capital which, because of limited markets, cannot be so profitably invested in civilian production. In this way, a decline in capital investment can be temporarily arrested. But once the given level of military production is reached, this shot-in-the-arm effect wears off, and increased outlays are required to revive it. In addition, though it may temporarily keep the economy in a state of boom, it does so only by intensifying the underlying factors making for crisis.

The large-scale military outlays of the postwar years have not sufficed to prevent the outbreak of three economic slumps and a rising level of unemployment. And they have resulted in the persistence of a huge national debt, higher today than at the end of the war, which creates difficulties in further borrowing and greatly reduces the margin of safety in the event of a crisis. In fact the per capita national debt and in the world.

Nor is the stimulus of arms spending one which cannot be produced better, from the viewpoint of the working people, in other ways. If the money is actually spent on arms rather than for other purposes, the basic reason is political rather than economic. The arms economy grows out of the cold war, out of the aggressive designs of Wall Street. To change it, therefore, requires a political struggle on the part of the workers for such a change, as well as for monopoly to foot the bill.

Finally, war economy is inseparable from war. It can be maintained, as we have stated, only on the grounds that war threatens. John Foster Dulles, in a book written many years ago, expressed it very bluntly: He wrote:

In order to bring a nation to support the burdens incident to maintaining great military establishments, it is necessary to create an emotional state akin to war psychology. There must be the portrayal of an external menace. (War, Peace, and Change, 1931.)

#### ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF DISARMAMENT

What would be the actual effects of a steep reduction in arms spending? What if the forty-odd billions now devoted to this purpose were to be cut off, say within the next year? Would the bottom fall out of the economy?

Some have argued that it would. They visualize several million now engaged in arms production being thrown out of work, plus nearly three million more being released from the armed forces into a glutted labor market. This would, according to some estimates, raise the number of jobless to some 15 million, or well over 20% of the labor force.

Business Reaction to Cuts

Generally, big business views any threatened cut in arms outlays with alarm, as a harbinger of economic decline. The "peace jitters" in Wall Street with every development toward world peace, however slight, are a familiar phenomenon.

Today, however, some are taking a more optimistic view of the matter, basing themselves on the possibility of very steep tax cuts, raising the base of both consumer demand and capital investment to new peaks. Illustrative of this is an article in the U. S. Chamber of Commerce Publication Nation's Business for October, 1959, entitled "What Peace Would Do To You." The article states: "Any abrupt softening of cold war pressures--if it comes--can bring this country a boom, not the recession suggested by such phrases as 'peace scare'.

It would, the article argues, bring a rise in consumer goods spending far exceeding the cut in military spending, and concentrated in consumer durables. And because of the shift from military goods production, it would bring an upsurge in spending for new plant and equipment for consumer goods. Hence the state of the economy would be greatly improved. The same line of argument has appeared in U.S. News and World Report and other publications.

As we shall see, such predictions of a virtually automatic boom are unfounded. But the dire foreboding of an economic crash are equally unwarranted. They fail to take the entire picture into account, including various possible counter-acting factors. History shows that a sharp drop in arms expenditure need not result in a major crisis. To be sure, the War of 1812, the Civil War and World War I were followed by depressions of some severity. But World War II was not, contrary to widespread expectations based on previous experience. Here, with effective price controls and rationing during the war, a large backlog of demand, both for capital and consumer goods, was built up. This, together with certain other consequences of the war, led to a period of rising national income, followed by nothing more severe than the relative mild 1948-49 crisis. And this despite a drop of some \$77 billion in military outlays between 1944 and 1947, \$57 billion of it in 1946 alone.

It is therefore dangerous to generalize; each situation must be judged in the light of the existing circumstances. A sharp decline in military expenditures today would find not a backlog of deferred civilian demand but excess capacity already existing in civilian goods industries, and more than 5% of the labor force already unemployed. At the same time the total drop in arms expenditures would not be nearly as great as after World War II.

But what is particularly important is the fact that such a drop would also lay the basis for important offsetting effects, made possible by the freeing of the enormous sums previously spent on arms.

First of all, it would make possible very substantial tax cuts which would considerably raise consumer purchasing power. If the present arms budget were reduced to half--a cut of about \$23 billion--and half of this in turn were allocated to a cut in federal income taxes, it would reduce the total of these by nearly 20%. If the cut were confined to personal income taxes, it would reduce these by 30%. And if it were concentrated among the low-income group, millions of workers would be freed of the payment of income taxes altogether. This rise in purchasing power would provide a base for a substantial growth of production and employment in the consumer goods industries, and help to absorb the men and women released from the armed forces and military production.

Second, the funds released could be used for productive purposes--education, health, housing, old age benefits, etc.--which would also serve to raise living standards and mass purchasing power, and to provide jobs. The cost of thirty missiles--about \$1 billion--would provide 200 hospitals or 100 power plants, and would make available many more jobs than would the production of the missiles. Less than 20% of present military appropriations would provide half a million houses a year, and employment for more than 800,000 workers in building and allied trades. In fact, the \$46 billion a year now going down the drain would be more than enough, in addition to a good-sized tax cut, to provide all the unfilled social needs outlined above, as well as to bring the economic level of the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers up to the national average.

Moreover, the huge sums now spent on military research could be used to finance research for useful purposes. A fraction of these expenditures invested in research on heart disease and cancer, for example, would go far toward eliminating these as the number one and number two killers they now are. The development of peacetime uses of atomic energy would be greatly speeded up. And not least, the ending of the present secrecy of scientific and technical work would offer a tremendous stimulus to scientific advance.

Third, the money now used to ship arms abroad as "military aid" could be used for genuine economic assistance to undeveloped countries, in the form of long-term credits at low interest for the purpose of industrialization. This would raise living standards in these countries and provide greatly enlarged markets for American exports.

Fourth, the easing of world tensions which is the basis for disarmament would likewise open the doors to ending the embargo on trade with the socialist world. The potential volume of such trade is large enough to make it a factor of major importance to the American economy. In 1958, American exports to the Soviet Union amounted to less than \$5 million. Considering that the Soviet population is equal in size to those of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and the Netherlands combined, if we were to export to it on the same basis as we now do to these five countries, the total value of such exports would be no less than \$3 billion a year. It is interesting to note that Cyrus Eaton has arrived at a similar estimate. If we add to this the potential volume of trade with People's China and the Eastern European people's democracies, the present volume of American exports could be augmented by at least one-third--an increase which would provide a considerable number of added jobs.

Summarizing these points in his speech to the United Nations, Premier Khrushchev concluded: "The claims that disarmament would bring on a crisis or economic recession in the highly developed industrial countries of the capitalist world are accordingly unfounded."

This is quite true. But by the same token, neither will disarmament eliminate crises, any more than an arms economy will do so. The source of the boom-bust cycle lies much deeper in the economy, and neither arming nor disarming is a panacea against it.

Certainly, there is no assurance that disarmament will automatically give rise to a boom, as Nation's Business contends. With considerable excess productive capacity already existing, it would take a big jump in consumer goods spending indeed to stimulate new investment to any considerable degree. Moreover, there is nothing automatic about the extent to which consumer purchasing power will be increased, nor about the realization of the beneficial effects of disarmament generally by the working people. Compelled to accommodate themselves to growing prospects of peace and a consequent growing inability to maintain an arms economy as the principal means of bolstering their profits, the monopolies will seek by other means to protect them at the expense of the people. If there is to be a tax cut, they will strive to make sure it is they who get the benefit of it. If government funds are to be spent for purposes other than arms, they will demand they be spent so as to benefit big business. (A favorite measure is road-building, which is highly profitable in the construction and, in the case of toll roads, in the operation. And they will fight tooth and nail against government spending for low-cost housing or power projects, as infringing on the sacred domain of private enterprise. At the same time, they will call upon the workers to sacrifice and work harder in the name of meeting an alleged Soviet economic "threat." The working people can benefit from disarmament, therefore, only to the extent that they are successful in fighting to do so.

Of course, in some areas where war industries are predominant (especially where large aircraft plants are the chief source of jobs), disarmament would create problems of unemployment, at least temporarily. In some cases (for example, aluminum electronics), the product can be used for peacetime purposes with little or no conversion, given an expansion of civilian markets; other industries such as aircraft, however, would either have to convert to new products or drastically curtail operations.

For the workers in such areas, there would indeed be serious difficulties. But these would not be new. Such problems already exist as a consequence of the decline of employment in such industries as coal mining, decentralization and run-away plants, which have given rise to depressed areas marked by chronic unemployment, areas whose number is growing even with large-scale military expenditures. Furthermore, employment in certain key war industries is falling despite rising arms budgets. For example, the growing weight given to missile production--an experimental and pilot operation which absorbs many dollars but few production workers--has meant a drop in orders for conventional aircraft, and in employment in the aircraft industry. Thus, from the last quarter of 1956 to May, 1959, the number employed fell by 117,000 or nearly 14%. And this number has been further swelled as a result of recent large cancellations of military orders.

These situations require a program of government assistance for the rehabilitation of industry and for publicworks in such areas, as well as increased unemployment compensation, debt and mortgage moratoriums, job retraining, assistance in relocation and other measures designed to aid the workers affected and their families. Such a program is needed now, and is in fact, being advocated by organized labor today. With disarmament it could be more readily carried out, since some of the money saved on arms could be used for the purpose. Certainly, these problems would be no less capable of solution in a peacetime economy than in a war economy -- to the extent that they can be resolved at all in a capitalist economy.

Problems would also be created by the sudden addition to the civilian labor force of some 3 million men and women released from the armed forces. Here, the payment of unemployment benefits to such veterans, along the lines of the 52-20 payments after World War II, would help materially to meet the situation.

Not least, special steps are needed to aid the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers, who, being last hired and first fired, would be subjected to special hardship.

In addition, some assistance would have to be given to small business enterprises affected, in the form of tax credits or financial aid.

These things, too, will not be won without a struggle. In short, disarmament will not abolish the contradictions of capitalism. It will not remedy the basic instability of the American economy and the growing insecurity of American workers. It will not of itself bring about a Utopia in which jobs and prosperity are assured.

However, this in no way negates its enormous import for the American working people. Disarmament will remove the principal obstacle to reduction of taxes and improvement of social welfare. It will vastly increase the possibilities of winning major economic and social advances and of realizing in some measure the tremendous promise held forth by modern science and technology. If we add to this the incalculable blessing of living in freedom from the fear of nuclear war, as well as the eradication of the reactionary atmosphere of war hysteria, intimidation and repression of the cold war years, there can be no doubt that, whatever profit an arms economy may bring to big business, the working people are infinitely better off without it.

Nor is this confined to the United States alone. Disarmament is a world process, and on a world scale it can pave the way for a far-reaching transformation. In his outstanding book, World Without War, the eminent British scientist J. D. Bernal states: "It is not only possible but practicable to raise the standard of living of all the world, within a generation, to that enjoyed by the people in the most favored countries today." This, he says, requires one proviso...that war is avoided. Not only must there be no fighting but something must be done to stop the present state of continuous war preparation and threats of war, a waste of human resources and human intelligence that is holding back the whole development of science itself and blocking its useful application." (p. 2)

#### DISARMAMENT NOT ASSURED

But it is not only the benefits of disarmament which must be fought for. Though disarmament has become a central issue, the fight to achieve it still lies ahead. Even the initial steps are yet to be won.

To be sure, there is a body of sentiment which takes disarmament with some seriousness. For example, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey recently stated that he believes the Soviet leadership is serious in its proposals, and that we must make preparations so that disarmament will not cause a setback. But the fact is that the cold war has not been abandoned, and this means in the main a continuation of pressures for big arms budgets.

For the past several years, arms expenditures have been rising; since 1959, they have gone up at an average rate of about \$1.4 billion a year (from \$39.1 billion in 1955 to an average annual rate of \$46 billion in the first three quarters of 1959). And this in the face of repeated declarations by Eisenhower that military expenditures were to be held down.

At the same time, there has been extensive pressure for still greater increases. A report of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, issued last year, calls for a rate of increase of \$3 billion a year for the next several years. The unpub-

lished Gaither Report projected a rise to \$65 billion a year by 1963. Still other proposals envisage a rise within the next few years to outlays of as much as \$75 billion annually.

In this, the top Democratic Party leadership has joined. Thus, in mid-1959 the Advisory Council of the Democratic National Committee urged a program adding up to \$3 billion more per year. ("The Military Forces We Need and How to Get Them," Democratic Digest, July, 1959). An equal clamor has gone up from the top labor leadership which, like the Democratic Party spokesmen, has repeatedly charged the Eisenhower Administration with sacrificing the country's defense. So, too, have liberal economists like Leon Keyserling, whose proposed "National Prosperity Budget" includes provision for greatly enhanced arms outlays. He writes: "There would also be room in such a budget to lift our national security outlays in accord with the judgment of the best qualified experts..." (Conference on Economic Progress, Inflation: Cause and Cure, June, 1959.)

Nor have these pressures lessened since the Khrushchev visit. The position of the Democratic Party spokesmen, the labor leadership and the liberal economists remains essentially unchanged so far. So does that of a Nelson Rockefeller and other important representatives of monopoly. And within the Administration itself, the State and Defense Departments only recently urged Eisenhower to raise his request for foreign military aid in the budget for fiscal 1961 from the \$1.3 billion figure proposed by him to \$2 billion.

The Eisenhower proposals, on the other hand, call not for cuts in military expenditures, but merely for keeping them at present levels. And even this, moreover, is little more than propaganda looking to the 1960 elections. As James Reston puts it (New York Times, November 13, 1959): "The Administration has embarked on a 'peace program' and does not want it to coincide with increased military expenditures. It is talking disarmament. It wants to go into the 1960 presidential political campaign as the party of 'peace and fiscal responsibility.'" (Our emphasis.) In practice, Eisenhower, as in the past, proves not averse to proposed increases. Thus, he has yielded to the State Department and Pentagon pressures for higher foreign military aid appropriations.

Generally, the idea of disarmament of any serious kind continues to be regarded as something unreal. A recent expression of what is the prevailing big business view was given only recently by Westinghouse Electrical Corporation president Mark W. Cresap, Jr. Advocating long-range as against "crash" arms programs, he said:

A stable, long-range continuing defense program is preparation for peace. It is essential for our survival....

We need a stable and continuing military program because in the years and decades ahead we Americans are going to be faced with the roughest kind of competition from peoples of demonstrated caliber and accomplishment. In this competition there is no second chance and no margin for error. (New York Times, September 25, 1959.)

In short, the road to peace continues to be viewed as lying in arming ourselves to the teeth for the indefinite future. For large sections of big business, this is, of course, the road to greater profits as well both here and abroad. Thus, American arms manufacturers are today pouring large sums into reviving the West German arms industries. Relying on a continued policy of rearming that country as Wall Street's chief European outpost, companies like General Electric, American Motors, Lockheed, General Dynamics, to name but a few, are buying heavily into West German firms with arms contracts.

New York Times writer Hanson W. Baldwin frankly regards disarmament as "pie in the sky." He writes (November 8, 1959):

...the agreements so far lie largely in the realm of semantics and of pious hopes, and the disagreements are of fundamental substantive importance. Despite almost fifteen years of effort, there has been no progress in the limitation of arms, much less in "universal disarmament."

He goes on to say that "...Mr. Khrushchev's glittering goal of 'universal and complete' disarmament is a mirage, a psychological come-on."

The cold-war mentality dies hard.

Just as there are as yet no serious moves toward actual reduction of arms, so also is there no sign of easing the restrictions on American-Soviet trade.

Last June, Premier Khrushchev made a bid for the purchase of \$100,000,000 worth of American chemical and other industrial equipment, an offer he repeated during his visit. The offer was rejected by Eisenhower when it was first made, and again after Khrushchev's visit.

Rockefeller has chimed in with a demand that the Soviet Union be required to "comply with Western trading rules" as a condition for trade -- to pay in hard currencies and to "stop dumping goods" abroad. In November the Commerce Department refused export licences for the sale of \$15.6 million worth of stainless steel to the Soviet Union, as well as nearly \$177,000 worth of chemicals. The Manufacturing Chemists Association flatly rejected the Soviet bid to buy chemical plants and processes, part of the \$100 million offer, because this would allegedly give the Soviet Union the advantage of valuable technological shortcuts.

Clearly, here too the cold-war mentality prevails. The fight for restoration of trade, like that for disarmament, is yet to be won.

#### FIGHT FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

If any real advance is to be made in the direction of disarmament, therefore, the extensive sentiment for it among the American people must find organized expression, reflecting the widest unity of all who desire peace and an end to the arms race. Above all, the main leadership of organized labor must be brought to abandon its present suicidal policy of aggressive promotion of cold-war policies and repeated demands for bigger arms budgets.

At the same time, it is necessary to expose the hoax so long perpetrated on American workers, that arms production is the answer to unemployment, and to launch a fight for economic alternatives to the arms economy. Of primary importance is lifting the embargo on trade with the socialist countries and the widest expansion of such trade. It is also essential to project now a program calling for tax reductions for those in the low income brackets, for plans for a vast expansion of social welfare of those subjected to loss of jobs and income in the process of reducing arms production, and especially of the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American workers. Finally, it is necessary to project the perspective of an economy of total disarmament--an economy directed toward the realization of the vast potential which peace and disarmament would make possible.

To be sure, the full realization of this potential requires more than the ending of war; it requires the victory of socialism. But the fight for peace and total disarmament can lead to very substantial improvements in the lot of the working class. And the grand vista of total, universal disarmament in the space of four years, opened up by Khrushchev in his United Nations speech, offers a shining goal for which to fight. In such a fight, we Communists must be found in the very front ranks.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 25

PRECONVENTION DISCUSSION

(We reproduce here a number of discussion articles which it was not possible to include in the printed material issued. In the case of some articles which were very lengthy, excerpts are presented; National Educational Department.)

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THE DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS

By R. B.

Despite the easing of tensions in world affairs, there is no sign of a comparable let-up in the domestic cold war against the constitutional rights of the American people. A basic estimate of this attack, its source and direction is a necessary foundation for effective leadership in the defense of our liberties:-

The trend toward destruction of traditional bourgeois democratic rights in the U.S. began to unfold, in the main, at the end of World War II. It is a reflection of the deepening crisis of the capitalist world, and the insoluble contradictions faced by the ruling monopoly circles in the U.S. as a result of the growth of socialism, the national liberation movement of colonial countries and the inner contradictions of capitalist economy.

IMPERIALIST DILEMMA - U.S. imperialism faces a dilemma. On the one hand it seeks to drastically curb the rights of the people -- workers, Negroes, intellectuals -- in order to increase its rate of economic exploitation and stifle opposition to its pro-war policies. On the other hand, it tries to utilize the prestige of American democratic traditions as major ideological weapons in its struggle for world domination. This dilemma has led to splits in the ruling class and inner conflicts within the state apparatus.

Moreover, the special historic features of American constitutional government and democratic tradition have helped determine the forms and tactics of domestic reaction. The U.S. bourgeois state, now the instrument of the monopoly oligarchy, despite its surface democratic forms, has proved to be an effective instrument for suppression of popular opposition movements. Its "two party system" has served to thwart the will of the people and block the development of a genuine anti-monopoly coalition in the Northern states; its open fascist-like dictatorship in the deep South further buttresses the power of monopoly and its allies.

"Creeping Fascism" - American reaction has in the main followed a course of gradualism in sharpening its instruments of repression and attempting to gut the elements of popular democracy embodied in the Bill of Rights. While avoiding the appearance of a sharp break with the traditional methods of rule, it has gone a long way in altering the form of government. The new repressive apparatus includes a vastly expanded political police and espionage force, the SACB, the investment of new dictatorial powers in the Department of Labor, the Congressional standing committees with permanent staffs, and other agencies linked to the huge military bureaucracy. These are closely meshed with unofficial adjuncts of state power -- control of press, radio and TV, employer black-lists, "Americanization" committees of veterans organizations and the like.

American reaction has tried to masquerade as the defender of our Constitutional "way of life" and our "national security". Using "legality" to cover its violence to the Bill of Rights, it has forged a formidable arsenal of laws--the Smith Act, McCarran Act and Communist Control Act, McCarran-Walter Law, the Taft-Harley Law and the new labor control law.

Over the last six or seven years, the one partial (and temporary) governmental barrier to this "creeping fascism" has been the U.S. Supreme Court. Even this limited resistance by the Court, which always avoided direct assertion of First Amendment principles, led to a major treat to alter the Constitution and limit the traditionally defined role of the Court. Under this pressure, centered in Congress, the court majority retreated from its earlier libertarian stand.

Threat To First Amendment - The current struggle to preserve the First Amendment, which embodies the basic principles of the Bill of Rights, hinges on the defense of the rights of Communists. On this issue, reaction came close to victory in the era of McCarthyism, and once again threatens to break at this point the dam of Constitutional protections for all trends of dissenting opinion.

Civil libertarians must meet the challenge on this ground, or suffer serious and possibly fatal defeat in their effort to preserve the First Amendment. The bulk of the Common people, never wholeheartedly favorable to the tide of reaction, are showing growing understanding as the anti-union offensive tends to merge the economic struggles with defense of the Bill of Rights.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the AFL-CIO and other basic mass organizations of the people have eagerly adopted and still cling to the big lies of the "Communist menace", and have so far prevented the emergence of an effective pro-Bill-of-Rights coalition. This weakness, in turn, is reflected in Congress, which lacks even a minority bloc--especially in the House--which stands squarely in defense of the First Amendment.

THREAT OF FASCISM? - With two basic tests--the membership provision of the Smith Act and the McCarran Act--now pending before the Supreme Court, and a flood of new repressive laws awaiting final action in Congress, the basic principles of the First Amendment are facing a crisis. The ultimate danger of a qualitative change in the substance of the state apparatus (i.e. fascism) cannot be minimized, even though the preparatory process is far from completed.

The Communist Party and those whom it influences can play a decisive role in helping to build a national resistance movement. They alone can fully expose the big lie of the "Communist Menace", the nature of reaction and the fascist threat. Through support to and initiation of united front movements, they can help concentrate the democratic forces upon the defense of the basic principles of the First Amendment. Today, the potentials for a powerful coalition in defense of the Bill of Rights are greater than they have been at any time since the cold war began in earnest. Given effective leadership, the people can preserve and extend their freedoms.

CHANGE NEEDED - It must be said self-critically that there has been a serious underestimation of the extent of the erosion of the Bill of Rights. The lack of this basic estimate has fed ideological unclarity and disunity. It has fostered complacency, on the one hand, and narrow, one-sided approaches to alliances, without perspectives of continuing growth and development, on the other. The defense of democratic rights has not been a main element in the mass work of the Party in many major areas of its work. It must now become one of the central tasks of the Communist Party as set forth in policies of the XVIIth Convention.

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#### PEACEFUL TRADE AND SHIPYARDS JOBS IN BROOKLYN ARE ELECTORAL ISSUES

By Will Farley (Excerpt)

Since last December there has been a good deal of legislative and political activity on the part of 26 metal trades unions at Brooklyn Navy Yard to prevent further layoffs of shipyards workers caused by the shifting of "defense" work elsewhere. Trips to Washington, D. C. to see Senators Keating and Javits and the Brooklyn delegation in Congress, visits to City Hall and Albany and delegations to New York political leaders ---- all with one aim in view: More "Defense" contracts for Brooklyn Navy Yard. Dozens of other examples could be cited where union leaders and large numbers of workers see no other solution to the problem of unemployment except through more and more contracts for armaments.

Obviously, with this kind of lobbying and legislative activity--for more war shipbuilding and repair work -- legislators whether in New York or Washington will feel little compunction about voting for multi-billion dollar military budgets.

Last spring Governor Freeman of Minnesota made a trip to New York City to discuss peaceful foreign trade and to tell of expanded inland shipping facilities of the Port of Duluth. There has been much excitement and activity in the last year over the now-realized St. Lawrence Waterway which a whole generation of high school debating societies once orated about across the land.

Big shipping executives right here in our own bailiwick have spoken out about the desirability of more peaceful trade. Bankers and capitalists wined and dined Mikoyan last winter to stir up commerce overseas. As long ago as 1954 the American Labor Party showed exactly where there were 175,000 more jobs for New Yorkers if trade with China and other countries were opened up. Harry Bridges once estimated that some 3,000,000 more jobs in the United States would result if we established trade with China.

Bethlehem Steel Company recently announced the merger of its two Brooklyn shipyards "because of the depressed state of ship repairing activities in New York Harbor." This merger involves the loss of some 90 jobs unless they are absorbed somewhere else. Last winter Bethlehem as well as Todd Shipyard officials in the New York-New Jersey area pointed to the world shipping slump as the cause of layoffs at local shipyards in the past year or so.

In August of this year our Party conducted a number of fine meetings on the subject of peace, and some leaflets were issued. But to the best of my knowledge none of these leaflets were directed to workers--unemployed or about to be unemployed--who would gain tangible benefits by world peace AND world trade--shipbuilding and waterfront workers. None of these leaflets, as far as I know, listed specific PEACE-TIME industries which would benefit in terms of more jobs if peaceful trade were expanded. None of these leaflets gave any hint of the thousands of jobs which would result on the waterfront if the huge surpluses of food now costing millions of dollars in storage fees were shipped out to a world which, it has been conservatively estimated, has two-thirds of its population ill-fed.

Longshoremen would prefer shipping food and clothing and useful machinery and tools to the loading of dangerous explosives and other armaments. Shipyard workers would feel much happier were the ships they build and repair destined for peaceful commerce, the tourist trade and cultural, educational and scientific exchanges--the things that help create lasting peace.

Communist Party Clubs and committees need to issue this type of leaflets. Workers desperately trying to rescue their jobs, ultimately can be convinced that contracts for more war ships is not the solution for their employment problems.

It is getting on toward the time when voters must not be boxed in at each primary test or at convention time with the choice of nominating a person who is not so bad as opposed to one who is bad. Sooner or later there have to be some candidates who can be supported for the simple reason that they are good candidates who will fight in the people's interest. However, that time will not be reached until Communists and other advanced workers in the political arena take some of the issues out by the nape of the neck, and place them where the voters can see them and measure the various candidates in relation to their stand on these issues.

The issue on which there is quite universal agreement is the desirability of peace, but there are few legislators who will be pinned down on exactly what they will do to achieve it. All candidates say they want full employment. Working people need both peace and job security. Our Communist Party must give leadership in the struggle of the people to achieve these ends. Here are a few suggestions which may help:

\* The Industrial Division of the New York State Communist Party to issue a four page educational folder containing the Party's program for peacetime jobs for shipyards and waterfront workers.

\* A WORKER flyer by ace correspondents and reporters on what opening up of trade with China and other Socialist nations will mean in jobs for New York maritime workers; to show that peaceful foreign trade can actually mean MORE jobs than can contracts in war industries and the building and repair of war ships.

\* A Party County Committee could issue a leaflet calling upon the New York delegation in Congress to campaign for an honest to God Federal housing and school construction program. Workers in the shipbuilding trades can also build fine schools and low rent housing projects.

\* Communist Party Clubs with the help of their county Committees to make sure there are weekly leaflets for the next several months -- until primaries and nominating convention time -- on the issue of foreign trade and peacetime jobs.

All this will run up our printing and mimeographing bills, of course, but it will pay off in terms of a better informed electorate. I am quite sure it will stimulate some workers in their unions and in their shops and in their Assembly Districts to discuss alternatives to jobs in war industries. It may interest some of the more class conscious shipyards and waterfront workers in the full program of our Party.

But more than that --- I believe trade union delegations seeking an end to layoffs in the shipyards can be persuaded to change their pleas for more "defense"

contracts into a demand for a vast building program which will put the skills and talents of the metals trades and other construction workers to work at building ships which will ply the trade routes the world over with food and clothing instead of the guns and other weapons of war now making up so much of our ships' cargo.

Congressmen faced with this type of delegation would feel a little more encouraged to favor housing and school construction bills over our \$46,000,000 military budget.

Candidates for district leadership and nomination in coming primaries and conventions would be put to the test were this type of trade union and voter delegation to ask of them assurances that they would legislate and act for jobs and not for war, cold or otherwise.

And out of such constructive pre-election voter activity there may develop candidates and other political leaders from the ranks of labor. It may appear to be starry-eyed and visionary to suggest that some of these things may be accomplished in time for the 1960 and 1961 elections, but it is not starry-eyed and visionary to state that unless we do help develop these legislative and political "movements in depth", election campaigns will continue to offer the voters only "lesser evil" choices.

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### THE CHALLENGE OF SOCIALISM

By Tom Nabried

The recent visit of Soviet Premier Khrushchev to our country has opened up new opportunities for easing world tensions. The Draft Political Resolution of our Party correctly points out: "As we approach a new decade, the decade of the sixties, mankind stands at the threshold of a potential era of peace and plenty for all."

Khrushchev dealt with those issues that in one way or another touched upon the vital interests of all the people in the United States, irrespective of economic status, religious creed or political views and affiliation.

The main core of his speeches to various groups and to the people generally, were: Let us work for peace and learn to live together irrespective of the differences in our economic and political systems. Let us work toward total disarmament over a period of four years. Let us trade those things that each country can use without discrimination. Let us have peaceful competition between our two different social systems, capitalism and socialism.

He stated that socialism in the next 10 to 15 years will outstrip capitalism in production and in raising the living standard of the Soviet people to the highest ever attained by any social system.

Never in the history of our country has the leader of another nation challenged the United States government and its people to meet such a noble and just cause, not just for ourselves, not just for the Soviet Union and its people but for the sake of world's humanity. Khrushchev pleaded to mankind everywhere through his visit here, "Let us study war no more," which causes destruction, death and carnage. Do away with armaments races and relieve the heavy tax burden upon the national resources and spend the money for human welfare. Let us have peaceful competition in the economic welfare of our respective peoples, let us compete in culture, science and education.

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The reaction to the Khrushchev challenge is not the same among all groups in our country. Among the average responsible clear-minded citizens there is still some skepticism, but a willingness to give it a try. There have been many different reactions in various fields to different aspects of the question. For example in the field of science it has become increasingly clear to most Americans that socialism has been able to make its tremendous achievements by its planned economic system. It is further recognized that in education as well, America is being outstripped by leaps and bounds. Culturally the interchange between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. has opened many doors for further growth of peaceful relations between the two great nations. The American working class and people for the first time have been able to get first-hand information of the development

of socialism and what it has to offer, directly from the top government official of the first socialist state, and they have begun to see that much of the information in America has been twisted and distorted.

The discussion between President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Khrushchev on the above issues and the expanding of trade and settling all outstanding differences through negotiation, without force, is part of the vast potential for peaceful competition and coexistence.

This beginning of exchange of visits by the two heads of states opens the possibility for the achievement of total disarmament and world peace, the aspiration of millions everywhere.

However, there also exists a powerful, wealthy group that wants no change in the cold war policy and is doing everything within its power to prevent a change. The people that make up this group are scattered, in official governmental departments, in business and among politicians in both Democratic and Republican Parties. Although the position of this group is detrimental to the best interests of our nation, the majority of the top leaders of the trade union movement accept and follow the policy for continuing the cold war.

However, the "cold war" crowd can only be successfully defeated by an acceptance of the Khrushchev challenge by the United States government and the people. The struggle for the acceptance of the Khrushchev challenge of peaceful living together requires courage and boldness and initiative on the part of the Communists.

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Since the 16th National Convention of the Party there seems to be a reluctance to boldly deal with questions of international relations and politics raised by leading Marxists of other countries. This concept flows from an attitude that agreement with them by an American Marxist means accepting dictation or not developing our own thinking in relation to Marxist-Leninist scientific theories and their application to the American scene.

Such an attitude can only lead to the conclusion that Marxism-Leninism is not an all encompassing science. In the fields of science generally, scientists must utilize that store of knowledge or the laws of science that have been discovered and amassed by other scientists in order to make a contribution to new discoveries and the advancement of human welfare. It is for this reason that it often happens that scientists in one country and those in another can draw the same conclusions in a given field, and they may not have any physical connections to each other. Thus Marxists can reach similar conclusions in various countries.

The leading role of the Communist Party is blurred by incorrect thinking by some Communists that if the Party projects new ideas that have not yet been raised by the masses or their leadership, that the people would hesitate to accept such ideas and that the Party would be further isolated. This thinking leads the Party into the position of waiting to see what others will say or do. This negates the leading role of the Party of educating the people and advancing the fight to higher political levels.

It is incumbent upon our Party to most vigorously open the struggle for the acceptance of the Khrushchev challenge amongst the widest section of the population. Through the development of such an outlook can the U.S. government be convinced that such competition is the only alternative to a war of annihilation. It is through such an approach that the objectives set by our draft resolution can be achieved.

"To defeat the reactionary offensive of corporate wealth, to advance the fight for peaceful coexistence, economic security and civil rights and liberties, it is necessary to achieve the broadest, most resolute unity of action of the working class and its allies.

"It is essential to bring into existence an anti-monopoly people's coalition uniting labor, the Negro people, the small farmers, students, professionals, small businessmen and other democratic elements on a program of action for economic welfare, democratic rights and peace."

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ON THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION

By Cyril Briggs

Together with the projection of a correct main line -- promotion of the greatest possible unity of all who stand for peace and the building of the democratic front against the monopolies--the Draft Political Resolution contains a number of grave defects and weaknesses. These must be corrected if the proposed resolution is to maintain the high political level expressed in the formation of its main line. Chief among these defects are:

1. Its failure (a) to offer a program for the liberation of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the numerous Pacific islands occupied by the U.S. under one pretext or another, and treated as colonial possessions; (b) to analyze in depth the role of U.S. imperialism as a colonial power and the chief bulwark today of the collapsing imperialist-colonial system. The draft resolution thus fails to recognize the obligation of Marxists of every country to expose and combat their own imperialists.

2. It treats too lightly the question of Cuba and the necessity of U.S. workers to defend, in their own interests, the Castro revolution and government. It must give far more recognition to the importance of the Cuban revolution, both in relation to the Cuban people and all the peoples of Latin America and the desperate efforts of U.S. imperialism to wipe out the example it offers to other Latin-American peoples, its already discernible impact on Panama, Brazil, etc. The proposed resolution must expose before the U.S. working class and nation the falsity and hypocrisy of the contention in certain circles that this country has always been a good friend of the Cuban people and an ardent supporter of their aspirations for national independence and dignity--their synthetic "surprise" at the "ingratitude" of the Cuban people. Exposure of this ribald lie is basic to our defense of the Cuban revolution. One of the most effective means of doing this, in our opinion, is to spotlight both present and past machinations of U.S. monopolies and the State Department against Cuban and Guatemalan independence, with some generalizations on this same theme in regard to other Latin-American countries.

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3. It is not enough for the draft resolution to give six lines to "the increasing manifestations of anti-Semitism" in our country. A more vigorous presentation of the sinister increase in anti-Semitic acts and propaganda is needed. The fight against anti-Semitic poison must also be one of the points in the immediate program proposed by the draft resolution. (Political Affairs, Sept., 1959, p. 29)

The proposed resolution must also take note of the divisive and disruptive influences in the rise of a rabid Jewish bourgeois nationalism in our country, focused around the State of Israel and its pro-imperialist orientation, which finds reflection in an important section of the Zionist movement in the U.S.

The pro-imperialist character of this Jewish bourgeois nationalism serves not only to isolate Israel from the powerful conscious anti-imperialist currents in the national liberation revolution sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin-America, but gravely affects the friendly relations between the Jewish people and the Negro people, whose sympathies are with the anti-imperialist-colonialist revolution. It feeds anti-Semitic currents in the Negro community, derived from the national stream of anti-Semitic poison and provided a phony rationale by the fact that it is the Jewish merchants, with their anti-Negro employment policies, and not the representatives of monopoly capital, who are visible in the Negro community.

Irritating and exasperating as is the reactionary role of Jewish merchants in the Negro community, Negro Marxists have historically recognized that the enemy in the path of the Negro people is not the Jewish merchants, but monopoly capital. They know it is monopoly capital that originated and today strives desperately to maintain the infamous U.S. jmcrow pattern. They know, too, that monopoly capital would like nothing better than to have attention diverted from itself, have Jews depicted as the main enemy of the Negro people. Thus, Negro Marxist recognize their obligation to vigorously combat such a consummation, in the interests of Negro freedom and Jewish-Negro unity--so vital a factor in the fight against racism, white supremacy and anti-Semitism. But our Negro comrades should not be left to conduct this struggle alone. Their efforts must be supplemented and supported by our Party boldly adopting a Marxist-Leninist position on Jewish bourgeois nationalism and the Middle East, thereby repudiating at long last the peddling of the Ben-Gurion line by

the Daily Worker during the editorship of the renegade John Gates. Our Party must defend the right of Israel to exist, but criticize the reactionary policies of its rulers. On this point we could well take a lesson from the valiant Israeli Communist Party.

Moreover, unless we are to abdicate the Jewish community to the bourgeois nationalists, have the Jewish working class succumb to their reactionary influences, we must vigorously combat all that is reactionary in Jewish bourgeois nationalism, just as we must combat what is reactionary in Negro bourgeois nationalism, and not treat bourgeois nationalism, as the draft resolution does, as if it were a problem only for the Negro movement.

It is not enough to leave the ideological struggle to the Morning Freiheit and other Left Jewish publications. Not all of our Jewish comrades read Yiddish and can avail themselves of the excellent discussions and guidance offered by the Freiheit. Nor, indeed, should our Jewish comrades be expected to carry alone the burden of the struggle against Jewish bourgeois nationalism. This is the duty of the Party as a whole.

Developments and trends in the Jewish community must be of the greatest concern to all Communists. We should never forget that many of our most capable and valiant comrades were recruited in that community, nor that the Jewish people have a long progressive tradition. It is our duty to keep that tradition alive and strengthen it against the inroads of Jewish bourgeois nationalism.

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4. The draft resolution ignores completely the problems of the Mexican workers and the Mexican-American community. It likewise by-passes the problems of Puerto Rican workers in our country and the position and role of women in U.S. society, including the triply oppressed Negro women and their outstanding contributions to the Negro freedom movement. It treats inadequately the problems and role of the youth.

5. It falls far short of adequate criticism of business unionism and the treacherous, class collaborationist role of its leaders on both domestic and foreign issues, including the vicious activities of these leaders in seeking to subvert and undermine the newly-won political independence of Asian and African nations and the national-revolutionary struggles of those peoples still under the yoke of imperialism, in line with State Department policies.

6. It fails aggressively to defend the Party and its members: the right of Communists to function without harassment and persecution, without being penalized by blacklists, etc., for their political convictions. In this connection, it must be said, the liberal Professor Joseph P. Morray does a far better job, in his recently published book Pride of State (Beacon Press, Boston) of defending the U.S. Marxist movement than our Party has been doing in this period.

It is our opinion, too, that the proposed resolution should also defend those basic Marxist-Leninist theories that are under violent attack today, both by the bourgeoisie and their intellectual lackeys, and by some of our own comrades. A vigorous defense of the theory of relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class could do much to dispel many of the illusions of the working class.

A program for a Marxist Party, such as must be projected, or at least outlined, in its (main) political resolution must, of course, deal with many aspects in the life of its country and working class. This necessity does not, however, exempt it from the obligation of selecting the most important issues for an exploration in depth. The proposed resolution needs to amplify its analysis of major issues. Much of its present treatment of issues is superficial, platitudinous and verbose.

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#### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

By E.G., New York

During the course of "Some Aspects of the Negro Question" --a July, 1959 Marxist World Review article based on a report to the National Committee--James E. Jackson declares (emphasis his):

1. "The Negro people are most severely oppressed and exploited of all the peoples who make up the American nation."

2. "But the Negroes in the United States are not constituted as a nation. They rather have the characteristics of a racially distinctive people or nationality and constitute a historically determined component part of the whole American nation, which, as is well known, is itself an historically derived national formation, an amalgam of more or less well-differentiated nationalities."

3. "To conclude that the Negro people in the United States are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in our country is not a national question. It is indeed a national question. The question is, however, a national question of what type, with what distinguishing characteristics, calling for what strategic concept for solution?"

Following his three hypotheses (as quoted above), Comrade Jackson prepares the reader for a definition of the "type" of "national question" the Negro question is. He does it by pointing out that "Marxism-Leninism regards the national question from the viewpoint of liberating the oppressed nations and nationalities, linking this task with the struggle for liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism in a given country and on a world scale"; he does it by explaining that "The path of development of the Negro people toward the achievement of equality does not take the route of struggle for national independence, political-geographical sovereignty and statehood" but, rather, that "The Negro people...historically, now, and, most probably, for the future, seeks a solution of its national question in the struggle for securing equality in political, economic, and social fields as a component part of the American nation"; and he does it by showing that this interpretation of the Negro question does not diminish "the revolutionary import of the Negro people's struggle" but that it is in "the main line of the present-day reality, namely, that the solution of all democratic tasks is worked out in conformity with and on the basis of the primacy of the working-class struggle to transform modern society along socialist lines." Having thus prepared you for his definition of the "type" of "national question" the Negro question is, Comrade Jackson says (emphasis his):

"This places the struggle for the solution of the Negro question in direct and strategic relationship to the present-day movement. for progress, and its main social force--the working class."

And that statement, as far as I was able to determine, is his answer to his query.

Because, it seems to me, Comrade Jackson has answered only one element of his question, and the "type" to which this "national question" belongs seems to be missing--a situation which may leave one doubting that what he calls the national "is indeed a national question"--I am posing a series of hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. A national minority presupposes existence of a nation to which that minority belongs. The phrase "national minority" used in this sense is a political term. It implies either (most commonly) nationals of a subject or dominated country living in the country which dominates their homeland and who consequently are treated as inferiors, or (sometimes) nationals whose country is not directly dominated by the host country but who, themselves, are politically and otherwise maltreated by the host country. A group of Kenyans, for example, residing in London, is a national minority, as is a group of Algerians living in Paris. Cypriots living in England are a national minority. Until the Gold Coast became the independent state of Ghana, any group of that country's indigenous peoples living in England was a national minority and the political, economic, and social issues arising from these Africans' being in England formed a national question. Suppose a Negro nation occupied the heart of the Deep South--as Jackson says is not the case Negroes living outside that area and elsewhere in the United States would be a national minority, wouldn't they? There being no such nation, can there still be a Negro national minority and a national question?

Hypothesis 2. Descendants of the black race brought to America from 340 to less than 200 years ago are United States citizens. They are not and cannot be nationals of their ancestors' homeland, Africa, first because these descendants were born in the U.S., and also because they could not be nationals of the whole of Africa even if they had been born on that continent, Africa being constituted of thousands of nationalities and many countries--as is America or Asia or Europe. May we, therefore, call United States descendants of Africans from the old "Gold Coast" a national minority because they bear some physical characteristics of their ancestors, anymore correctly than we may call other U.S. citizens national minorities because their parents or grandparents came from Italy or Japan or Ireland or

China? Would we say that Ghanaian authorities were wrong not long ago when they told U.S. Negroes who sought to emigrate to Ghana that they were not welcome under the circumstances and reminded them that they were U.S. citizens?

Hypothesis 3. Negroes are a minority among the white people of the United States. If it should be decided that Negroes are not a national minority, should it be decided also that since "minority" thus used is a political term, the Negro is a minority of any sort only because he is a part of a political equation that has yet to be solved, and that when this political equation is solved he no longer will be a "minority" although still outnumbered by white people? In the meantime, however, being a minority, is he, or is he not, Jackson's "racially distinctive" minority?

Hypothesis 4. Comrade Jackson, referring to the dropping of the concept of the Negro nation, writes that the Negro people "constitute a part (although the part most deprived of its rights) of the American nation." Our use of the geographically ambiguous and politically outrageous term "American nation" implies great-nation chauvinism that is hateful in any people and especially hateful in an oppressed people. The people of the United States, including us, the Negroes, have not maliciously, but have thoughtlessly, adopted the imperialist-rulers' jargon in referring to our country's relations with other countries and other peoples. Those of us who accept the Marxist definition of a nation cannot similarly accept the term "American" as just another way of saying "United States." We cannot accept it for the politically sound reason that this is talking not only like great-nation chauvinists who refuse to see Latin America and Canada as, themselves, comprising complete nations; we also make ourselves liable to the just criticism of Cuba, Panama, and other Latin American countries who are struggling against U.S. imperialism and look to United States Communists at least for understanding.

Hypothesis 5. The Negro people are "racially distinctive," as Jackson says; they also, as he says, "constitute a historically determined component of the whole" people of the United States. Neither in the so-called Black Belt of the Deep South nor in any other area of the U.S. do Negroes show indications of desiring the right of self-determination--that is, independence--in the sense, say, that the people of Algeria desires it and that Guinea desired and, finally got it. Is that because U.S. Negroes are conscious, though on the whole vaguely, of the important fact that but for them the primary accumulation of wealth upon this continent would have been different? Is it that they have learned--and are continuing to learn, especially through the medium of Negro History Week--that beginning with the first arrival of 20 indentured African servants at Jamestown, Va., in 1619, their more than 200 years of unpaid-for labor power went into building the wealth of the South; that since 1863 and the proclamation of emancipation the Negro's labor power, only partly paid for, has continued to enrich the South and, incidentally, the rest of the country? Is it that he knows that nothing in the culture of this country is without his imprint; that anthropologists declare his blood to flow through the veins of a majority of old-stock citizens of the U.S.?

Hypothesis 6. Desegregation --the removal of barriers separating "blacks" from "whites", or the killing of jimcrow--has been going on, formally, in the area of public school education and in a limited number of other areas of the South, since the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision. Integration, on the other hand, has been proceeding on the North American continent since 1619, steadily and inexorably, but informally, therefore under difficulties. Some Supreme Court decisions are an aid to integration's going ahead formally and the Negro people are taking advantage, where possible, of such opportunities as are offered. When Negroes say they desire to be integrated into the general fabric of the economic, social and political life of their country they consider that they are speaking, first of all, of their country--the whole of it--and they take the word integration to mean to fit one into another; simultaneously to exchange what I have for what you have, each to make the other's his own and to combine. It implies to the Negro complete equality, because an exchange implies worth for worth, value for value. Integration as a social concept in the U.S. means, in practice, placing the Negro (unequal in general, sociologically, to the white man) in a position from which he may the better work toward overcoming his inequality. If the Negro, as I say here, thus interprets the idea of integration and thus acts in accordance with his interpretation, he is wrong and should be shown by us to be a national minority concerned with a national question and that integration, which he wants, is incompatible with the C.P. program. True? False? How?

Final Hypothesis. Integration rather than the right of self determination is desired by the Negro people of the United States, except for such groups as the

so-called Muslems and a few separatist elements. The Negro people desire such integration not only because there is no political base for separation in the heart of the monopoly-capitalist country which is the United States of America, but chiefly because they feel that, in such a setup--if it were possible--they would lose more than they would gain. (As the Algerians, on the other hand, would lose more than they would gain by choosing integration instead of independence.) U.S. Negroes would lose the wealth created by their labor (as manifested in the material wealth of the United States), the billions of man-hours expended, their gifts to this culture and, in consequence, their right to the claim, as they now declare it, that this is their country because, but for them, there would not be this country.

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The foregoing hypotheses are presented, as hypotheses always must be presented, as facts (or theories), not as dogma, and should be accepted as facts until proved wrong. I must ask, as an afterthought, for I forgot to insert the question earlier, what becomes of the theory of "the Negro national bourgeoisie" and of the Negro people (divided as they are in classes, the majority being workers themselves) as "an ally" of "the working class"? Are these two conceptions compatible with the integrationist movement? Does not this whole Negro question call for a great deal more study by persons who have been, in some cases, offensively overbearing in their dogmatism on this question?

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#### REMARKS ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION

West Jefferson Club, Moranda

Smith Section, Los Angeles, Calif.

#### ON THE INTRODUCTION

The introduction should set forth a Communist Party program. The Communist Party is based on the science of Marxism-Leninism as a guide to action and analysis in answering the many questions confronting the people under our capitalist society. Therefore it is incumbent on us to present a rounded program based on the specific conditions in the U.S., setting forth demands uppermost in the interests of the people and charting the course to guarantee a peaceful development of a socialist U.S.

We are of the opinion that a Party program must define for the people, as well as our members, the specific tasks and responsibilities that fall upon our Party, and why it has such responsibilities. Also, it should clarify the difference between the Communist Party and the bourgeois parties.

Secondly, the introduction should place in order of importance those sections of the people who can most influence the development of our country. Herein, we see the role of the working class as the key force, both in the struggle for peace and in the struggle for socialism.

To guarantee the vanguard role of our Party, it is necessary to assure the fullest working-class participation and membership in it. Our program must be one geared to aiding the struggle of our working class to its logical conclusion, which is peace and socialism.

In view of the fact that socialism is our main strategic aim, a major section of the introduction should be one introducing the concept of socialism, for it is overall purpose of the resolution to lead the people of our country closer to peace and socialism.

#### ON SECTION II

The draft resolution makes many excellent points on the peace question, thus reflecting a generally correct line. It can be improved by consolidating all the points into a clearly-defined, unmistakably Marxist-Leninist line on the struggle for peace.

The Communist Party, guided by the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence, is in the vanguard of the struggle for peace. This point should be developed explicitly in the resolution. The theory of peaceful coexistence is derived from the Leninist analysis of imperialism into the three well-known contradictions. The

idea of the possibility of building socialism in one country (the point of convergence of the three contradictions) was developed from this analysis.

The draft resolution makes many excellent points on the peace question, thus reflecting a generally correct line. It can be improved by consolidating all the points into a clearly defined, unmistakably Marxist-Leninist line on the struggle for peace.

The Communist Party, guided by the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence, is in the vanguard of the struggle for peace. This point should be developed explicitly in the resolution. The theory of peaceful coexistence is derived from the Leninist analysis of imperialism into the three well known contradictions. The idea of the possibility of building socialism in one country (the point of convergence of the three contradictions) was developed from this analysis.

The correctness of this idea was proven with the defeat of fascism in World War II. Today we have developed it into the theory of peaceful coexistence, of peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist sectors. On the one hand, we have the realization, in actual fact, of the superiority of the socialist system along with its victory in country after country. On the other hand, we have increasingly insurmountable contradictions within and among the imperialist countries along with the breakup of colonial rule in country after country. This is how Marxist-Leninists envision the victory of socialism on a world scale. This is what is encompassed by the term "peaceful coexistence."

Two conclusions follow from this:

1. Since this is a fundamental contradiction, it should be reflected in every nation, in every town, in every factory, in every organization, in every man, woman and child, and in every problem no matter how general or how personal.
2. The struggle for peace is inseparably connected with the struggle for socialism.

The draft is weak on both points. On the first it states that the overwhelming majority are as one in their fear of nuclear war and their desire for peace. This certainly does provide a basis for a united peace movement but it is not enough. The American people have not had the same kind of war experience as the peoples of other countries, where the conscious peace movements are of mass character. This desire for peace based on the fear of nuclear war must be linked up with the actual experiences of the American people living under the tremendous burdens of the war economy.

We have mounting inflation, taxes, crisis in educational facilities, juvenile delinquency, housing shortage, etc. For the Negro people and other minorities this means ever increasing shifting of the burdens from the privileged section of the workers. The cost of producing one bomber can practically eliminate the worst forms of juvenile delinquency in our city. It can keep our libraries open for the next half century on Saturdays. Or it can pay a year's salary for several hundred new school teachers.

Secondly, in the struggle to rid themselves of the hardships brought about the war economy, the American people must inevitably develop closer and friendlier ties with the socialist countries and with the American Communist Party which always stands for proletarian internationalism. It is no accident that the militancy of our labor leaders can be measured by their differing attitudes towards the Soviet Union, or that the Communist Party is singled out above all other groups as the object of vilification and persecution by reaction. This is one very important reason why the workers will inevitably turn to our Party for leadership. Our Party is universally recognized as the enemy of capitalism, as the party of socialism.

The main weakness of the section on peace is that it tends to isolate it from the day-to-day needs of the people and also from the struggle for socialism. It is open to both Left and Right deviations. This is not unusual; both deviations are the same underneath. This tendency of isolating the struggle for peace in and for itself also shows the influence of the pacifists who have made a tremendous impact upon the Left wing in recent years.

This isolation is further emphasized by its neglect in other sections of the draft. The section on the economic situation omits the question of the harmful effects of the East-West trade embargo and the role of East-West trade in converting

to peace-time economy. In fact the whole question of converting to peace-time economy is neglected. The negative as well as the positive attitudes of our labor leaders on the peace question should be pointed out somewhere in the resolution.

The title of the peace section tends to restrict the peace issue to a question of foreign policy.

The draft resolution opens its peace section with the statement that the "maintenance of peace" is the primary issue. This phrase should be changed to the "achievement of peace" or some other similar phrase. We cannot have peace by maintaining the status quo. We can have peace only by going forward

### ON SECTION III ---- THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

This section should be the cornerstone on which rests the whole of our political analysis. Therefore it must clearly present an overall picture of the economic trends and developments in our country since our last convention. How do these effect and compare with the total world economic outlook? What benefits have accrued to the workers of the U.S. from our country's imperialist policies, and what is our role as Communists? Was the economic analysis outlined in our '57 Convention Resolution a correct estimate? If not, what were its weaknesses?

Inclusion of "Militant Moods" and "Reactionary Offensive" in this section is confusing. These would be better placed at the beginning of the section dealing with the 1960 Elections as a base for developing its thesis. Also, in the order the they are presented, the final emphasis is on the reactionary. Instead of this mechanical separation, we propose a full evaluation of each political point to eliminate jumping back and forth in order to weigh the positive and negative aspects of each. As it stands there are no conclusions and we are left to speculate on whether we are gaining or losing ground.

The description of the economy as shaky and unstable but on the upgrade (for how long long -- six months, 5, 10 or 15 years?) is too superficial. While it isn't necessary to enumerate all the statistics, we recommend the inclusion of the most important figures with an analysis of such figures as are available in the Labor Fact Book #14.

(There follow a number of figures on trends in production investment, prices, profits, taxes, etc., which we omit for reasons of space.-Ed.)

Further, we feel this section must include: relation of fixed capital to variable capital; bank control -- mortgages on homes and small business; interlocking control; credit and interest rates; gold standard and currency manipulation; interest on war debt; manipulation of stock market; installment credit; cost of advertising to consumers; insurance companies role; land ownership; medical costs; crime cost; public works; unemployment and welfare figures; shoddy production of consumer goods.

For emphasis, we separate the whole question of export of capital which in the greatest imperialist country in history assumes major importance. The only formulation at all, referring to "establishing plants abroad ... at the expense of jobs of American workers" reflects great national chauvinism and is totally inadequate as an analysis of the export of capital.

Also, automation deserves a much fuller treatment, which would lend naturally into a discussion of the plight of the unemployed -- the difficulties of collecting unemployment insurance and welfare -- the treatment of old age pensioners and the attacks on aid to dependent children -- the effect of automation on the white collar workers. The analysis of automation in relation to the Negro people and the resultant unemployment should be treated more extensively, also, youth, Indians, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans. What is happening to women and older workers?

The main resolution, and especially the section dealing with economics, needs a fuller treatment of the trade unions, East-West trade and the possibilities of conversion to peaceful production.

Other points needing clarification are:

Page 29. Growth of state monopoly capitalism.

Page 29. Why was the third slump the most severe?

Page 30. Relocation of new factories--where? Who are the new workers? What of working conditions, unions? What is happening in auto where unemployed

workers are returning to West Virginia and other home areas when unemployment compensation runs out?

Page 30. Looting the federal treasury--how?

Page 30. Colossal burden of interest on the taxpayers--which taxpayers?

Page 30. Treatment of the farmers is so brief and superficial it doesn't answer anything. Where have they gone? Who owns the land? Who is farming it? What changes in methods have occurred? What is produced? What is the role of price supports, soil erosion prevention and other government policies? What about working conditions, wages, unions, cooperatives?

Page 31. Thirty-hour week--at what wages?

Why is there nothing on a new federal minimum wage law?

\* \* \* \* \*

### THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IN THE UNITED STATES

By Felix Anderson

(Excerpts)

Two outstanding historical developments characterize the present era. One is the rise of socialism. The other, its importance less widely noted, is the emergence of a new technology based largely on developments in the fields of nuclear energy and automatic control.

This new technology holds in store for mankind and, in particular, for America, two alternative and mutually exclusive fates: (1) thermonuclear rocket war, with the annihilation of a majority of the human race and destruction of civilization as we know it; (2) freedom from want, relief from drudgery, and greatly increased leisure for all the people.

The question of war or peace thus presents itself today as the question of which way nations will use the vast technological capabilities and energy resources which science has brought forth.

\* \* \*

It is prerequisite to a mass peace movement in the U.S. that major sections of the population see clearly the existence of sharp contradictions between continuation of the cold war on one hand and pursuit of the national welfare on the other. What are the most important considerations for the Party and the Left in helping the American people to see why (and then decide how) the cold war should be junked? First, we must base our work on an understanding of the fundamental importance of the new technology. And second, this work must proceed from a deepened understanding of the popular consciousness.

How do the American people feel about the cold war policy with its risk of thermonuclear war? The chief characteristic is bewildered concern. On one hand, the people hear about the great destructive capacity of H-bombs; but on the other hand, they are assured that with evacuation, shelters, anti-missile missiles, and "clean bombs," the losses can be "minimized." On one hand, they hear that many scientists are worried about anticipated biological effects of fallout from nuclear tests, but on the other hand, they are told by the A.E.C. that these effects are "negligible."

Forces within and without the government seek to prevent popular participation in the decisions concerning the use of nuclear energy and nuclear weapons. They are therefore deliberately restricting and distorting information; thereby they vitiate the democratic functioning of government and deny citizens the right to participate in the making of decisions essential to their well-being. Fundamental policy decisions proceed from technical considerations which, the people are told, they are incapable of grasping; they are reassured, however, that the decisions are being based on the thinking of competent specialists whose objectivity and patriotism are beyond question.

But there is a growing body of persuasive evidence that the people are disturbed by the idea of leaving to the "experts" the decision of policy questions upon which human survival depends. Thus (see *The Nation*, June 13 and Sept. 26, 1959), in at least two large cities, New York and St. Louis, the popular demand for sound

information on radiation and its hazards has become so great that volunteer organizations have been created to provide the means of communication between the public and scientists who are concerned about the public's right to know.

These organizations have avoided the advocacy of particular policy positions, apparently adhering instead to the objective of an informed public able to participate in the democratic process. Probably due in large measure to this broad approach, these groups have received many requests for speakers from PTA's women's groups, church bodies, Lions Clubs, etc. Inevitably, it is reported, the discussions reveal the people's concern to know how they can become better informed and how they can most effectively voice their views.

For us, this places the fight for the people's right to participate in deciding how nuclear energy and weapons will be used as the key tactical principle in the American peace struggle today. The obtaining of essential information on these problems is an integral part of the struggle. It should be evident that these struggles will not be easily won, and the course of the struggle itself will offer profound politically educating experiences. It should also be evident that the fight for the right to be informed and to participate in the formation of policy corresponds exactly to the present state of readiness of the American people.

\* \* \*

The state of popular awareness of the progressive economic implications of the new technology is undoubtedly far below the understanding of the military side. In trade union circles, automation has been generally viewed as a necessary evil rather than a potential boon; it is considered mainly in terms of defensive measures against dislocation of workers. This is no more than natural when automation is seen only as a development in capitalism, which will serve to enhance both profits and unemployment. It is of course correct for the unions to concern themselves with the short term defense of the workers' security. But the situation demands the elaboration of a broad program for the rational and comprehensive application of automation to the American economy in the public interest.

In this richest of countries, the working class is confronted by the fear that disarmament and automation bode mass unemployment. However, this overlooks the role which the people can play in shaping their own future. Their failure to consider this question is related in turn to confusion about the cold war and unawareness as to the material benefits which automation can bring. We suspect that on the latter question, workers would exhibit a voracious appetite for information, right now. Both the Party and the mass organizations can help the people elaborate the needed economic program; but in attempting this, both must engage in continuing discourse with the people and be keenly attuned to their thoughts.

There is no obvious factor precluding that much of such an economic program could be realized in the U.S. under capitalism. This would of course hinge on the developing course of ruling class strength and on the extent of determined working class struggle for transition to a peaceful economy with a minimum of economic travail.

It is still too early to assess fully the attitudes of the ruling class toward the future of the cold war or to perceive completely the divergences which may arise. Even a monopoly capitalist may not remain oblivious to the destructive power of modern weapons and the strength of the socialist camp as deterrents to imperialist war. Moreover, it is likely that some will question whether disarmament or inflation poses the greater threat to capitalist economic stability.

However, the basic laws of monopoly capitalism still operate. The increasing limitations on the capitalist market still give rise to imperialist aspirations. And whatever the subjective attitude of some monopoly capitalists, this heavily armed imperialist power remains a threat to peace. In U.S. ruling circles, it is still widely maintained that a nuclear war is admissible, and the doctrine of preventive nuclear war has yet to be repudiated. The deterrents already mentioned cannot be deemed guarantees of peace. Whatever powerful deterrents to war may arise from the objective situation abroad, the guarantee that aggressive war will not be waged by the U.S. can be provided ultimately only by the political intervention of broad sections of the American people in behalf of peace.

Peaceful competition is possible but it will offer neither a solution nor a mitigation of monopoly capitalist problems. A popular program for transition to a non-military economy with a working class share in the benefits of automation may be expected to arouse the bitter opposition of much of the ruling class. Nevertheless,

we may anticipate some support within the ruling class for such a program; this will facilitate adoption and implementation of the program.

\* \* \*

In summary, the Party's program for peace must focus on these important new elements:

- (1) An analysis of the situation and alternatives arising out of the new technology
- (2) A program for implementing the new and forthcoming technological developments under full employment to enrich the lives of the people; indeed, this must be seen as the positive essence of meeting the Soviet challenge to peaceful competition. The American people will see that they can only gain from such a race.
- (3) A struggle for the democratic right of the people to participate in the making of public policy; this presupposes a campaign for public education on those basic, incontrovertible facts which the public knows it lacks and which are indispensable for forming an intelligent opinion on the key questions relating to peace.

In addition, the Party must engage with new vigor and flexibility in the clarification of the crucial political blind spots which underlie the cold war ideology. These efforts will be greatly assisted by steps to broaden the free exchange of ideas and persons between East and West. In the spirit of constructive peaceful competition in ideas, new forms of exchange should be promoted, and the fear of ideas should be swept away.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### ON THE MAIN IDEOLOGICAL TASKS

By D.E.

The Draft Political Resolution has been endorsed widely, if not unanimously, at club, section and district levels in our state. Yet, the discussion and the endorsement was of a critical nature. The NEC Open Letter to the membership was a timely and sensitive response to this critically constructive attitude toward the resolution.

It is in this critical spirit that I want to discuss the section dealing with the educational content of our mass work and particularly that related to the tasks of our inner ideological responsibilities. After correctly indicating (it is true, somewhat routinely) the dangers to the working class and the common people in anti-Sovietism, anti-communism, racism, anti-Semitism, bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, the Draft calls for the exposure of this poisonous ruling class propaganda.

The Draft then declares: "Within the ranks of the Party and among other progressive forces, it is necessary to wage the most uncompromising and consistent struggle against revisionism. This opportunist trend has its source in the ideology of the imperialist ruling class which, through a whole range of social reformist and 'class partnership' ideas and illusions, exerts its pressure on labor and the middle classes and, in turn, within the Party. Exposing and combatting revisionist ideas and practices, which did great damage to our party in the period from 1956 to 1958, as well as in earlier periods, is our main ideological task." It then adds: "At the same time, the Party must vigorously combat doctrinalism and sectarianism."

Obviously, this section cannot be discussed by itself. It needs to be reviewed in my opinion from at least three inter-related approaches. First and foremost, it needs examination in relation to current theoretical problems that we face and particularly to current experiences in mass work. Second, it calls for an analysis on the background of the 16th Convention and in the context of national committee pro-nouncements since that convention. Third, it needs to be viewed in the light of the historic document adopted in Moscow in November 1957 and known as the Declaration of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries. The general content of modern revisionism, its sources as well as its effects, were presented with crystal clarity in that Declaration.

\* \* \*

In our Party, before, at, and for some time after the 16th Convention,

revisionism expressed itself primarily in denying the need for a Marxist vanguard party, in rejecting democratic centralism as the tested form of party organization, and in rejecting the universal validity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It further exhibited its anti-Marxist character by violating principles of proletarian internationalism, and by weakening the ties of the fraternal Communist Parties.

In some cases, the revisionists looked forward to an ever-expanding capitalist prosperity in the midst of an ever-widening democracy leading gradually and peacefully without revolution to socialism. These and other unscientific views, such as attitudes to social democracy and reformism, the welfare state, etc., were rejected piecemeal, some at the 16th Convention, other following the convention, and most decisively at and after the February 1958 National Committee meeting, which adopted a position of a simultaneous struggle against opportunist and revisionist influences and against sectarianism and dogmatism.

Which, if any, of these revisionist views on the role of our Party, on the crisis-free capitalism, on the attitude to the socialist countries, on the estimate for a flowering of bourgeois democracy and a growing over into the welfare state are today prevalent in our Party? What National Committee member, what state committee, what branches, or individual members today advocate these alien ideas in our ranks? What articles or editorials in Political Affaire or The Worker since February 1958 can and should be labeled properly as revisionist or rightist in direction?

Even if only very few in our ranks would promote such harmful propositions, the danger would be grave indeed, and a decisive ideological struggle against them would be in order. How can we judge the gravity of the situation now unless we are concretely informed of such trends, if any exist, either in the leadership or in the ranks?

One of the most serious manifestations of rightist thinking and practice that does continue to exist is the minimization of the role of our Party. Under-estimating the Party or even negating its role in concrete situations where potentialities for such expression of our vanguard role, either through individuals or through the organization as such, are both possible and necessary, is an error of a rightist or revisionist character. This is not to be confused with the sectarian who answers every call for participation in mass activity by proposing another Party leaflet.

\* \* \*

The fact that a decisive struggle against revisionism was not launched promptly and vigorously calls for self-critical examination by the leadership. The 16th Convention of our Party underestimated the emerging danger of revisionism. But to single out for today as the main ideological task of our Party exposing and combating revisionist ideas and practices would indicate that the revisionist danger is growing while the danger of dogmatism is diminishing in our ranks. Is this actually so?

The ravages of revisionism on our Party - first Lovestone, and then Browder, and more recently Gates have left their mark on our organization. And the most recent experience would surely demand a constant vigilance against the influences of this capitalist-oriented ideology. Furthermore, the influence of revisionism on an international scale would further demand of us a relentless struggle against the "new" refurbished dogmas of Bernstein. Continuing attempts to influence our ranks by those revisionist forces who left the Party are not to be denied nor are the ideological influences of reformist and social-democracy to be overlooked.

Given the history of revisionism in our Party, given the hold of American capitalist ideology on the American workers, given the opportunist practices ("opportunist system" would probably be more accurate) of the dominant section of trade union leadership, it would be folly indeed to underestimate the danger of revisionist-opportunist ideas and practices that may and do seep into the ranks of the Communist Party.

A Communist must not confuse, or equate, opportunist dangers in the labor movement with what may be the ideological danger in the Party at a given time. Our Party history can furnish more than one example where opportunism in the labor movement led to sectarian policies on the part of the left and the Party. Thus, prevailing opportunism in the ranks of the working class does not automatically make opportunism the main danger in the party.

Why, then, not make the struggle against revisionism the main ideological task facing the Party? That it is a major ideological responsibility is obvious,

and that any concrete manifestation of it in and around our movement must be relentlessly exposed is also clear. But if this is to be the main ideological task, then other dangers facing our organization and movement, such as dogmatic-sectarian ones, are less grave and do not call for the same emphasis and all-out attention. Objective and concrete examination of the situation in and around our Party will not support this one-sided presentation of our ideological tasks. It is not so, above all, because the period we are entering is an utterly new period, a new historical stage in the fight for peaceful coexistence and to underestimate either dogmatic tendencies or sectarian practices in our Party would be tantamount to erecting almost insuperable barriers on the main road to disarmament and peace.

\* \* \*

This period above all calls for a creative development of Marxism. The 21st Congress of the CPSU was the best example of this. Other parties, as well, are struggling to enrich Marxist-Leninist theory and to improve its guiding role in the battle for peace, democracy and socialism. Our Party can be proud of its creative application of Marxism to the Negro question in the U.S.A. This theoretical contribution may well mark the beginning of a leap forward by American Marxists in enriching the science of Marxism-Leninism in its application to the U.S.A. At the moment our Party still lags in its theoretical and ideological work and much of it still needs to be tied in with our daily activities.

On the threshold of this new period we shall face the most complex problems of mass work in coalitions and united fronts in order to help establish peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist worlds. Sectarian practices could rob us of the effectiveness that we must learn to exert in the coming decade of the 60's.

Experiences in mass work in Illinois which cannot be detailed here for reasons of space, point up the danger of sectarian practices which still persist in more than one area of our work. A stubborn struggle against such practices must be initiated and maintained. Are there not clubs and individuals in our State (and undoubtedly nationally) that do exactly what Hyman Lumer warns us against - inflate the Party's independent action into the totality (his emphasis) of its activities.

Are there not loud echoes of this sectarianism that makes "party meetings and the distribution of Party literature become a substitute for the difficult task of working within the mass movement and striving to build united front relationships?" Do we still not find far too many instances where comrades demand ideological unity as a basis for united front activity?

Who, with the sole exception, perhaps, of the dogmatists, will not see how apt this description of the dogmatist and sectarian is? "Dogmatism and sectarianism hinder the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in the changing conditions, replace the study of the concrete situation with merely quoting classics and sticking to books and lead to the isolation of the Party from the masses." And this tendency is still with us though diminishing in influence in our state. To some of our doctrinaires the very science of Marxism-Leninism is distorted and turned into a two-word magic formula, and thus no examination of the concrete is necessary.

The fight against dogmatism and tendencies in that direction will only register victories when, in the light of the Marxist method and guided by Marxist principles, the most thorough, concrete and continuing examination will be made of every major aspect of the American scene and the American class struggle as a basis for a sound program and sound strategy and tactics. The struggle against sectarianism will only record advances when our comrades in the trade unions and the mass organizations grapple with the immediate and concrete needs of the workers and the common people, and with great flexibility and sound judgment help establish united front activities and coalition movements on single issues as a basis for a broadening front on many issues against the giant monopolies and reaction within our country. And within this movement, giving constant attention to the question of how to express the Party's vanguard role in building the unity and political understanding of the working class, and in educating for socialism.

\* \* \*

Thus, the dangers of dogmatism and sectarianism are not to be underestimated. This was the position adopted by the February 1958 National Committee meeting when it declared a two-front struggle. "Moreover", that National Committee statement declared, "this struggle should be waged so as to help overcome the historic weakness of the American Marxist movement, its sectarianism and doctrinairism."

What has happened since February 1958 that requires a different emphasis than that given then? Has the danger of revisionism grown and that of sectarianism diminished? A two-front struggle with equal emphasis on the dangers of revisionism and dogmatism is every bit as necessary today as it was in 1958.

It is well in this connection to review briefly what the Moscow Declaration of November 1957 had to say on these dangers. All too often only one quote is given as the total approach of the Declaration to these dangers. A study of the document will reveal three distinct and related conclusions expressed. One said, "Disregard of national peculiarities by the proletarian party leads to its divorce from reality . . . and is bound to prejudice the cause of socialism and, conversely, exaggeration of the role of these peculiarities . . . is just as harmful to the socialist cause . . . the participants in the meeting consider that both these tendencies should be combated simultaneously." (My emphasis.)

A second position was expressed as follows: "The meeting underlines the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the Communist and workers parties."

And a third conclusion stated: "In condemning dogmatism the Communist parties believe that the main danger at present is revisionism or, in other words, right-wing opportunism, which as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyzes the energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism. 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 moment."

Both the letter and the spirit of the Declaration are violated when one insists that the conclusions on revisionism as the principal danger must apply with equal strength to every Communist party in the world and continue to apply today, two years later, to every Party alike.

\* \* \*

The parties of semi-colonial countries or of countries just recently liberated from colonialism are carrying on profound discussions on the role of the national bourgeoisie in the national liberation movements and revolutions. While not in anyway challenging the continued danger of revisionism there are varying but significant attacks on doctrinaire positions on the role of the national bourgeoisie. Thus, the Iraqi Party has recently stated that it had overestimated its own role and underestimated that of the national bourgeoisie in the Iraqi revolution. The Cuban party declares that in the practical application of Marxism in Cuba, they face "two main dangers" -- dogmatic and sectarian mistakes, as well as errors of an opportunist and revisionist character.

Palmiro Togliatti, head of the Italian Communist Party stated earlier this year: "Among the Italian Communists, the plant of revisionism never took hold. We shall continue to prevent its growth today . . . At the same time we shall combat every form of sectarianism."

Dolores Ibarruri, leader of the heroic Communist Party of Spain, wrote recently:

"Hitherto it was difficult to pose the question of united action and agreement with some group of the national bourgeoisie because of their reactionary position. These groups have not ceased to be reactionary. But the pressure to which they are being subjected by the monopolies and their need to defend themselves against this pressure is bringing them closer to the labor movement and democratic forces.

"The Popular Front constituted a most important stage in the Communists' campaign for cooperation with non-proletarian forces in the interests of joint struggle against the threat of war, reaction and fascism. But the Popular Front should not be considered as something static and unchanging as a pattern valid for all time...

"In particular, for Spaniards this form of association between labor and progressive forces against the background of struggle with the Franco regime is inadequate. We need, and we are fighting for a broader unity which would embrace all national forces regardless of their social status and past political activity..."

\* \* \*

Are not sectarian practices still a major hindrance in the fight against reaction and the fascist danger in our country?

Do we not still find loud voices in our ranks calling for the total damnation of present labor leadership and crying out that this leadership is the main hindrance to any economic or political advance of the American working class?

Are there not significant vestiges of sectarianism in our ranks which may seriously obstruct the mobilization of the American people in the all-out fight for peaceful coexistence and general disarmament?

Who has not heard even in the very recent period in our Party where the Negro question is reduced to a class question and the national liberation movement equated with the liberation of the Negro worker from capitalist exploitation?

Lenin in Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder, observed: "Anarchism was often a sort of punishment for the opportunist sins of the working class movement. Both monstrosities mutually supplemented each other." While the basic objective source of both left-sectarianism and right opportunism is in the capitalist society in which we live, we have had, in addition, sufficient experience since 1957 in the left-wing movement in the U.S.A. to be tempted to paraphrase Lenin's statement to read: "Both monstrosities, that of left sectarianism and right opportunism, have mutually supplemented and fed on each other." In such a concrete situation lessening the fire in any way on "one monstrosity" could lead to great harm to our movement.

The examples from other parties are not cited to justify our Party's position after February 1958. This can only be judged on the basis of whether it correctly reflects the realities in and around our Party. They are given, however, as an argument against the static position taken by the dogmatists.

It needs also to be stated of course, that a great number of Communist and workers' parties, based on their own continuing analysis of their own situation, still adhere to the conclusion that revisionism remains the main danger internationally, as well as to their own parties. But their findings are in all cases determined by the study of their specific situations, and not by mechanical application of generalizations.

\* \* \*

Our position today, I believe, must remain the same as it has been since February 1958 because concrete conditions in and around the Party demand it. Incidentally, it would have been proper and wise, it seems to me, for the N.C., since it recommended a change in this regard in the Draft Resolution to have at least briefly outlined the causes for the earlier position and the reasons for the changed one projected at present.

I further question the formulation as to what is our main ideological task from another angle.

Would it not be sounder to say that our main ideological responsibility should concern itself with the problems and obstacles relating to our mass work, such as the united front and coalition activities, which, of course, would then include the questions of revisionist-opportunism, and dogmatism and sectarianism?

Instead of the formulation in the Draft Political Resolution I recommend this substitution:

"Our mass work and our ideological responsibility demand that the most consistent struggle against revisionist-opportunist tendencies be carried on simultaneously with the most vigorous opposition to dogmatic ideas and sectarian practices."

# # # # #

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 26

17TH NATIONAL CONVENTION

## REPORT OF CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

Proposed Changes to Party Constitution

NOTE: Please refer to original Constitution. We indicate here only the changes. Additions are underscored. Deletions are in parentheses.

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## ARTICLE II.

Purposes

Section 1. Add to line 5 after "political activity"

(a) to attain a peaceful world so that the American people and all mankind may work out their destiny freed from the shadow of nuclear war; (b) to attain full equality for the Negro people by banishing jim crow and realizing the fraternal unity of Negro and white;

## ARTICLE III.

Membership

Section 4. Line 8, delete ("if feasible")

Line 9, after "good standing" add:

They may, however, apply for readmission within six months, and upon approval of the club, be permitted to pay all back dues and maintain their former standing.

## ARTICLE IV.

Structure

Section 2. Page 9, line 7, after by-laws, add the word or. line 8, delete (or state committee), retain "may determin". Delete all that follows up to end of line 23.

Retain balance of page.

Page 10, line 2, delete (at large)

line 6, delete all material starting with (a vacancy among members) and ending with (vacancy occurred) on line 12.

## ARTICLE V.

National Organization

Section 1. Page 12, line 8, delete (within the first six months of the year.

Section 4. Page 13, line 12, delete (at least 90 days). Add four months, to read:

Prior to regular National Conventions, four months shall be provided for discussions, etc.

Section 5, in the present Constitution has been deleted by referendum.

New Section 5 to read:

Section 5. That each National Convention determine the number of members of the National Committee and that election be by secret ballot.

ARTICLE V

National Organization New Section 6 to read:

Section 6. The National Committee shall be elected at the National Convention in the following manner: That State Conventions shall make nominations to the National Committee of any member of the Party eligible in their own or any other State. Such nominations together with any other nominations made directly at the Convention shall appear on the election ballot at the National Convention unless a nominee has in the meantime declined.

That in the election of the National Committee all areas of the country be included with due regard to the size of the membership and the character of the state organization.

Present Section 6 then becomes Section 7.

Section 7 will then read:

Section 7. Vacancies shall be filled by the majority vote of the National Committee. Members may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee.

Present Section 7 becomes Section 8.

Present Section 8 becomes Section 9.

Present Section 9 becomes Section 10.

Page 15, line 6 from the bottom,  
Change to read: In fulfilment of its duties instead of  
(In connection with its duties)

Present Section 10 becomes Section 11.

Page 16, last line, change to read: at least twice a  
instead of: ( at least four times a )

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ARTICLE VI

Rights and Duties of Members

Section 1. ~~page 13, line 14 delete (They also have the right in accordance with Section 2 of this Article, to dissent from decisions which have been made.)~~

line 18, change to read:

Members should be active in carrying out the program of the Party, to read and circulate its press and literature, to increase their knowledge of scientific socialism and to attend club meetings regularly.

Section 12, page 21, line 10, delete (without prejudice)

ARTICLE VII

Disciplinary Procedure and Appeals.

Section 3. Page 22, line 8, add after "any member" or party committee

line 13, add after "in that club" Clubs or individual members may request the help of the next higher committee on such charges.

line 16, after "trial committee" add, of the club or appropriate higher Party body.

Section 6. Page 23, line 1. After "Any Member" add or committee.

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EDITORIAL CHANGE:

Adopted by the 16th National  
Convention of the Communist Party  
U.S.A. February 9-12, 1957.

As amended by 17th National Convention

EDITORIAL PROPOSAL: The Constitution should include an index.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 27

## SOME COMMENTS ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION

By Pettie Perry

(Oct. 25, 1959)

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Comrades, this is the fourth draft resolution on the Negro question in the last ten months. Some comrades might be amazed that this could happen in the Communist Party, where, instead of one draft and then a final resolution, we have four, with no one knowing how many more drafts we will have before we will have settled the question.

There are a number of reasons for this. First, that the National question is one of the most complicated of all theoretical questions in the body of Marxist thought. Second, we are attempting to discuss this question after three years of inner-party crisis. Under these conditions it is going to be difficult for us to formulate a satisfactory resolution on any question. Third, I know of no country where the National Question is as confused and complicated as it is in the United States. And this is neither because of Revisionism nor Left Sectarianism, as one or another comrade might think. It is because of the historical evolution of this question in the United States.

First of all, the Negro people in this country are not a conquered people like the people of Puerto Rico or some other colony. Second, the Negro people in this country, like their white oppressors, originally came from another continent, and they both arrived in this country with different cultural backgrounds, and from different continents, with different ethnic backgrounds. Originally they spoke different languages, had different religious beliefs, and had other differences and peculiarities of their own. In addition to this, the Negro people in this country were at one time the slaves of their oppressors, the white ruling class. As a result, the ruling class was able to form and grow and develop in a certain direction--economically, politically and socially; whereas the development of the Negro people in all these aspects was restricted and different.

These are some of the things that we must understand in order to appreciate deeply what are some of the more fundamental difficulties that lie before us in our effort to arrive at a correct conclusion regarding what precisely should be the main political long-range slogans for Negro liberation.

It should be added, further, that even in countries where nations and peoples were more clearly defined, even in those countries the National Question was one of the most sharply debated of all. Ever since the London International Congress in 1896 this has been a very sharply debated question in the Marxist movement all over the world. And this situation was most marked in the first country of socialism, the USSR. Without going further into this, I would like to refer the comrades to a few Marxist documents which deal with this particular question: Lenin's pamphlet: "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination; or Volumes IV and V of Lenin's Selected Works;" as well as Stalin's book, "Marxism and the National Question," especially pages 137 to 161, entitled "Report on National Factors in the Development of the Party and the State." This latter comes from a Report delivered at the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, April 23, 1923.

The 1923 Report was made more than five years after the establishment of the Soviet Government.

Another reference I would like to make is to Stalin's volume, the chapter "Deviations on the National Question," pages 203 to 214. This report was delivered twelve years after the establishment of the Soviet Government. At the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, June 27, 1930.

In our District we have had and are continuing to have the most intensive study and discussion on the National Question. There are some who agree with the first draft and some who oppose it; these contending viewpoints continue to this day. All during the discussion we have been able to conduct it in a non-factional manner, a manner which I hope will continue. In order to facilitate this discussion, our District submitted to the Party an extensive bibliography dealing with the National Question. That included general material dealing with the Negro Question in the United States. This bibliography was compiled by first acquiring from Comrade Jackson a list of all the documents such as books, pamphlets, etc., that he used in his preparations for the initial report. We added to this other sources of material. It is important now to ask, after this intensive study, that all of us who disagree with the resolution should include in our disagreement that which we think should be our approach and why we think so.

After these introductory remarks I proceed now to some comments on the resolution. The resolution is correct in setting forth in the introductory section, that after almost a hundred years the Negro people in this country still do not enjoy the full rights guaranteed them under the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. This is not a denial of the achievements of the Negro people. This is a realistic evaluation of the present situation. As such it is positive, being positive does not necessarily mean noting only the achievements as we have tended to do in the past. We must not close our eyes to the vast number of unsolved problems. If we do, our Party can become deluded and fall victim to gradualism. If we do that, we fall behind the tempo of the Negro Liberation Movement itself. And this would be unfortunate.

Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, President of the Woman's Convention Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., at San Francisco September 9, 1959, in describing the need for greater equality and integration of the Negro people had this to say: "The Negro masses can and must be reached, enlightened, enlisted, challenged and inspired. All of this talk about race progress is only whistling in the dark to keep away ghosts. It is glorifying the petty done and ignoring the vast undone." This is a spokesman for Negro life, a spokesman of no small dimension. She is part of an organization that has five million Negroes in its ranks, the second largest Negro organization in the country, second only to the Fraternal Council of Churches, which claims a membership of better than eight million, with the Baptists being the largest part of this total.

In Section One of the Resolution, the description of the Negro movement and the various currents that make up that movement is too lightly and too narrowly dealt with. The impression is left that the only thing that is happening in this movement for Negro liberation is a grouping around the NAACP, with the NAACP acting as its spokesman.

Now it is correct to say that the NAACP is the main civil rights organization of the Negro people; and that it has the support of the entire Negro people: also that in the country as a whole it is acting as the nerve center of the Negro liberation movement as it now exists. This is an objective fact. Further it is correct to say that the NAACP has the broadest ties with the white masses in this country, especially with the labor movement and the white liberals. We have to speak conditionally, however, as to what authority it enjoys in the ranks of labor. We will come back to this later. First, let us turn to some of the other major components of the Negro Liberation Movement, their roles and their contributions to it.

The Negro Church is about the oldest of all the Negro organizations. Both the Baptist and Methodist churches developed and were formed on the basis of fighting against Jim Crow. To this day, they occupy a strong position of leadership among the Negro people. One of the movements that developed and shook the world in the field of Negro liberation, which did not start in NAACP, nor is it in the hands of the NAACP, is the Martin Luther King Montgomery Improvement Association bus boycott movement. This movement inspired the Negroes of Tallahassee, Atlanta and other cities to conduct similar struggles. So powerful was this movement that the young Martin Luther King, emerged five years ago from an obscure clergyman to prominence as an international figure. The present-day struggle in the Deep South for the right to vote is in the hands of the Christian Leadership movement. The most authoritative leaders of that movement are the Negro churches of the South, who enjoy the support of Negro churches and the Negro masses all over the country.

True, that a number of forces, in the South such as certain white liberals, the Negro fraternal organizations, some of the unions that are all-Negro or predominantly Negro, and NAACP branches are participants in this movement; but one cannot conclude therefore that this movement is "grouped around the NAACP" with the NAACP acting as its spokesman, when it is known that King, Abernathy, Shuttleworth and many other prominent ministers in the South are the most authoritative spokesmen for this movement.

This is not only the case in places like Alabama, where the NAACP has been outlawed, but it is true in many other Southern states. It is such movements as these that are most aggressively putting the question of the Right to Vote, and the Right to Negro Representation, which foreshadows the possibility for the emergence of a block of Negro aspirants for office, and may well be the prologue for a resurgence of a movement of Negro clergymen to enter political office.

It should never be forgotten that the first Negro Senator ever to sit in the United States Senate was a Negro minister, Eiram Revels of Mississippi.

The initiative of the Negro clergy, particularly in the South, who are today leading the struggle on the political front may be the forerunner of what was done in Reconstruction.

The NAACP neither endorses nor supports political candidates.

President J. H. Jackson of the National Baptist Convention, on September 19, 1959 in San Francisco at his organization's annual meeting, in addition to rallying the Negro people to the struggle for peace, laid before them the necessity of a relentless struggle for full citizenship rights in these words: "We must insist on universal suffrage, the rights of all citizens to the ballot box, and take our full responsibility in helping to elect those officials on whom the country must depend for leadership and guidance."

This was done after he had pointed out to the Negro people how the unification of the Arab World was succeeding. He described this as Arab Nationalism, to which he attached great value. In the sphere of world politics the church is playing far more of a direct role in Africa than is the NAACP. True, a lot of this is on a religious basis, but it is also true that some of it is on the basis of material existence.

The treatment of the role of the Negro press in the resolution leaves me flabbergasted. For it would appear from this section of the resolution that the Negro press "have rendered profound changes in the common psychological makeup of Negro Americans." As a matter of fact the Negro press historically has been one of the greatest crusaders for Negro freedom. It is this institution that very often both fires and inspires the imagination and determination of the Negro people to put up stone-wall resistance against injustice. Very often it is the first institution in Negro life that sharply raises issues of discrimination in all walks of life. It is the Voice of Negro Life that is most often critical of NAACP and its failure to tackle specific questions. It is critical likewise of both industry and labor. It is also sharply critical of Negro leadership itself when it lags in certain fields. Without this institution in Negro life, neither the NAACP nor any other aspects of the Negro Liberation Movement would be at the level they are today.

What other institution in Negro life today is raising the question of police brutality as energetically as the Negro press? This has developed into a situation that is a national disgrace. This is true of Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and every other major city in this country. It is even true of places with only a small Negro population like Seattle. Yet in what city in the North particularly do you find any mass struggle on the part of any NAACP branch on this issue?

Consequently in our description of the Negro Liberation Movement and its component parts, the Negro Press must be given much more credit for the role that it is playing.

One of the biggest weaknesses in describing the Negro movement, however, (and a description of the currents in the Negro movement is of course vitally necessary,) is the failure of this resolution and all previous resolutions on this question in the history of our party, to give any description or treatment of the role of women in the Negro Liberation Movement. And yet it is known that the Negro women are one of the most energetic forces in Negro life. They are the most civic minded; they are closest to the youth. Without the role of the Negro women every one of the Negro preachers in this country would starve to death. For it is the women who carry on most of the organizing work, most of the fund-raising both in the churches and in the NAACP. Therefore it is not sufficient to speak simply of this or that sector of Negro life and omit the role of women in the process; for these women have literally hundreds of organizations that are made up of nothing but women. They vigorously fight for various kinds of improvements in the Negro community.

Even in the general Negro Liberation Movement the Negro women's organizations on their own, and on behalf of themselves and their brothers and sons and husbands and on behalf of the whole Negro community not only fight for such general demands as FEPC, better housing, health, and so on, but they have been the pioneers in the field of the rights of domestic workers. In addition, they have aided the fight of organized labor, particularly the Negro workers in transportation. I quote from a convention report of the President of the California State Association of Colored Women's Clubs, made at San Diego in July 1959. Mrs. Ida M. Robertson stated:

"The railroads, bus lines and air transport of our country are heavily subsidized by government contract. Yet there is equality of employment in no sense of the word. So far as we of the California State Association of Colored Women's Clubs know, there is not a single Negro drive of inter-state buses in the country. Where there should be at least 50 Negro locomotive engineers per 1000 employed, there is now no more than 1 per 1,000. And so on. Therefore we recommend adoption by the President's Committee on Government Contracts of a policy in favor of no loans, grants, subsidies or contracts to any air, land, sea transportation firm engaged in interstate business, except under conditions of employment equality without reference to race."

There are serious material motivations which have to do with the welfare of the Negro community as a whole, as well as with the welfare of the Negro women as individuals such as their precarious position in industry, their lack of opportunities for jobs and the advancement to key positions in industry, the inferior status which they occupy in the labor movement etc; the main fact, however, is that the two examples cited by Miss Burroughs and Mrs. Robertson, emphasize and illustrate the serious weaknesses on our part. This section of the population must be considered as both an independent current and also an important integral part of the Negro Liberation Movement as a whole.

The youth movement and the role of the Negro youth is not mentioned in the Resolution. The response and the initiative of youth to the two mobilizations in Washington, D.C. emphasizes the tremendous vital force and vitality of the Negro Liberation Movement among youth. Thus as a further strengthening of the present draft we should consider the Negro youth as a distinct current of the Negro Liberation Movement along with all the rest of its components. Without this we will not have an adequate guide and perspective for the period ahead.

Two other points: (1) In this section we should deal more forcefully with the all-class character of the Negro Liberation Movement. It is necessary to do this because only by having before us a clear picture of what this movement is and where it is going, can the Marxist and pro-Marxist forces see clearly in what way they can identify themselves with that movement.

(2) Treatment of the Negro nationalist movement in the Draft Resolution is highly inadequate. It is referred to as advocating "petty-bourgeois solution to the oppression of the Negro people."

We should not discuss a question as serious as this in such an off-handed manner, for to do so tends to give a one-sided picture of Negro nationalism.

While it is true that the nationalist movement contributes to the growing racial pride among Negroes, and this is a positive achievement, it is also true that by its nature nationalism (Moslems, etc.) leads to a separation of Negro from white, and this leads to a weakening of the liberation movement, for it must be remembered that the Negro Question cannot be solved by the Negro people alone. It was a combination of whites and Negroes that led to the adoption of fair employment practices laws in many states and communities.

Negro nationalism can only divert the Negro people from the only possible solution to their problems, that is, the firm unity between the Negro Liberation Movement and the working class which constitutes the broadest base for Negro-white unity. Without the unity of these two, the problems of the Negro people in the United States can never be solved. Even if every Negro man, woman and child is united down to the last person. If the Negro people could solve their problems all by themselves, Jim Crow in American life would be as ancient as the first slave ship that came to this country.

Just as the white comrades especially should be in the forefront of the struggle against white chauvinism, so our Negro comrades must be in the forefront of struggle against bourgeois nationalism. I fail to see how we can raise the question of the Negro nationalist movement without dealing with the question of bourgeois nationalism. Bourgeois nationalism in Negro life is as divisive as anti-communism. While one contributes to the disruption of the whole progressive movement, the other disrupts the Negro Liberation Movement, from within. Taken together they constitute two main obstacles inside the Negro Liberation Movement, and must be fought as such. Granting that different tactics for each one will have to be used, the struggle must be concentrated on them.

I turn now to Section Three of the Resolution.

After dealing at length with the conditions of the Negro people, describing how Negroes are Jim Crowed in unions and industry, to the point where the Negro people receive 48% less family income than their white fellow citizens, the Resolution then says:

"This circumstance alone dictates that the Negro worker take the lead in alerting the entire movement to a national crusade to organize the unorganized in the South, and create a new base of support for the labor movement in the process."

What have the Negro people been doing since the Civil War and Reconstruction except alerting the entire labor movement to the plight of the Negro people? What is the basis for the origin and growth of the Negro caucuses in the ranks of organized labor. Do they not stem from the understanding on the part of the Negro workers that this is a method of alerting the labor movement to the plight of the Negro people?

What has Randolph been doing for the last twenty-five years if not alerting the labor movement to the plight of the Negro people?

What has been the result?

The last convention of the AFL-CIO demonstrated conclusively that much more is needed than the "negro worker alerting the labor movement. Here we saw the most arrogant display of white chauvinism by the head of that labor movement, George Meany. The worst we have ever witnessed in the history of the labor movement. Reuther, a member of the national board of directors of the NAACP sat silently by and said nothing.

Failing to see the incorrectness of the formulation will only place the burden of the lack of struggle against Jim Crow on the back of the Negro workers, where it does not belong. This approach is shown more graphically in Section Four where, after analyzing the various confusions that exist in the Negro movement, the resolution states:

"What is decisive, however, is that no approach, no tactic, is likely to succeed unless based on the concept of democratic mass struggle by the Negro people in alliance with labor and all other anti-monopoly forces in the nation."

Which of course is true. However, the question may logically be asked, "Are the Negro people responsible for the lack of such an alliance?"

The answer is no. All sections of Negro life have been systematically pleading with the labor movement to break down the bars of Jim Crow from the house of labor. All too often this has been met with resistance. The Negro Liberation movement has systematically pleaded with labor to join with the Negro movement in breaking down all aspects of Jim Crow not only in industry but in other phases of social, economic and political life of this country, and the labor movement has not sufficiently understood that its own self interest lies in the direction of a full fledged struggle against the whole Jim Crow system.

Nothing on this earth would more firmly fix the alliance between the Negro people and labor than such a step. All of this is not to say that the labor movement has done nothing; it is precisely because the labor movement has helped the Negro people make many gains that the Negro people feel that they should be able to rely on labor. They understand that if it had not been for the support of the labor movement in years gone by, that the Negro people would not be working on many jobs that they are employed on today.

It is also known that the existence of FEP laws in some twenty states and in some thirty cities, townships and counties would not have come about without the support of the labor movement in all of these states.

It is known, further, that the labor movement has been a vital factor in helping to secure better housing for Negroes; they have fought for integrated housing; they have supported the Supreme Court decisions on de-segregation. Many Unions for the first time have Negroes occupying leading positions in the union. All of these and many more facts are known by the whole Negro people as the achievement of the labor movement in the fight for Negro rights. It is not for any anti-labor reasons or any feeling on the part of the Negro people that labor has not played a role in many of the struggles. What the Negro people are saying today is that as good as these achievements are, they are far too inadequate to meet the needs of the present situation.

The resolution in placing the question as it does, fails to come to grips with the serious defects of the labor movement on the Negro Question. By failing to do this, the treatment of white chauvinism and the need to struggle against it among the broad masses in the arena of struggle for Negro rights, as well as in the progressive movement itself, remains very weak and ineffective.

To further highlight the inadequacy of labor in the fight for Negro rights, which in the long run is basic and fundamental to struggle for Negro-white unity-- we must remember that the failure to do this in terms of organizing the unorganized in the South, on the basis of complete equality for the Negro worker, left the door open for the Dixiecrats and Wall Street to blanket the South with "right-to-work" laws. This point should be made in the resolution. It should be made again and again among the masses.

Let us take the question, once again, of the "need to alert the labor movement" regarding Negro rights.

The NAACP, which the resolution says enjoys authority "to act as spokesman for the entire eighteen million Negro people," in its 1958 Annual Report, Progress and Portents, says: "In addition to the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood Railroad Trainment which exclude Negroes by constitutional provision, a number of international unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO continue to exclude Negroes by tacit consent. Some of them restrict Negro membership to segregated or 'auxiliary' locals. Other international unions negotiate separate racial seniority lines into collective bargaining agreements which limit Negro employment to low job classifications and deny Negro workers equal rights." (p. 52)

"A similar pattern of segregation is maintained by many other unions including the United Brotherhood of Papermakers and Paperworkers Union and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. These two unions hold joint collective bargaining agreements and maintain a rigid pattern of segregated local unions with separate seniority lines limiting Negro employment to laborer classifications and denying Negroes equal seniority and other rights. Segregated locals with discriminatory provisions in union contracts are to be found in the plants of the International Paper Company in a number of southern states." (pp. 52-3).

"Qualified Negro mechanics in the North as well as in the South are frequently unable to secure employment in major construction installations, including government building projects, because of the discriminatory practices of certain building trades unions affiliated to the AFL-CIO. A clause requiring union membership as a condition of employment is to be found virtually in all collective bargaining agreements in the building and construction trades industry. Accordingly, the right to belong to a building trades union is a necessary condition of employment. Because Negro workers today are largely excluded from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and because of the exclusion practices of other building trades unions, competent Negro mechanics are denied job opportunities in major public and private construction installations throughout the country. An example of this is the operation of Local 26 of the IBEW in Washington, D.C., which has prevented Negro mechanics from securing employment on construction projects in the Nation's Capital.

"Similar complaints were filed with the National AFL-CIO against the Plumbers Union, Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons Association and other unions in the AFL-CIO Building Trades Council.

"At the Atlantic Steel Company plant in Atlanta, Georgia, hundreds of Negro workers suffer dishonest job classifications and are denied their right to develop skills which would permit employment in more desirable job classifications because of the separate seniority lines in the union agreement. This is equally true at the Sheffield Steel Company plant in Houston, Texas, and in steel manufacturing operations in the Birmingham-Bessemer, Alabama, district. The United Steel Workers of America, AFL-CIO, has contracts with these companies.

"On November 26, in the Federal Court of Appeals in Cincinnati, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen successfully defended their power to exclude Negroes from membership. This was in response to an action initiated by fourteen Negro firemen who wished to join the duly constituted collective bargaining agent affiliated to the AFL-CIO. The National AFL-CIO has remained silent about this ruling despite protests from the NAACP National Office." (P. 53).

All of this makes crystal clear that while the Negro workers must continue to press relentlessly for equality in the labor movement, at the same time the strongest emphasis must be placed upon the absolute necessity, indeed, the imperative necessity, for the white masses, both rank-and-file and leadership, to see that they march in the forefront of the struggle for equality of the Negro people in unions and shops.

Without such an effort on the part of the white workers, stresses and strains will continue to be placed on the Negro-labor alliance. And without such an effort on the part of the white workers, the Negro workers for their part will not be able successfully to draw into the Negro-labor alliance the various classes which comprise the Negro community.

There is a decided underestimation of the possibilities of this broad alliance of Negro and white in the minds of many Communists.

A very important factor in determining the outlook, the attitudes and the opinions of the Negro is the fact that all of the indignities and mistreatments which he has suffered have been at the hands of whites. It is only when actions in defense of Negro rights are taken that Negroes can be convinced of a white person's "sincerity."

Such an action was the action of the white woman who escorted a Negro student up the steps at Central High School in the face of the mob. To the Negro, that woman, and only that woman of all the group of whites surrounding the school at that time, was "sincere" in her desire to help the Negro win equal rights.

There is an arrogance, I would call it a Left-wing arrogance, which assumes that white Communists, and white Communists alone among the whites, will take up the struggle for Negro rights among the whites. This is false. There are not a few people among liberals and humanitarians, all over this country, who are ready to take up one or another issue in the struggle for Negro rights.

Such forces as these we should make alliances with. Many of them are in general for civil rights. There are others in many unions who will take up the question of upgrading of Negroes, of fighting for Negroes to be in leadership in unions, and there are still others who will fight against discrimination in every bowling alley, every restaurant close to the union, but who do not understand the need to wage similar struggles in their unions. The forces of the left progressive movement, in united struggle alongside such people, could help them go beyond this kind of understanding by showing them it is in their self-interest to fight for Negro equality all along the line.

In the trade unions, all white members who are Unitarians, Universalists or Quakers, or who have religious beliefs which are based on ethical and moral concepts of equality, are possible allies in the struggle to achieve full equality for Negroes in their unions.

Up and down the state of California, and in many other states, there is a broad, liberal group that fights on a program that is called "Open Occupancy Housing." This group, many of them middle-class, and some real bourgeois elements, with various professionals such as clergymen, doctors, teachers and lawyers in their midst, are carrying on any number of conferences and other activities even to the point of issuing statements in the press, advertisements and brochures which state that they will not object to any race or nationality living in their community. Such groups as the Pasadena-Altadena Community Relations Council or the Los Angeles Community Relations Council are broad channels for strengthening the unity of Negro and white. Yet for the most part our comrades ignore such developments.

There are many comrades who are militant fighters against chauvinism inside the Party but not among the masses. There are few who are consistent fighters against chauvinism everywhere. There are still others who think that the struggle against white chauvinism is outmoded and that chauvinism does not exist--except perhaps among the White Citizens Councils or the Ku Klux Klan.

There are white comrades who have said, "I was born in Europe, raised there, we never had any chauvinism, we hardly ever saw a Negro." And there are others who have said, "I'm from the North. Prejudice against Negroes never existed in my family. There weren't even any Negroes in my high school. This business against chauvinism doesn't apply to me."

There weren't any signs on the white people at Little Rock reading "I am from Europe. I have no prejudice." Or: "I'm from New England. No prejudice here." At Little Rock the Negro people saw white faces lined up against them. To the Negro masses, they were just white faces, the faces of their oppressors. And in a lynch mob, no bank books, no stocks and bonds, differentiate among the white class enemies about to lynch a Negro; they are all just white faces, all the faces of the oppressors of the Negro people.

What we have to point out is that chauvinism, bourgeois nationalism and anti-Semitism are not based on the desire or the lack of desire on the part of the individual to be or not to be a chauvinist, a bourgeois nationalist or an anti-Semite, but rather, they are based on bourgeois ideology. And these ideological trends must be combatted wherever they exist, both in the Party and among the masses.

Strangely enough, some comrades who do not think there is any chauvinism in the United States, do not hesitate to point to reports of chauvinism and anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. As long as any country exists in the environment of capitalism, or is surrounded by capitalist nations, it is bound to be affected by all kinds of bourgeois ideologies. This is an unmistakable fact; therefore, to fight the bourgeoisie in our own country and on a world scale, we must fight it on all ideological questions.

One thing that we must never forget is that the founding of our own country was achieved through the decimation of the Indian tribes. And even today the children of our country continue to be frightened by TV stories and motion pictures of Indians scalping whites. Another thing that we mustn't forget is that this country for a long time rested on the shoulders of Negro slaves. And finally, we must understand that the granting of full equality to America's minority groups was never a part of our country's democratic traditions.

These facts alone should indicate that in such an environment, our movement operates where the filth of chauvinism has been and is rampant. To think that the minds of our people would not be affected by this poison is simply erroneous. Consequently, our Resolution on the Negro Question must be immeasurably strengthened on this score if we want to re-educate the Party into an understanding that the first test of international solidarity in the United States is the ability of the white Marxists and the working class in general to stand forthright for equality of the Negro people and all people.

Section Three deals also with the land question in the South, as well as with the question of migration. However, it seems to limit this discussion to the industrialization and growth of the cities in the South, accompanied by the advance of mechanization in agriculture. These two questions are advanced in such a way as to intimate that they are the only reasons why Negroes are leaving the South. The Resolution fails to take into account a number of things that bear upon the question of migration -- not the least of which has been the inability of the Negro people to acquire credit in sufficient amount to fill their needs; in this respect, the Negro people are nowhere nearly up to the levels of credit available to whites. The Negro farmer is denied adequate land, he is restricted almost completely to the poorest land. All of these factors limit the ability of Negro farmers to compete in commercial farming with white farmers.

Perlo in his book "The Negro in Southern Agriculture" is full of documentation on this question. For instance, he shows that only 42 Negroes in the whole state of Georgia in 1950 received credit from the Farm Ownership Division of the Farmers Home Administration even though Georgia has the largest Negro population of any state.

There is much documentation in Perlo's book to prove conclusively that the Negro people, aside from mechanization and industrialization, are literally being driven from the soil and some out of the South entirely. On the other hand, white workers, when they leave the farm, can go into the cities of the South and get jobs that are not available to Negroes.

Since the Supreme Court decision against "separate but equal" schools, there has been an increase in the tempo of this process, in which thousands of Negroes have been driven off their jobs and off their farms and driven out of the South entirely.

The Southern office of the American Friends Service Committee, in cooperation with the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, and the Southern Regional

Council of Atlanta, recently published a document entitled, "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis." It lists 530 cases of violence since the 1954 Supreme Court decision against segregated schools. These took place against Negro and white, but mostly against Negroes. All of them were derived from press reports, which means that there were doubtless thousands of unreported instances of violence.

According to this publication, the ruling class is not stopping at violence in its campaign to keep the Negro masses under its heels. It is developing more refined measures such as economic boycott, denial or restriction of credits, etc. A program directed against whites who work for Negro-white unity was presented by Roy Harris, of Augusta, Georgia. Harris is President of the Citizens Councils of America. He called for (1) Reduction of all political campaign issues in all state and local elections to a single question, "Who's the strongest man for segregation?" (2) A boycott of merchants who fail to join and actively support segregation. (3) "Straighten out" white clergymen who preach "the brotherhood of man." He presented a series of other steps including a fight against all agencies of mass communication which support de-segregation, and "absolute defiance" of all federal court rulings favoring racial integration.

These other factors have a strong bearing on the reasons that Negroes are leaving the South, and should be noted in the Resolution.

Then, too, since the industrialization and mechanization processes, plus automation, are having such an effect in throwing people out of jobs, can we imagine that the process of migration on the part of Negroes will be a continuing and permanent process? I doubt it. For one thing, it is generally known that Negroes are among the unemployed in far greater percentage than their proportion to the total population of the United States would indicate. The Draft Resolution states, "In the ranks of the unemployed, they loom proportionately twice as large as white workers." (Page 48, Sept. 1959, P.A.)

What happens as job competition grows stronger in the North? Will this continued flow of Negroes from the South be able to find jobs which in many cases would be unavailable to white workers? And as the undoubted fact of automation sharpens unemployment, this situation will worsen for Negroes. It seems to me, then, that the Draft Resolution, in dealing with the elimination of Negroes from the land, and the migration out of the South, should add to its list of demands or suggestions for solving the land reform question, demands for organizing the unorganized Negro and white workers of the South; equal access to jobs for Negro and white workers; elimination of the wage differential between Negro and white workers; and abolition of wage differentials between North and South.

Obviously, equalizing the wage situation between North and South, and as between Negro and white workers, and the organization of the four million unorganized Negro and white workers of the South on this basis would immediately strengthen the class alliance of the Negro Liberation Movement. It would quickly democratize the South, for it would compel the broad masses to challenge the Dixiecrats in all fields. Labor, in order to sustain its position in such a struggle, would have to elevate to the highest possible level a fight against all aspects of Jim Crow. To maintain itself, it would be obliged to bring into being a new kind of independent political action. It would not only have to fight for progressive legislation; it would at the same time have to fight for Negro representation, for Labor representation, and for representation for the farming masses, both Negro and white.

To do this, the labor movement in the country as a whole will be compelled to organize not only its own unions, but to mobilize all of its allies, which would include the Negro Liberation Movement throughout the country, the liberal whites, both North and South, the farm movement, including the sharecroppers and the tenant farmers, Negro and white, plus all of its Northern allies. Such a broad movement would bring new militancy not only to the Negro Liberation Movement, but would add militancy to the work of the labor movement as a whole.

Such a movement would give emphasis to, and provide impetus for, the formation of a broad anti-monopoly coalition.

These are the kind of objectives that the Draft Resolution should point to.

Finally, on the question of the right of self-determination, which is dealt with in Section Seven of the Draft Resolution under the sub-title, "On the Withdrawal of the Slogan of Self-Determination": I think that we should drop once and for all the allegation that we ever had a slogan of self-determination. The slogan that we had was for the right of self-determination, which was sometimes phrased as

recognition of the right of self-determination. So to put the question that our slogan was for self-determination implies that we were simply for separation.

While I am a firm believer that the Negro people in the Black Belt constitute a nation, I would not because of this take the position that no resolution at all should be placed before the Party. Nor would I be satisfied with the re-adoption of the 1928, 1930 or 1946 Resolutions on the Negro Question.

There are a number of questions involved which we must deal with.

First, while the 1928 and 1930 Resolutions indicate the need for a broad, all-class Negro liberation movement, they at the same time cast such suspicion on the national Negro bourgeoisie as to set up strong psychological barriers to putting into practice a program aimed at unfolding the national liberation movement on an all-class basis.

Second, in all three of these earlier resolutions there is an absence of a description of what a broad people's coalition throughout the country and particularly in the South would do to advance the freedom cause of the Negro people.

Third, since we operate in a country with a history of slavery and oppression and Jim Crow discrimination which reaches back for more than three hundred years, it is necessary for our Party to analyze before the masses why capitalism is compatible with national oppression and why socialism is incompatible with national oppression. It is not sufficient simply to assert this in a sentence or two. Whether this is done in a Resolution form, or in the form of a Manifesto, it should be regarded as an urgent necessity.

Fourth, there are a number of questions that have never been answered conclusively as to how such a nation as the Negro people in the Black Belt would flourish surrounded by imperialism. For example, what outlet would the Negro Nation have to the sea? (A comparative study of nations surrounded by other nations, for instance, Switzerland, might be pertinent here.)

Fifth, I do not consider the nationhood status of the Negro people in the Black Belt the only basis on which a national formation might develop.

All of these points and many more unresolved questions make it evident that a more detailed examination of the question at this time is in order. Voting to drop the slogan of the right of self-determination at this time was based on a number of these considerations.

I know of no resolution on the Negro question that discusses the relationship between the Negro Liberation Movement in the United States in terms of its relations to the liberation movements in Puerto Rico, Cuba, the continents of Africa and South America, Central America, and among the American Indians.

Before we can have a fully-developed Marxist-Leninist policy regarding the National Question in the United States, these and many, many other questions will have to be answered.

For my part, I stated at the National Committee meeting in July that I was for dropping the slogan of the right of self-determination at this time; with the stipulation that once that it is dropped, I wanted to see the question answered, "Who shall hold political power in the areas of Negro majorities?" Should it be the Negro majority or the white minority? This is the question that I still press.

This raises the question of law enforcement: Who shall have the main say in making and enforcing the laws.

We should remember that the Negro people in the Deep South suffer not alone because of inadequate laws but because of the way that existing laws are administered. The defiance of the United States Supreme Court decision of 1954 against "separate but equal" schools is a case in point. Another case in point is that for almost a century the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution have not been enforced.

It is because we must fight to end such defiance, we must develop both policies and programs moving toward enforcement of these Amendments, that our Draft Resolution on the Negro Question should speak more clearly on the subject of the guaranteed rights of the Negro masses in the South -- namely, that in addition to

electing Negroes to different legislative posts, we must develop both policies and programs moving toward enforcement of these Amendments, that our Draft Resolution on the Negro Question should speak more clearly on the subject of the guaranteed rights of the Negro masses in the South -- namely, that in addition to electing Negroes to different legislative posts, we must demand for Negroes executive and judicial posts as well.

Our Resolution should specifically speak out on this subject: in the areas of Negro majorities we should state who should hold the posts of High Sheriff in the 170 counties; who should be the District Attorneys in these counties-- not the appointed Assistant District Attorneys, but full District Attorneys in charge of that post; who should be Judges in those counties. In my opinion, these posts should be held by Negroes.

Who should be the Presiding Judge, who should be the Tax Assessor, who should be the various administrative departments and the various judicial divisions. These are typical of the concrete questions that confront us, and which we must answer.

The slogan of "representative government" or of "genuinely representative government" or of "proportional representation" are not specific enough terms for us to use in our Resolution.\* These are all of them too easily misinterpreted, for all of them lend themselves to multi-interpretations.

It seems to me, therefore, that such a phrase as "self-government" or "majority rule" or "self rule" or some other kind of phrase that would give specific meaning to the concept of the right of the majority to elect whomever they pleased, would avoid all kinds of confusion.

The Negro masses in the South are groping for answers to some of these questions. This is one of the reasons that the right to vote is being pushed with such vigor throughout the South. Such slogans as these are being widely used: "A voiceless people is a voiceless people." "If we don't register and vote, we can not get benefits which are comparable to those received by whites -- or comparable to our needs. We want to be full-fledged citizens with a voice in local, state and national government. We want to protect our rights as citizens and be respected when we go downtown." (Special Report, Southern Regional Council, Page 4.)

Consequently, we should press, North and South, East and West, to gain support for the Right to Vote Movement in the South as the key movement on the political front. We should tie it in with the Right to Negro Representation Today. And of course this is a prelude to higher political demands, such as the demand for majority rule, or for self-rule, or for self-government.

In short, I am willing to see the slogan for the right of self-determination dropped in our Draft Resolution if we can find some other more logical formulation that will answer the question of guaranteed protection of all of the rights of the Negro people.

Some may say, "Well, the working class will be participating. That is the guarantee."

As Marxists we know that all of the ills of the Negro people arise because of the national oppression engendered by imperialism. The Negro people will learn this, too; more and more as they see the broad masses of the whites championing the cause of Negro rights.

As Marxists we must also see that the broad masses of the Negro people are still skeptical of whites, be they workers or ruling class. This cannot be overcome simply by a lecture to the Negro people. It will be overcome when many Negroes have experienced white workers fighting in defense of Negro rights; and this to the degree that there is joint struggle between the Negro and the white masses on all fronts against reaction, war and social degradation.

We must bear in mind what Lenin said a long time ago, and which applies very much to our situation here in the United States today: "The age-long oppression of colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has imbued the toiling masses of the oppressed countries, not only with anger, but also with distrust toward the oppressing nations in general, including the proletariat of those nations."

\* Unless spelled out in such a way as to indicate that this means mayors, judges, high sheriffs, senators, state senators, U.S. Congressmen, and in some cases even governors, etc.

Knowing all this, it is incumbent upon our Party to champion the cause of Negro Freedom as never before. It is the special responsibility of our white comrades to be in the very forefront of the struggle against all ideas of white supremacy and racism, all manifestations of chauvinism, both among the masses and within our own ranks. It is the special responsibility of our Negro comrades to wage a relentless war against bourgeois nationalism. The fight for Negro-white unity can be carried out successfully only on the basis of this two-front war: against chauvinism, and against bourgeois nationalism.

We must remember that the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments directly affect the Negro; yet in the administration of these Amendments it is whites and not Negroes who have the final political power. They are not in Negro hands to enforce. The school desegregation decision is not in Negro hands to enforce. The judges who pass on matters affecting Negro lives are white. The present Civil Rights Law was passed in 1957. Where is the Negro enforcement of this law? The Negro is nowhere in enforcement, because he does not have the political power.

The national question cannot be reduced to a mere economic question. The problem of national rights is always present. These rights do not come to the oppressed or formerly oppressed people automatically. Not even after the proletariat comes to power. There is no such thing as working-class purity -- or a working class that has grown up in any imperialist country that is not infected with all kinds of bourgeois ideologies including white chauvinism. Any country where the proletariat comes to power will have problems of chauvinism to deal with. This is especially true of the United States, where Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, in addition to Negroes, have been discriminated against. In America, after the proletariat comes to power, a protracted struggle will be necessary to rid the country of chauvinism.

Struggles against chauvinism exist even among colonies and oppressed nations that have recently become free. These former colonial nations do not develop directly from their former status into socialism, free from the taint of chauvinism. They do not even develop directly into socialism. They first must break the hold of the imperialists upon their state. They inherit the old state forms and institutions which come down to them from imperialism; they also inherit many of the ideological trappings of imperialism, including chauvinism. Some of these former colonies are finding extremely serious manifestations of chauvinism which are roadblocks on the way to higher forms of social organization.

To rally the masses against imperialism we need, also, slogans that correctly express the nature of today's struggle for Negro rights.

The heart of our problem in the Draft Resolution, however, is that the desire, ability and the RIGHT of Negroes to be administrators of civil rights laws, interpreters of their provisions, and enforcers and judges of violations, must be recognized.

# # #

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 28

## FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE PARTY

As of this writing the AFL Section in San Francisco stands in this unenviable position:

1. Its Section Organizer has been suspended and subsequently expelled from the Party by a District Committee decision.
2. All members of the Section are forbidden to associate with the Organizer in any official capacity.
3. The Section has been "officially" disbanded.
4. The Section Committee has been placed on charges of "disruption and factionalism."

We suppose that this is only the beginning.

The overwhelming majority of the Section have rejected the whole series of illegal actions against the Section, and have authorized the Section Committee to forward the appeals to the National Committee and to express the individual and collective desires of the Section Membership to rectify a serious harm to the Party.

It is our purpose in this document to call the attention of the Party to this series of actions, to dig beneath the technical surface of the various motions to assess their meaning, and to detail a small portion of the history of our Section and its difficulties with the District, confident that the Party and its National Committee will find the way to end this disgraceful state of affairs.

First, we in the Section are proud of our history. Not that we have done everything right or well. Not that we haven't made plenty of mistakes. Not that we have been a beehive of activity and stand as a model for the Party. None of these things. But we have fought for the Party against the attacks of the revisionists, being among the early ones to recognize the character of the revisionist offensive against the Party. And in this framework we have also fought infantile leftism. We have held Marxist classes and each class has resulted in the recruitment of fine young working class comrades. We have built the Party. OUR SECTION IS LARGER THAN IT WAS AT THE TIME OF THE SIXTEENTH CONVENTION. We are sure that no Party organization in Northern California can (to steal a phrase from the cigarette advertisements) make this claim. And, probably very few in the Country. This doesn't prove that we are right and others are wrong but it should have given the District Leadership pause to examine the harm to the Party before it began its unprincipled vendetta against the Section. The history of the Party elsewhere in the Bay Area is a history of merger after merger of club and section organizations as the membership dwindles as does the influence of the Party. At the time of the 16th Convention our Section was perhaps 1/15 of the San Francisco membership.-- today it is  $\frac{1}{4}$  and perhaps even 1/3 of the San Francisco membership. True we have fought for every member and thus have lost almost none, true we have recruited several times as many as we have lost in the revisionist offensive, but the major reason for the relative strength of the section is the opposite policy of revisionist misleadership that has led to the destruction of many Party organizations and the loss of more than 70% of the Party membership in San Francisco.

We have maintained and enlarged our activity in the trade union organizations and fulfilled our Party assignments. We do not detail these here because we enclose the Section Organizer's report to the membership meeting along with the previous Section Organizer's report to an earlier Section membership meeting that includes some of these activities. Omitted even from these are certain instances of the section's work in the trade union movement where the actions proposed here in the Section have, through the initiative of Comrades in the Section, become the property of the whole trade union movement.

The attempted destruction of the Section set in the Framework of a National draft resolution that is firm in its opposition to revisionism sets before the Party the following questions:

1. Can the Northern California leadership, active members of a national right wing faction in the Party throughout most of the last three years, expell from the Party those who have criticized their actions?
2. Can the authors of the infamous California motions and the spearhead of a revisionist campaign against the Party simply by muzzling their previously expressed revisionism succeed in removing from the San Francisco Party the bulk of its trade union cadre?
3. Can those who didn't have a friendly word to say for democratic centralism at the time of the last convention now prevent the representation at this present convention of our Section (as well as other Party organizations) who have fought the right wing

liquidators of our Party -- all in the name of a vulgar version of democratic centralism that has no point of similarity with Lenin's historic principle?

We think that the answer to all these questions will be a thundering NO, and that the Party and its National Committee will set matters right. We do not ask to be declared the winner, to be justified in any way -- we ask only that the National Committee come to San Francisco and straighten the situation out to the benefit of the Party. To this end we submit this report and accompanying documents, asking only that they be given serious consideration.

Of course we cannot, in the space of a short document relate the whole complex situation and every development that led to it, and, we hope to be able, in person, to the representatives of the National Committee, explain much that we cannot write, and answer any questions as to our role and History. Here we will only discuss the bare bones of the "phoney" trials conducted by the District Leadership, some of the subsequent events, and attempt to place them in relation to the struggle for a Marxist Leninist Party, attempting to counter the mountain of misinformation sent to the National Committee by the District Leadership.

#### ON THE TRIALS

First off, let us state that the numerous documents, progress reports, and decisions put out by the District Committee on the trial of our Section Organizer and the Chairman of an Oakland Club are full of falsehoods and fabrications only lightly seasoned with a smattering of facts. We do not intend to refute at this instance each deviation from reality. We relate here the actual facts so that our National Committee can compare the versions. We are supremely confident that any investigation will establish the accuracy of the following:

Between the nomination and the election of our Section organizer, the District Organizer went around to practically every club in the Bay Area giving a formal report on behalf of the District Board (perhaps it was the District Committee) branding the Comrade as a member of an ultra-left factional grouping, making no attempt to bring the matter up before the Section or Club he was a member of. This campaign by the District leadership is an authenticated example of factionalism by a leadership of bypassing the proper Party organizations, of setting up a "psychological war of nerves" among Party members who would have no opportunity to hear an answer. Because of this campaign, the Section committee called a membership meeting to hear the report of the then elected, and without opposition, Section organizer, in order to hear his report and to establish in open section debate the unity of the Section. At this meeting the District Organizer came and demanded that the Agenda be changed so that he and not our Section Organizer would make the report. The Comrades angered both by the campaign being conducted outside the Section and by the arrogant presumption of the Organizer at the meeting refused by an overwhelming vote to so do. However, he was offered 20 minutes and I guess no one would have balked at a half an hour at any time he wanted, either before or after the Section Organizer spoke. He refused--it was either he made the report or nothing. After the report by the Section Organizer he did, however, take part in the debate before the action was taken. (The report by the Section Organizer and the motions passed are appended to this report). A motion was also passed that we hold a special Section membership meeting to hear the District Organizer. This meeting was subsequently held, and the report of the District Organizer there rejected. One word on its substance and you can see why the comrades could have no choice but to reject it. The so-called evidence consisted of two letters only one of which was by the Comrade in question, and honestly both letters actually condemned the actions of those who left the Party and formed a separate organization outside the Party. In each letter there is condemnation of factionalist procedures. And these are presented as evidence of factionalism! The rationalization, of all things, being that these letters were proof of the existence of a national faction that busted up over a question of tactics. If one could accept this kind of proof it would, of course, be a relatively easy matter to prove that night is day, war is peace, or to be more timely, that Welfare-Statism is Marxism-Leninism. Is it any wonder that his report was rejected?

Then came the formal charges and the setting up of a trial committee by the District Committee. The Section and the club of the Comrade both protested that the trial procedure was unconstitutional in that article 7 section 3 of the Constitution was being violated where it is expressly stated: "Clubs shall act upon anyone holding membership in that club" (our emphasis). Later on in section 5 a little unclarity is introduced in that decisions are to be made by two-thirds vote of "the club or leading committee having jurisdiction." We could not see how the unclarity here could be allowed to contradict the express and explicit directions in section 3 pertaining to the conduct of the trial and the selection of the trial committee. Certainly, we felt, that it could not cover a trial by a district committee of one who was not a member of that committee, and that the ambiguity in the later section might apply only in the case of a higher committee trying a member of that committee. In any case,

irregardless of technicalities or constitutional provisions, what is the purpose of a trial? To clearly establish the guilt or innocence of the Comrade, and what purpose could there be in clouding the issues by the selection of a body that seemed to be a partial body? Remember that the charges are brought by the District Organizer personally and he certainly had a hand in the selection of the trial committee by the District Committee. This partiality and the atmosphere of rigging was further accentuated by the selection of two of the comrades on the trial committee. One from Oakland was a specific antagonist over a long period of the Oakland Comrade and he was made the Chairman of the trial committee. And the other was a member of our section who had specifically introduced motions in our section calling for the unseating of the Section Organizer. In a trial the Comrades of the accused have to be convinced of his error. A trial is not an organizational device to bring forth a point of view. And an obviously biased trial only serves to disrupt and destroy the unity of the Party and confidence in its correctness.

In spite of our convictions we attempted to comply. As a matter of fact we welcomed the trial as an opportunity to end the campaign of vilification and slander against the Section. That is, we did not think that the action of the District was well considered and we opposed it as harmful to the developing unity of the Party which we considered to be in the process of achievement. But better a trial and a possible resolution to at least some of the difficulties than the continuation of this factional attack. The Section Committee met and appointed a committee to defend its organizer before the trial committee. It established the following basis for the defense:

1. That there was nothing to the charges.
2. That the charges were in reality an attack against the section and that this was the purpose of the charges. And
3. That the District Organizer did not bring the charges in good faith.

We felt that we had evidence to prove all of the above and came to the trial committee prepared to do so. We also notified the Section membership of the trial and invited them to appear either as witnesses or observers. Almost thirty comrades (the subsequent district document called this a small group of disruptors) and were astounded to hear:

1. That no verbatim record of the trial could be kept--(we had come prepared with a stenographer and tape recorder)
2. That the trial would be held behind closed doors--NO ONE OF THE SECTION MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE ALLOWED TO OBSERVE IT.
3. That nothing "ideological" could be brought up in defense--only an answer to the specific charges.

Naturally, the comrades were indignant--the fight against secret trials had presumably been won in the triumph of capitalism against feudalism--it was a little late in the day to set the clock back and so far into the past at that. And that bit about no ideological defense--the whole trial was to be reduced to "Did you or did you not beat your wife." In the resulting discussion the trial committee made a "concession" -- to permit a stenographer. (Incidentally the next session of the trial committee withdrew this concession). That about sums up the first attempt to hold the trial.

A week or so later the Section Organizer was notified that his trial would be held on a certain date. He said that he could not possibly make it--that he had a long standing commitment that could not be changed and suggested a date two weeks away. He was told that his trial would be held on that day whether he was there or not. On that day the Section defense committee attempted to defend him in his absence but were refused admittance to a trial of the comrade to be held in absentia. Thus we see that the subsequent statement of the District Committee that the Section Organizer refused to stand trial is not true. He never had an opportunity to stand even this caricature of a trial. However our Section Organizer makes no secret of the fact that he wouldn't do otherwise than did the Oakland Comrade who did attend the second trial who participated in part of it, and refused to continue when not allowed to present a defense, when the "rules" were made even more stringent including the limitation of defense witnesses to three. No, our section organizer would have done likewise but he didn't even get the opportunity to make the protest to the Committee. He also would not have found it possible to participate in such a farcical trial that makes a mockery of every party principle. He wouldn't have found it possible to participate, but as a point of actual fact--he did not even get the opportunity.

This second trial was also very indicative of the calculated ends of the proceedings but we shall not discuss them here. The Oakland Club Chairman on charges has already made this information available to the National Committee.

A COMMENT ON THE TRIAL AND A COMPARISON TO ANOTHER TRIAL

The procedures in the trial are of course not the central question. We, of course, will go behind the arbitrary and undemocratic procedures to show why they were employed, but they are worthy of a little examination as things in themselves. When these rules were announced the section membership comments included the following, "Even the Bourgeois courts conduct open trials." "Dimitroff even got a fairer shake in a Facist court." "The Smith Act victims were certainly hampered in their defense but not this hampered," "The closest parallels are to the Immigration Board hearings and the Loyalty Boards," "Shades of the Heikkaela Case." etc. The district leadership, professed to consider these comments shocking--comparison with bourgeois "justice" is an insult to the Party and its leadership. Two things must be noted. It is the facts that make the comparison, not us, and we do not recognize these blatant and unprincipled actions to be acts of the Party. Not yet, we don't.

It is instructive to take notice of another trial in another place. In the book, "Comrade Vanka" by the Soviet writer, Pavel Nilin, recently published by Prometheus Paperbacks, between the pages 122 and 138 is the fictional account of a trial presumably drawn from life that occurred in the Soviet Union a long time ago. A certain Komsomol Yegorov has been accused of taking part in a christening at a church. The District Committee had already expelled this Comrade and decided to make an example of him before the membership, the book giving the impression that at least a pair of the leadership dream this up to prove their own zeal and their leadership qualities. After all, the Komsomols are the militant enemies of religion and going to a christening is just as bad as any other kind of renegacy. They were fighting the white guard armies and they could have no patience with backsliders and weaklings. They try to prepare the meeting by getting Comrades to speak out forcefully and when comrades hesitate because they don't know the facts they try to tell them that the person or the facts aren't important--the important thing was to make a demonstration before the Party. Somehow the Comrades didn't buy this and actually (this book should be banned in Northern California) had the gall to oppose the District decision. It turns out that Yegorov lived with his uncle who had sheltered him and helped him get a job. This uncle became a parent and the wife was religious and insisted on a christening. The uncle invited the lad who accompanied them as far as the church but didn't go in. Later he drank two glasses of brandy at the social affair following the christening. The membership expressed their rejection and guess what happened. This may prove unbelievable in Northern California but I accept Comrade Nilin's word for it--THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE CHANGED ITS DECISION.

Yes, this is more in line with honest democratic centralism, and the local District Committee should have acted this way. When an action was being taken against a comrade in the section and the section membership opposed that action in overwhelming majority, the District Committee here SHOULD ALSO HAVE REVISED ITS DECISION.

It would be interesting to quote a great deal from those few pages in the book--we content ourselves with a few lines quoting one of the speeches:

"Of course, I'm no orator, but I think it's still early to talk about Yegorov as a 'former Komsomol.' It's still necessary to get to the bottom of this affair..... Yes, I need proof and I think we all need it. Not only I. I insist on this very strongly. And I'm convinced that you fellows will support me, because I think a Komsomol should not only punish but also defend a Komsomol when he runs up against this kind of nonsense. That's what I think."

Yes, we in the AFL Section are no orators and no polemicists either but we will defend a comrade who "runs up against this type of nonsense." And we too think that it's a bit early to speak of our Section Organizer as a "former Party Comrade."

SOME CONCURRENT AND SUBSEQUENT ACTIONS

Of course the trial was not the only means undertaken by the District to mount a factional offensive against the section. First, it wilfully hampered the process of transfers into the section and refused to recognize any of the recruits of the section as being members claiming that the District Committee had the final say on admittance to the Party. They raised no questions about any of the recruits but maintained that nothing was official until they gave their blessing which they refused to do. They then proceeded to develop an organizational proposal that in substance was to abolish the county committees, that all policy district and local was to be made by the District Committee and that furthermore all responsibility for the carrying out of the policy was in the hands of the District Board with individual responsibility of the members of the board for the different areas of Party work. This because on the one hand the party had shrunk to a "stabilized core" "which had accumulated years of experience in the class struggle" and, on the other hand because "the loss of experienced personnel limits the number of experienced people who can be called on for leading

posts." In that last we presume is meant the 26 in the organized factional withdrawal from the Party. Since this was a proposal that contradicted the decisions of the previous County and District Conventions, the District very properly, we thought, scheduled a representative conference to make the final decisions following discussions in the clubs. But proper methods evidently were too dangerous and the Comrades would actually have been able to get together in a policy making way, and the possibility existed that some some Comrades would have the opportunity to be convinced of the bankruptcy of these proposals. So, no conference was called and the District Committee made this the Organizational procedure by decree after amending it to allow the County Committees to maintain their existence. Of course these proposals gave the District Board the unrestricted authority to transfer in and out of any Party Organization as it wished.

It was obvious that both through the developing trials and the other actions the days of the Section were numbered. At the point when the County Chairman and a member of the District Board came to the Section Committee ordering it to go along with the phoney trial procedures, we passed a motion calling for a meeting between the Section Committee and the District Board to resolve the differences. Two meetings were held to no avail. The District insisted both on going ahead with the trials and also said that the Section "would have to go" and the clubs revamped according to District directives that would be prepared. The instrument they proposed for this was to create a subcommittee of the District in charge of trade union work who would do this revamping. We stated that we would not make the existence of the Section the bar to solution and that we would relinquish it for something better and their proposal was not that. To this end we proposed the liquidation of the Section and the establishment of one trade union section in San Francisco including Waterfront and Warehouse clubs in which case the present section organizer would undoubtedly not be the new organizer. There would be a different section committee and a fresh start could be made towards resolving the difficulties, and besides, this would be a real opportunity to improve our trade union work in all its aspects. They wouldn't hear of this proposal. Finally we made the following general proposal:

Basic to the dispute that has come to a head between the AFL Section and the District leadership has been the continuing sharp ideological crisis in the American Communist Party. Since there are increasing indications that progress is being made in the resolution of this crisis, that a process is taking place that will place the Party firmly on the Marxist-Leninist path, it would be possible to resolve the crisis in Northern California.

Therefore, the AFL Section and the District Leadership find the following to be the fundamental basis for unity and progress in the Communist Party of Northern California.

We resolve to struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism on the basis of reaffirming the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and organizational methods in the struggle against Modern Revisionism, which is the present primary ideological struggle.

"Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is "outmoded" and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionist try to exercise the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of party organization and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of debating society.

The experience of the international Communist movement shows that resolute defense by the Communist and Workers parties of the Marxist-Leninist unity of their ranks and the banning of factions and groups sapping unity guarantee the successful solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution, the establishment of socialism and communism...."

On the above basis we agree to systematically further a comradely and co-operative attitude and relations, confident, that we will be able to solve all present and future problems.

You should have heard the screams--this is a rough quote echoed one way or the other by all three members of the District Subcommittee "This only proves the factional character of the AFL Section Leadership--what they propose is not the program of the

County, not the program of the District, not the program of the National Committee, and not the program of the International Communist movement but was (and here the screams became desperate and falsetto) the program of the ultra left factionalists.

The truth is, comrades, not one original word went into the definitive portion of the statement--it was copied word for word and comma for comma from the Moscow Declaration of the Twelve Communist and Workers Parties of November 1957 (according to the text as published by New Century Publishers, end of page 11 and top of page 12). We will not listen or accept as authoritative any who claim that this is in opposition to the American Party.

The actions then came thick and fast. The Section organizer was suspended, the Section Committee condemned the action and stated that they would not abide by it but would not make the final decision leaving that to a Section Membership Meeting for definitive action which meeting was scheduled. The District and County mobilized and called on almost every member of the Section telling them to boycott the meeting because a suspended member was to be there. They kept a very few away but it also resulted in the largest Section meeting of our history, where the action of the Executive was confirmed and the decision made to publish for the information of the Party and the action of the National Committee the history of the struggle calling on the National to come in and straighten out the mess. We also made one more attempt to resolve the situation and elected a committee to meet with the District in this endeavor. In order to remove any possibility that it was the subjective behavior of the Section Committee that prevented agreement we elected three rank and filers for this purpose. The comrades elected were specifically those who had most questioned whether the Section Committee had always acted in the best possible way. This meeting was held to no avail -- it only succeeded in disgusting the Comrades from the Section that attended. Imagine coming and being told among other things of similar quality that the reason the trials weren't held in the club of the member was that it would be impossible to get "a conviction" there, and further that the District Organizer acknowledged that he didn't have sufficient evidence to justify the charges but that he placed them in order to be able to investigate the situation. The comrades had some difficulty controlling their anger at this point but managed to make the following proposal to the District. "To return everything to the point where no charges have been filed, that the District Committee should then reexamine the situation in the light of all that has occurred to determine whether charges should be placed, and, if they should find that it was correct to place the charges, then to place them in the comrades club and to abide by whatever decision the comrades there came to." A reasonable proposal, consistent with Party principles and the Constitution but it didn't get off the ground.

Then came various and assorted actions of the County and District Committee, suspending the Section Committee, abolishing the Section, and placing the Section Committee on charges of disruption and factionalism. The District will claim that they never abolished the Section but only suspended the Section Committee. The facts are that the Section was abolished by decision of the County Committee and the Section Committee placed on charges. It is true that the District document, (the county decision never was mimeographed) made no mention of it and perhaps it was not properly reported to the District or the drafters of the District document may have felt the action to be premature. IN ANY CASE THERE IS NO BASIC DIFFERENCE--ONLY A SEMANTIC AND FORMAL DIFFERENCE. For the abolition of the Section Committee and the decision to recognize only the clubs as having a present existence amounted to exactly the same thing in content. As a matter of fact, the District document said only that "Discussions will be held with the club members on the question of reorganizing the Section Committee" and every statement made by the District organizer in meetings with either the Section Committee or the rank and file delegation stated that the Section would no longer exist but the disposition of the clubs and even of the membership would be determined by a committee of the district to be placed in charge of trade union work. Clearly, there was and is no intention of ever reconstituting the Section.

#### WHO IS THE SECTION ORGANIZER?

Over the strongly voiced objections of the Section Organizer who maintained that his record was of no significance, that all that counted were his views and his present actions, the Section Committee insists on the inclusion of this section in order that the Party can know exactly what kind of a Comrade has been so summarily mishandled.

Our Section organizer is, among other things, a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, was an active worker and organizer (Patrolman) of the National Maritime Union, and, when in Louisville in what became a national issue of Jim Crow known as the Braden Case, when it was necessary for someone to move in with the Negro family to protect them from the racist mob, it was this Comrade who stood this guard. Even the District Organizer was willing to stipulate before any trial that the Comrades' record was without blemish.

Of course, good history or no, he could be wrong and his actions become harmful, but it is important to realize his history of devotion to principle.

THE TRUTH BEHIND THE SMOKESCREEN - WHAT ARE THE REAL ISSUES?

Why the attack -- why the organizational measures? At this point it represents an attempt on the part of the District Leadership to maintain one face towards the National Center and another here in Northern California. This goes far beyond the petty instances of the documents related to the trials of the comrades where the District leadership put down on paper many things they knew were untrue and that the members of the Section knew of their own knowledge to be untrue, but supposedly the leadership didn't care -- just so long as they would look good to the National Committee. This goes not only to petty falsifications but also extends to important matters of Party principle. Let us recall a small portion of the history of the leadership.

The Northern California leadership begins this present era by giving firm voting support to the Gates forces in the National struggles. Most of this was framed in terms of not quite 100% verbal agreement and usually in terms of a so-called "unity." But voting support was always 100%.

California leadership become the soldiers of the first rank and the California motions became the tactical arena of the revisionists. With their defeat and the adoption of the "February motions" the proposal of Comrade Dennis, Fine and Stein, the California 26, and many others leave the Party in a factional withdrawal from the right. THIS IS THE TIME OF DECISION FOR THE LOCAL LEADERSHIP -- WILL THEY STAY WITH THE PARTY OR LEAVE. At first they stall--they make speeches saying that they will continue to work according to their own California motions. It is this period that brings the Section and the leadership to their then sharpest point of conflict. We felt that it was necessary to fight for one Party and against this factional situation in the leadership. Here the Document of the Section by the previous Section organizer was adopted after a sharp debate, and where the ideological unity of the Section was forged in sharp conflict with the revisionism of the leadership. We now began to see instance after instance of the hiding from the Party here of the real opinions of the District Leadership in its relations to the National Committee. Let us just take one example. It was about this time the National right wing defectors of the Party met in their Chicago conference and could come to no agreement and could form no organization, mainly because Gates wasn't interested in even the word "socialism" and Fine and Stein were for an "American" socialism. With this decay of the split, California (the leadership - not the membership) had no place to go and changed direction. At about this time a District organizational conference had been scheduled. Only a day or two before the Conference was to be held one of the California 26 who had already left the Party and was probably their leading "theoretician" flew up from Los Angeles and met with the District Organizer and some other leadership comrades and told them that at the meeting just concluded of Southern California where its Organizer brought in a report and a recommendation to reject the current line of the National Committee. This report was overwhelmingly defeated in the Southern California District Committee. This factional attack on the National Committee had been repulsed by the membership of the District Committee. As a result the locally scheduled conference was hurriedly postponed for a week. This postponement on the shortest notice ever was explained in either of two ways by the District Organizer depending on the person to whom he talked - either it was postponed because the Trotzkyites knew where the meeting was to be held and were planning a leaflet or that the pressure of events had been too great so that he had not had the time to prepare his report. This was not far from the truth inasmuch as he certainly hadn't the time since he had to junk his prepared report and start fresh. At the conference itself we were treated to the following incident. A comrade from the floor proposed a simple motion calling for the endorsement of the February decisions of the National Committee. When the District leadership through a conference committee proposed the substitute that endorsed the "positive" actions of the National Committee, the 16th National Convention, and the kitchen sink. A catch all milk and water resolution that would not have been too difficult to support at least in part but not as a substitute for the endorsement of the specific line of the National Committee. And then in the preparation of the minutes the District Organizer has the organized gall to state with no mention how this resolution came into being that "a small group of eight comrades voted against the District substitute, implying that these comrades were against the actions of the National Committee. WHO REALLY SUPPORTED AND WHO REALLY OPPOSED THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE DECISIONS? And the story of that Conference is not finished yet. Months later we learn that previous to this event the District Committee had already passed a motion and forwarded it to the National Committee endorsing the February decisions--the very same motion in content that it refused to allow to be presented before the conference and substituted their omnibus resolution for. CLEARLY A CASE OF ONE EXPRESSION TO THE NATIONAL AND ANOTHER TO THE MEMBERSHIP. This is not an isolated example and others can be cited.

## INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY AND THE LIFE OF OUR SECTION

Our section has settled everything in only one way -- in open discussion and the dissemination of all views. In fact, that, perhaps more than anything else, is what makes it seem necessary for the District Leadership to move against the Section. For during the past three years in almost every action two members of the National Committee have found themselves part of a very small minority. YES, JUST AS THEIR PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN DEFEATED IN THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, JUST SO, AND WITH EVEN LARGER MAJORITIES, HAVE THEIR PROPOSALS BEEN DEFEATED IN THE SECTION. For example, one of the National Committee members is the author of that resolution in the National Committee to condemn the Worker for its support to the Hungarian government in the Nagy executions. This resolution was happily defeated in the National Committee. And the other, shortly after made a public speech before Party and non-Party people saying that the National Committee was committing suicide on the basis of its stand in support of the Hungarian government. And a third member of the National Committee, the District Organizer and front man for the California Motions, has rarely, if ever, missed a Section membership meeting. So, it was not for lack of experienced opposition that the Section achieved its positions in support of a Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

Any idea that conflicts were confined to theoretical questions would be the opposite of the truth. As a matter of fact, the first instance of coming into conflict with our District Organizer was over a very practical problem of Trade Union work. One of the clubs of our section had a working arrangement with four flourishing East Bay clubs in the same industry for a joint activity that had been sustained at that time for five or six years. The organizer then came in with a proposal to end that activity -- the debate was carried on over a couple of months. The result -- the East Bay clubs withdrew from the joint activity, our club decided to carry on that activity on its own in spite of the handicap. We maintained that we were not going to give up that which was and is significant and important, on any specious argument that such was the wrong way to work. THE RESULT: OUR CLUB HAD ALMOST NO LOSSES IN PARTY MEMBERSHIP, AND THE INFLUENCE IN THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS GREW, AND IN THE EAST BAY NO MORE THAN THREE COMRADES ARE LEFT IN THE PARTY FROM THOSE FOUR FLOURISHING CLUBS. Of course, this was not the only reason for the result, but this reason is symptomatic of all the reasons. Disagreements on practical work were numerous, our attitude to the Holland Roberts campaign and the forces therein, for example. This is the one instance where we were able to, finally, get the District to go along, and this, only, because they had their back to the wall, and suffered a smashing defeat at the hands of the Trotskyites and others. It was only then that we were allowed to carry out the activities that eventually gave the Trotskyites the one licking they received in the whole country when we had that wave of spurious "socialist unity" campaigns.

Our section has not only tried to think like Marxists they tried to act like Marxists. We have not been able to react to everything but we have reacted to a good deal. When the American Army "invaded" Lebanon, and there was the beginning of a war crisis of a sharp nature, our Section plastered the town with a striking poster of a large drop of oil turning to blood with the slogan "WHY DIE FOR STANDARD OIL -- BRING OUR TROOPS HOME! And also hit the streets with a leaflet on the question. To cite only one more example -- we put out a leaflet on the Steel Strike and hit the major industries and the Teamsters, then on strike, with it. We enclose a copy so that you may see it. Incidentally, the issuance of this leaflet to the Teamsters was called a provocation by the District Committee, and while we cannot go into the details here, we state and we can substantiate that the policy of the District to that very important strike of the Teamsters bears no resemblance to anything Marxist or even anything decent. There is much to learn from this Teamster Strike -- it was no ordinary routine affair, and it is our opinion that the trade union leadership of the National Party should come to San Francisco and go into the matter -- it will be beneficial to the whole party. In this, we do not mean that it is the work of our section in this strike that answers will be found in. That work though helpful to the mass movement was minor. But there is much to be learned in the way the struggle developed in the union, the rise in rank and file militancy to the highest point in this area since 1934, and the thinking and action of the union members.

In contrast to this only in a State election campaign has the District made a public stand. Of all the important issues that have hit center stage, some few have been fortunate enough to merit a memorandum to the clubs -- and that has been the end of it.

We must say one word about the last case of "independent" action in the municipal elections. We do this because the District is blowing a good deal of smoke on this towards the National Committee, and they are saying that other areas in the country are going to follow our "glorious" example on how best tactically to participate in electoral struggles. We sincerely hope not. The candidate spoke very well on a number of issues and made a good presentation before the people. In that sense it was positive and worthwhile. BUT THE CAMPAIGN WAS THE VERY ESSENCE OF REVISIONISM. When a well known Comrade, with a public history in the Party over very many years runs not as a Communist BUT AS A SOCIALIST -- what is that? To quote from his program and

his statement to the voters published by the City "I will bring to the Board a socialist viewpoint, etc." As a matter of fact, when a major newspaper here identified him as a Communist in a tiny almost hidden story, the District Organizer issued a statement that criticized the paper for so doing, and, while it stated that the Candidates views and history were well known but that he wasn't running as a Party endorsed candidate. This is tactics all right--but what kind? Much better it would have been to run an issues campaign--without mentioning socialism. BUT, OF COURSE, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN EVEN BETTER TO RUN AS A COMMUNIST AND REALLY TEACH SOCIALISM BASED ON THE ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN. If the "tactics" in this case were correct--then the Socialist Unity electoral strategy of the last elections were correct. They were wrong - and these were wrong.

We could cite many instances of the practical results of the policy of the District. But an end must be made somewhere. In any case the proof of the pudding has been the astronomical loss of membership in the Party, the end of many Party organizations, and the loss of influence in the community.

#### THE HARM TO THE PARTY IN THE DISTRICT ACTIONS AND THE AFL SECTION TODAY.

The campaign against the Section in the past few months has been so vicious and unprincipled that a number of good Comrades have been so disgusted that, seeing no immediate hope for even a decent working relationship have left the Party. We believe that the National Committee can win these people back.

The destruction of the Section and the campaign against Marxism by the District has caused many others in the Party to recognize the Anti-Party character of this attack. The National Committee owes a duty to these Comrades also.

The campaign against the Section has so far achieved one of its major objectives--at least  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the San Francisco Party will not be represented at the County and District Conventions.

The AFL Section stands dissolved by the vote of the membership and each Comrade has been left to his own choice as to his future relations with the District.

By majority vote, it maintained the Section Committee for the sole purpose of carrying forward the appeal of the expulsion of our Section Organizer and the dissolution of the Section.

Voted overwhelmingly to individually and collective support the appeal to the National Committee.

This is where we stand -- we require the help of the center and we think that is our right.

#### APPEAL TO THE PARTY AND ITS NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The history of the Section and the attack against it is in your hands. We ask that you take steps to rectify a very harmful situation. We ask this in the name of all the Comrades whose Party Life is threatened. We ask it in the interest of the Party.

We know of no better way to sum up this appeal than by concluding with the statement of our late Comrade Bob to the original meeting of the trial committee sitting in judgement of our Section Organizer. This statement was never used due to the fact that the Comrades coming to testify and observe were not allowed to participate and as a result the trial was not held. Comrade Bob was an active leading Comrade, much loved and respected throughout the Party, a delegate to the 16th National Convention, a very honest and influential trade unionist, and certainly one of the strongest leading forces in our Section. His death makes us and the whole Party more than a little poorer.

#### STATEMENT TO THE TRIAL COMMITTEE

Because of my position of leadership in the AFL section and SF County; and because of my activities as delegate to County, State and National Conventions of our Party; and because of the many resolutions and statements that I have been involved in and responsible for; and because of my well known position on such key questions as the maintenance of the Party, forms of organization, consistent opposition to the dissolutionist tactics of the Yates-Todd faction, both before and after their open desertion; and because I feel that the trial here is directly related to all these questions; I therefore feel that I owe some testimony to the trial committee. I feel that what is on trial here is primarily the activities of such clubs as the Metal Trades and such sections as the AFL over the past three years. I regret that illness prevents me from attending.

I ask the committee to think back to the discussion days before and during our 16th National Convention. Remember the cry for democracy and an end to purges. And then note that the overwhelming majority of desertions and attacks on our Party as an organization and (even against the whole idea of an end to capitalism) has come from those people who were the loudest in their defense of the right to "dissent," and the right to different policies and actions in various districts and even clubs. Remember that the California delegation to the 16th National Convention called itself the "Unity Delegation" and its leaders Schniederman, Yates and Kealey openly called for a special campaign to guarantee that the Gates, Steins and Fines were not left off the national leadership. They pleaded for a "broad representation" of all right and left ideas as represented by various leaders. The danger was, they said, that the Foster, Davis forces would completely dominate the Nat'l Committee...and so it came about as they proposed.

I want to remind you that long before the 16th Conv. Oleta Yates presented the proposal for a Political Action Association to the SF County Committee of which she was Chairman for serious discussion. Those were the days when the Metal Trade Club and the AFL Section started to formulate their resolutions on democratic centralism, on Forms of Party organization, on Labor policy, on the Party line and the Negro Question.

Recently I chaired a meeting called to discuss the defendant here as a newly elected S.O. At this meeting Schniederman said "We have been letting you guys get away with this for two years...and we're going to put a stop to it!" He wasn't talking about putting a stop to the activities of the Yates-Todd factional group, which are well known to all of us. He was not talking about a self-critical appraisal of his role and other district leaders' roles in joint activities with these factionalists, such as the infamous ultimatum to the Party, the Northern Calif. Resolution. He doesn't raise the possibility that there might be some small factional relationships still existing that should be looked into. No! Here we have an attack directed against the main forces in all of Northern California to oppose these disolutionists.

I write this letter not because I think that others should be tried instead. I think that the worst thing that could happen to our Party today is to involve ourselves in a series of fine-line charges and counter-charges as to who wrote to whom and talked to whom. If we had a clear line to defend, I would say let's defend it and challenge all the opposition. The problem is that these trials are being instituted as a substitute for honest searching for correct line and action. They are diversions and nothing more.

Even though the EAFI Section still manages to carry its share on all political and action fronts, it is nevertheless a fact that they have been already partially diverted and demobilized by the trial and all the related actions. This is the sole object of these trials....I urge you to seek out who it is that calls for such trials....who organizes them....and then find out what has been their role in all the events described above.

Don't be party to putting still greater stumbling blocks in our already difficult road. I therefore urge that you send this comrade back to his club and section so that we can all together concentrate our efforts on helping to solve the problems of the class struggle that are shaping up in our country and the world today.

Bob

Submitted by AFL Section Committee

Appended to this appeal are the report of the Section Organizer, now expelled, and the report of the previous Section Organizer, both made at Section membership meetings. Also appended is the leaflet issued by the Section on the Steel Strike.

## THE AFL SECTION: ITS WORK, AND AN ANSWER TO AN ATTACK

## SECTION ORGANIZERS REPORT

Comrades,

This is the first opportunity I have had of speaking to the section membership following my election as section chairman. Since this election has become a matter of some little controversy in the section, and, since a campaign against the election has been and is being conducted outside the section, the section committee has called this meeting in order to put the matter before the membership. And in order to express an organized way the position of this section. We will in a sense be repeating the ideological battles that have been gone through up to this time but that is forced on us through the attack. Beyond that it will be my purpose to devote as much of my time as I can to the projection of the most advanced program that I feel our section can accomplish. Comrades, the following are my views and I sincerely hope that they receive your understanding and support.

First off, I am very proud to be chairman of this section, especially. For I am convinced that it has a proud record of accomplishment and that its history has lessons for the entire Party, and shows the way out of the present Party crisis. In the course of events following the last national convention, a simple listing of some of the high points of our work would show that we have continued to exist, function, and even in the last period to make the turn toward growth. On the one hand, we distributed a large number of Little Rock supplements, Primary election supplements, Party election statements, at least as many as any other comparable body in the district, more Mc Lellan Committee-Teamster situation supplements than the entire rest of the Party in San Francisco, have issued a leaflet and plastered the town with posters protesting the intervention in Lebanon, took active and leading roles in the fight against proposition 13, in the Holland Roberts campaign, and the ideological defeat of the Trotskyites and the phoney "socialist unity" concept -- the only place in the country where this controversy among the left was resolved in the interests of the people. And we have been responsible for the initiation of a campaign to bring a Labor and Education day to the public schools of San Francisco. In addition our comrades have actively participated in the affairs of their local unions, have given real leadership in economic and political struggles, and, where the influence of our Party has shown a quantitative and qualitative increase in all the areas of trade union concentration, and finally where we now have made a beginning in developing our contacts and strength in an important new area of the industrial working class. We have conducted classes and conferences and participated with full delegation in all district and west coast Party conferences. We have maintained the membership of our section and the recent period has shown a real growth in our Party in this section. Comrades, is this just a coincidence, a lucky chance?

No, we have maintained our functions, our membership, increased our influence because we have actively resisted the process of demoralization and decay that has run through our Party like a petty bourgeois disease. Because we have combated the nihilism and the rejection of Marxist science, with the affirmation of the principles of international working class solidarity, and a dependence on Marxist science and Marxist organizational principles. This we do imperfectly but we try. I will not detail my ideological principles -- in this section it is not necessary. I stand by the Report of Comrade Leibell when he was organizer that was adopted by an overwhelming majority after a long debate and discussion. I voted for it, I agree with it, and I will try to continue the work of the former section organizer in the direction and along those lines.

Some comrades in the section say that our section is weak in that we do not give the clubs sufficient help, that we are weak in coordinating the efforts of the clubs in the section. There is some merit in that and we must search for the reason. These few comrades say that the reason is that we spend too much time on ideological discussion. I do not agree with this. Our ideological struggle, our fight for Marxist science has preserved the section, has made it grow, has improved the quality of our mass work. But in an opposite way, perhaps it is true that we have spent too much time on beating back the attacks against the section line and policy. Our open ideological criticism has been met with a great deal of sniping, of avoidance of the issues raised, an attempt to prepare technical and diversionary attacks, but more of this later.

I think we can improve the work of our section if we remain united and we develop our present advances. As to the future program of work for clubs and the section, I can make no claims to having any particular wisdom so as to be able in the short time I have been Chairman and on the Section Committee to lay out a detailed program of work for our section and its clubs. Our program will have to be worked out together in consultation and in cooperation. However, there are a few immediate and fairly obvious objectives that I am sure we can agree to get busy on.

The first of these is to mobilize through our local unions and political organizations the maximum support for the following legislative struggles. Fair Employment Practices, fight against consumer taxes and in support of a progressive tax structure, and finally to oppose the attempt to pass a state law on the control of the procedures of trade union elections and so forth. On fair employment practices and on taxes, the AFL-CIO has a fairly advanced program and in those cases we can devote most of our energy to popularizing these positions among the rank and file, and helping to mobilize the trade union movement in their support. But the "Brown" bill governing trade union procedures is another story and a great deal of confusion and lack of common direction exists in this case. At this point it appears that the ILLU is opposed to its passage and will lobby vigorously against it. The State AFL-CIO has appeared up to now to be committed to be for it, but there is some opposition to it. Only yesterday the San Francisco Labor Council's executive Comm. came out in flat opposition to this bill, although I believe, on the mistaken premise that the federal legislation now pending is preferable. The teamsters will probably be for it though perhaps not to the point of making a big thing out of their support. The "Brown" sponsored bill, if passed, may provide some slight benefits to trade union members in that certain democratic procedures will be required of locals, and I believe an improvement in the present practices of injunctions in jurisdictional disputes. The first is bait and will be appealing to militant rank and filers who have been operating under straight-jacket bureaucracies, and gives an impression of fairness to the bill. The second is bait for the teamster leadership who have been involved in most of the injunctive procedures in connection with jurisdictional disputes. And if some of the teamster leadership we know is willing to swallow the first in order to get the second then at least they think, and they are probably right that the so-called democratic safeguards will not really cramp their style. There are also, I understand, some minor drawbacks, but the real evil in the bill lies in the fact that it establishes the right of the government to interfere in the internal practices of unions. Since this is a capitalist government and not a workers government this, of course, is bad, and sooner or later, under some condition or provocation will be extended to the detriment of the working class. That which I've said on the "Brown" bill applies also to the Kennedy-Ives bill in the national congress. In this connection we have the job of registering the opposition of as much of the labor movement as we can to these bills. If we begin now in our local unions, before a public expression of the trade union movement in favor of these bills has jelled, we may be a very real factor in securing their defeat. The fact that the San Francisco Labor Council's Exec. Comm. has already taken a position opposed to Brown's labor bill does not mean that we can now relax and let the labor leaders do the job. On the contrary we must act as quickly as possible in our locals to try to win as much support for their action as possible to ensure that they will not retreat and will really put up a fight against this bill. I believe that it is possible to firm up a good position in the AFL-CIO if we can make a few important advances in some local unions. The teamster situation will be more difficult but I believe that progress can be made here also, at least among the rank and file.

The Peoples' World has given some background in this connection and I understand will publish a complete analysis of the bill and the struggle against it. We should use it in this connection, and getting advance notice of the issue it is in, undertake to get a number of extra copies for mailing out of distribution in some other manner. I understand also that there will be a legislative supplement to the PW embracing all three of these issues and we should promote the widest possible distribution of this supplement.

Another endeavor that we should immediately pursue actively if not with the same urgency is the developing campaign to bring labor's contribution to education, and a knowledge of the importance of unions to the children of San Francisco in the form of Labor and Education Day. The poison of Business and Education Day began in San Francisco under the sponsorship of the Chamber of Commerce and spread all over the country. Let its antidote be born here under our initiative and that of the trade union movement.

There is also one other state legislative matter that we should develop. "Brown" in his message to the legislature proposed the monitoring of radioactive hazards in the air, food and water in the State. As far as I can determine no such bill has as yet been introduced in the legislature. If one has been, and is of substantial quality we should diligently work for its passage. If not we must try to get one introduced and that we can probably do. While very little work has been done in the trade union movement in behalf of radiation inspection, it is official AFL-CIO policy and can be so brought into prominence among the membership.

On the People's World, our Press Director, will make a report later on the agenda on the development of fund and subscription drive activities in our section. Here only a few words; We should complete the drive in good time and plan our work in such a way as to make a significant breakthrough in new subs for the paper. At the recently held District Press conference, the District Organizer made a report that outlined an agreement with the Northwest Comrades on the management of the Paper and projected a crusading stand in behalf of the popularization of socialism in its development abroad and its potentials here, on the fight for a 6 hour day, on trade with China, and for a peaceful world, and other issues, One of the ways we can help in the carrying out of these objectives is perhaps, if the paper agrees, is accepting responsibility for the writing of a monthly column, of news and interpretation of events in the non-maritime local trade union movement. And if the waterfront comrades also undertook a monthly column, we could conduct a competition to see who makes the most stimulating contributions. We should pay special attention to the securing of new subs for the paper.

The last point on immediate work is more general than the preceding but is certainly the most important aspect of our work. Here we have to tackle the whole complex of problems whose solution would improve immeasurably our trade union work, strengthen our relationships with the workers in the shops and communities. Here we must accept certain criticisms of some of the section work and improve the coordination of the work of the clubs. If we succeed in securing a truly representative section committee and make it function we can take a giant step forward. We also must begin to develop as sound an answer as possible to the present hiring hall crisis - union security crisis that embraces the whole labor movement and be able to vary it for specific conditions within the different local unions. We must seriously begin developing a program for unemployed workers, pay much more attention to the job of cracking Jim Crow barriers within the unions, develop the methods to raise the trade with China question, the peace question, the stop the Bomb tests question, to improve and extend the very fine rank and file paper put out by the Metal Trades. And while conditions in most clubs and industries are different and would in most cases militate against starting others; in these clubs the question should be discussed and if this method is inadvisable, to come to some means for the more systematic contact with the more advanced rank and file, and in all clubs, to make greater use of the PW in this respect. And finally, to begin to generalize the experience in the various caucus movements that members of this section participate in, not only so that valuable experiences in one club can be used in another, but also to begin to analyze the objective basis of this movement, what light it throws on the contradictions between monopoly and the working class and on the contradictions within the trade union movement so that on the basis of fundamental knowledge we can put our work on a higher level.

Comrades, what started out to be a few simple points has grown to be a program that is perhaps larger than our powers can encompass. But I am sure that we will do our best and make some real gains.

While working on our own program within our concentrations we must also fulfill our responsibilities to the development of the national Party program discussion now being organized. Comrade \_\_\_\_\_, our educational director will report on this on a separate point on the agenda. Here just a few words; We should concentrate our efforts along the following lines. 1. The role of the Party in the Trade Union movement. 2. The development of the Negro People's struggle, especially its theoretical aspect. 3. The development of independent political action inside and outside the major political parties. 4. The meaning and practice of the anti-monopoly coalition, and finally; If we can, the very difficult theoretical task of projecting the developments in the transition to socialism in the United States. This 5 point theoretical program is of utmost importance. We approach in November of this

year the 17th National Convention. It is my firm opinion that throughout our Party the necessary understanding is maturing so that this convention will in great part contribute to the solution of our Party crisis. That we will once again establish the unity of program and action that was the distinguishing cause of our past contributions to American progress, and will once again be on the high road to increased contributions. One thought I leave -- no matter how much we succeed in the specific work of the Section and the individual clubs as such gains will be transitory and of no lasting moment if at the same time we do not succeed in reestablishing the authority and leadership of our national Party organization.

With that I come to the current and latest controversy that seems to settle around me. In many ways it is a tempest in a tea pot but it has wider implications. The claim is made that I am not qualified to be Section organizer because I made no contribution to the last fund drive on the ground of differences with the policy of the paper. And the last County Committee meeting in a plainly unconstitutional action by a vote of 6 to 5 with 2 abstentions refused to seat me also on these grounds. I say plainly unconstitutional because there is not nor could they find a single reference to any power granted to any leading committee to screen the members elected to it by lower bodies, and, naturally it can not be there for if it were then any leading committee could reject delegate after delegate until the lower body elected someone the higher body approved of. The only contention made was this power was implied in that provision of the constitution which said that when a state or national convention breaks up into area caucuses to elect the area representatives to state or national committees these representatives have to be approved by the whole convention. Clearly not a comparable case and no such an implication can be drawn. Note this does not give the national committee any power at all to screen elected members and is not expressed in the provisions to replace vacancies of area representatives. The constitution gives this section and this section alone the power to choose its representatives to higher committees. The nomination of myself was discussed - and how it was discussed - nominations that stretched over two months, discussed in all the clubs. So we can safely say that this section has discussed it enough and when it comes to its decision as to its representative on the County Committee no one under the constitution has the power to override that decision. Once more -- I hope for the last time -- I will state the facts.

Two years ago, I was a delegate from a club to a readers conference in Los Angeles where at least 95% of the delegates were representatives of clubs or Party members. Especially those comrades most devoted to the paper were there. This conference took issue with the line and policy of the paper and adopted a program, incidentally very similar to that adopted at the recent Press Conference, and called for a coastwise conference to improve the paper. I was elected Chairman of the continuations committee of the conference and every thing we tried to do was blocked by the Party leadership and the staff of the Paper. Lest anyone think that wild and bizarre efforts were planned our efforts were directed, for one thing, towards forums on important issues sponsored by the paper, and otherwise bringing the paper forward on the important issues.

When every move was blocked I resigned from the committee and made the announcement in my club meeting that I was so angry and disgusted, that I would pay up what I had pledged in the drive, but that was the last support the paper would get from me until it made a turn for the better and the membership had something to say. Of course my anger was not a question of hurt feelings, but was based on my revulsion toward its lack of a Marxist, working class policy and its offenses against the principle of international working class solidarity. I cannot, of course, justify a policy based on anger as being correct. That is giving in to subjectivity and, of course, wrong. And the N.W. comrades certainly behaved in a sound way by supporting the paper and fighting to change its direction. Nevertheless, I want to say that throughout the entire period -- One year -- of my non-support I said that anytime a representative conference on the papers political line was called, I would support the paper and the decisions of the conference whether or not the conference agreed with my position. Moreover, I did not advocate to anyone that they take the same action as I did. The publicity came from others.

I thank most of the comrades in my club and some other comrades in the section who have convinced me of the error in my position, and I thank them also for considering me for section chairman and urging me to run. Let me say that I did not wish to be chairman. I thought that our former chairman was doing a fine job and that he should continue. But our chairman had a real point. He was on the county board, he has certain responsibilities for the Independent Voters of California, and besides wanted to spend some time in research and preparation of documents for the Party program discussion, and in line with this last would agree to being Educational director of the section. And we had not had one up to this time. So that his resignation as Chairman gave us the opportunity to strengthen the section committee. So I accepted. Our comrades in the

section committee had all the facts concerning myself. All the objections now being raised were raised by comrade Schneiderman and others. It was discussed in all the clubs over a two month period before I was elected.

It is my firm opinion that my position on the PW is not the real issue here. The issue is the difference in ideological positions between this section as expressed in the previous section organizers report, overwhelmingly adopted and those of the leadership of the district. This is shown by the latest in the series of attacks upon me. A report has been made to the District Committee and to several clubs in Oakland naming me as a factionalist along with 2 others not in this section. I brand this as false. But irrespective of its merits-- what do you think of a leadership that goes around making charges and dignifying it with the title of a district committee report? Making charges without bringing them to me, my club, or my section? This in itself is a factional procedure. Anything pertaining to me should be brought up in my club and section. By doing it otherwise it is an attempt to discredit an ideological trend-- that of our section and many other clubs and individuals in the Party-- and is an attempt to stop the flood of criticism that has begun to inundate the district leadership after they passed from quiet voting support to the Gates, Fine and Stein faction under the banner of seeking unity in the Party to the point where they became the spearhead of the right wing in the Party with the California motions. It appears that they are now attempting to retreat from their exposed positions, but they, to this day, will not acknowledge their error before the Party. No, comrades, this and other moves is a crude distortion of Party procedures. A distortion of Democratic centralism by those who at the last convention of the Party would not vote for it or support or even have a kind word for it. What is this? Every one who doesn't agree with the leadership is a factionalist. And it is really an attempt to suppress any criticism of revisionist ideology and leadership by the rank and file of the Party. Look at the opposite way things have been handled in this section. All ideas have been openly discussed and debated. Our section has arrived at its position and whatever accomplishments it has achieved by the frankest and fiercest debate. That is the way to settle things in the Party. Not in the preparation of technical strategic manoeuvres specifically designed to avoid discussing the real issues.

Comrades, the purpost of this meeting is to unite the section around a positive program, to strengthen its leadership, and to make us a more effective organization. I believe that we are making progress and hope that the Comrades here endorse my report. Endorsing the report could include the passage of the following motions, or they can be taken up separately.

1. To approve the election of myself as Section Organizer and representative on the County Committee.
2. To protest the action of the County Committee in unconstitutionally refusing to seat the representative of this section to that body, to notify them of our protest, and to appeal the decision of the County Committee to the District Committee.

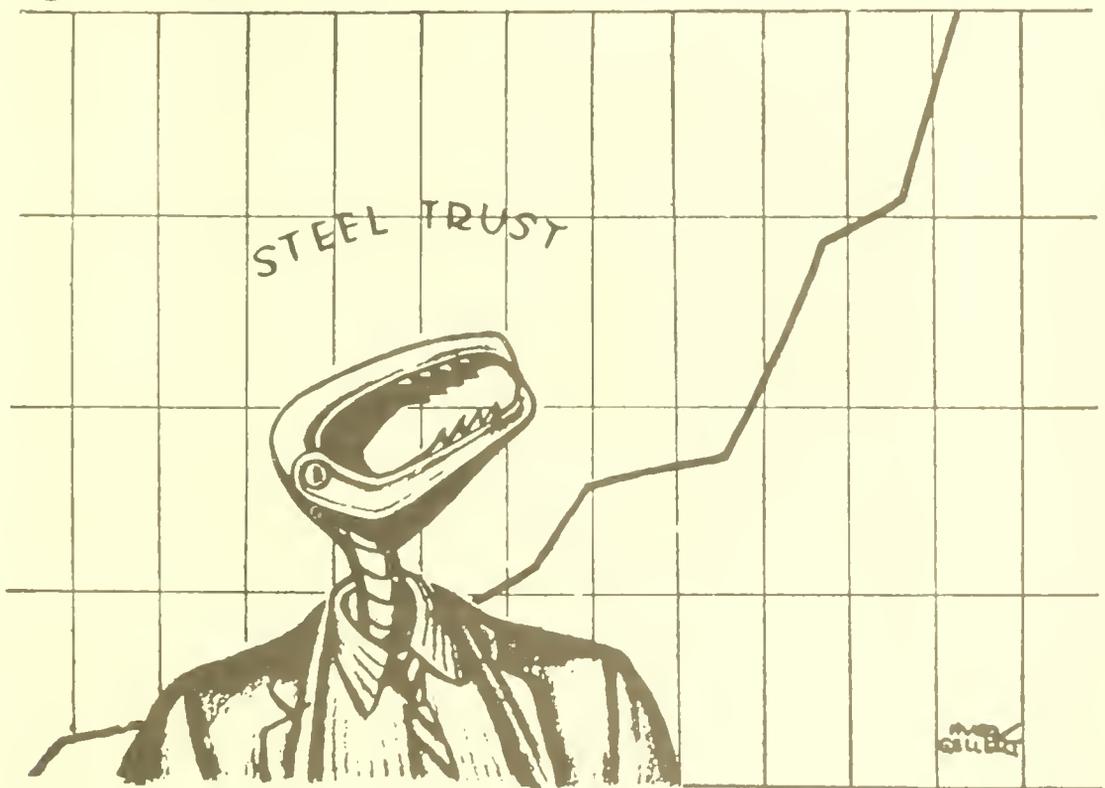
Comrades, I have enjoyed giving the positive part of this report and I am sure we will find the way through all the obstacles towards improving the work of the Section, towards building the Party in the working class of San Francisco. I will do the best I can in fulfilling all of my responsibilities, and I am encouraged in this respect by the past achievements of this section and the knowledge that we possess a capable and devoted group of comrades.

(The report was endorsed and both motions were passed with 3 dissenting votes.)

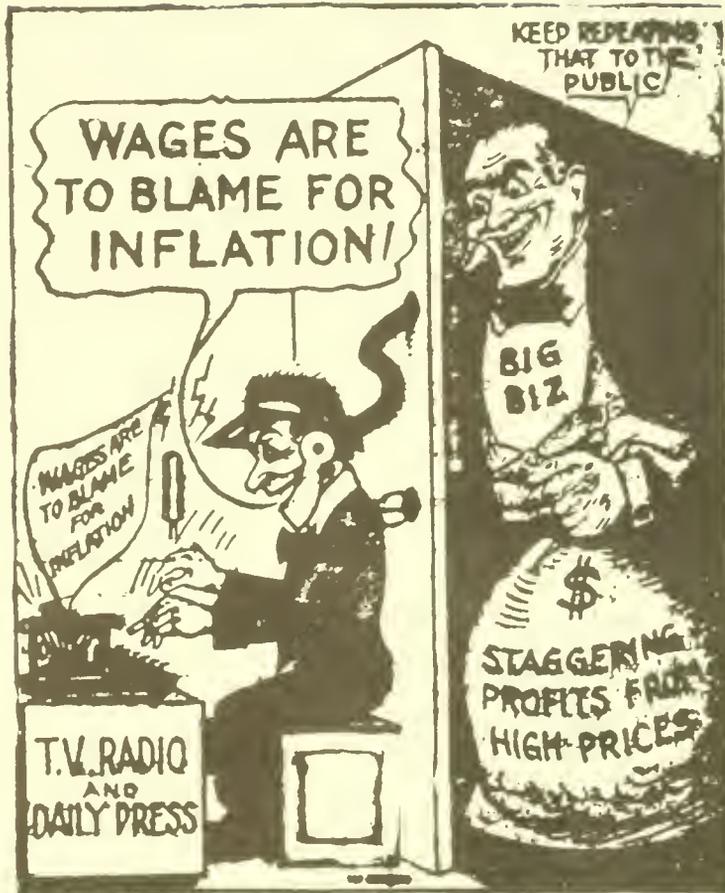
## EVERY AMERICAN WORKER HAS A DESPERATE STAKE IN THE STEEL STRIKE

THE ISSUE IS THE WELL BEING OF OUR COUNTRY, THE HEALTH AND WELFARE OF ITS CITIZENS, VERSUS THE SWELLING PROFITS OF THE GIGANTIC MONOPOLIES.

### CHART OF SUPER PROFITS

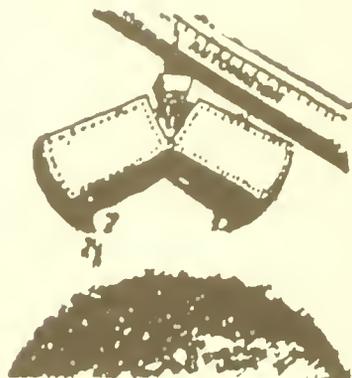


Wall Street profits mount at the fantastic rate of \$2.28 for every man hour worked in steel. The last quarter showed steel profits at the highest in the history of the world. And this is not enough for those who have never worked a single day in their lives--they demand more union busting laws--weaker contracts--anything to make a dirty buck. These high profits are the real cause of inflation in this country.



ALREADY THERE ARE AT LEAST 150,000 STEEL WORKERS IN THIS COUNTRY WHO WILL NEVER WORK IN A STEEL MILL AGAIN. The new automated processes make possible increased capacity production of steel with fewer and fewer workers employed. This is, of course, not only true in steel, but is the big element in the present insecurity of all the American working people. The coal mining towns have become islands of extreme poverty, the auto industry knows the same conditions and Detroit has become a town of unemployed people at the very moment the production levels in the town are high. Nor is the Bay Area immune. There has been a considerable movement of Bay Area industry to low wage areas with the erection there of automated and semi-automated plants. At this moment 1,000 workers at Simmons Mattress in San Francisco live in the daily fear that the plant will close as new technically modern plants are opened in Southern California and elsewhere. It was the all important issue in the waterfront negotiations on the West Coast and is part of the underlying issues in the Teamsters strike in San Francisco.

THE STEEL MAGNATES DEMAND THE RIGHT TO MAKE WHATEVER CHANGES THEY WILL NO MATTER WHAT IT DOES TO THE WORKERS, NO MATTER HOW MANY ARE PERMANENTLY LAID OFF, NO MATTER HOW IT WILL AFFECT THE LIVING STANDARDS OF AMERICA. This is a profit system and to them all that counts are more and more profits as they line up the President, the courts and the congress in a drive against the labor movement.



The labor movement must recognize that this drive is succeeding and the measure of its success is the stock market quotations. With the steel strike one could expect, as usually happens, that steel stock prices would go down, depreciate in value at least a little. But exactly the opposite is happening. Not only do steel stocks hold their own, but they have even gone up in stock market price. THIS PROVES THAT AS FAR AS THE STEEL BOSSES ARE CONCERNED THINGS ARE GOING EXACTLY AS PLANNED. They treat the negotiations as a farce, and a farce they have certainly been up to now.

It is precisely at this time that President Eisenhower, using the pretext of gangsterism in a few labor unions went on the air and issued an appeal for laws that would cripple our trade union movement and urged congress to pass the most vicious anti-labor legislation.

In the socialist Soviet Union the latest congress has produced the Seven Year Plan. What will this plan, based on peaceful competition with the capitalist world, provide for the Soviet citizen?

SOCIALISM'S

7 Year

PLAN



BY 1965 THE SOVIET WORKER WILL HAVE:

- a) 30-35 Hour Week
- b) 6-7 Hour Day
- c) 650-660 Million Sq. Meters More  
Low Rent Housing
- d) NO TAXES OF ANY KIND

CYNICISM IS NO ANSWER!

SAYS "BUSINESS WEEK:" In the past the Soviets have substantially filled their five-year plan goals. "

AND WHAT CAN WE, AS WORKERS, EXPECT UNDER CAPITALISM  
BY 1965?

More Boom And Bust?

More Unemployment?

More Billions For Defense?

More Peanuts For The People?

THAT'S FOR SURE...

.....UNLESS--we make our unions produce for the rank and file through a united struggle and demand for enforcement and improvement of our union contracts, for a 30 hour work week at increased wages, for an end to speed-up through control of production standards by those who work, and make the benefits of automation pay off to the American worker in increased leisure, better education, recreation, etc. instead of increased profits to the bosses. Stop the colossal waste of billions in armaments spending and use this money for peaceful construction of schools, hospital, libraries, federal low-cost housing, recreation facilities, and in many other ways to promote the welfare of all the people. Demand that congress stop horsing around with anti-labor legislation, repeal the Taft-Hartley Law, pass bills shortening the work week, raise the minimum wage, and curb the enormous profits of big business.

It is up to the labor movement to organize these demands and make them effective. The same mobilization that defeated the so-called "Right To Work Law" in California can, on a national scale, bring real benefits to every American.

- SUPPORT THE STEEL WORKERS -- A. F. L. - C. I. O
- SUPPORT THE TEAMSTERS -- INDEPENDENT
- SUPPORT THE MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS -- INDEPENDENT

Issued By: Industrial Section of the Communist Party, San Francisco.

(Endorsed by Majority Vote)  
(of Section Membership. )

## THE AFL SECTION AND THE IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS

### SECTION ORGANIZER'S REPORT

Comrades:

In the more than two years of Party crisis, and, more specifically, in the more than a year following the National Convention of our Party, the ideological struggle has sharpened, the smog of confusion has been partly penetrated, and certain erstwhile leaders of the Party have taken their leave of its ranks. While in every case these departures were voluntary in that no one has been expelled from the Party no matter how bizarre or how bourgeois his theory or his actions, nevertheless these voluntary departures occurred only when the comrades in question were no longer able to impose their individual and factional will on the bulk of the Party. Because this struggle is beginning to interfere with the work of this Section, this membership meeting has been called in order to formulate the Section line and policy in the face of continuing crisis. This is all the more necessary inasmuch as the life of our Section and Clubs following the Convention has not been one of extreme concern on inner-Party matters, and up to the last few months hardly anything beyond information has become the property of the clubs. This report will concern itself with four items:

1. A brief review of the history of our Section from the preconvention discussion to date;
2. An analysis of the ideological crisis within our movement;
3. The immediate specific nature of its manifestations in Northern California; and
4. Some conclusions and recommendations.

### SECTION HISTORY

I would like to begin by recalling to the attention of the Comrades, the resolutions passed by the Section Convention in preparation for the National Convention. \* We passed a resolution on the Democratization of the South, a resolution on the People's World recommending it go on a weekly basis and urging the membership to raise the necessary funds for continuance, a resolution calling for a referendum on the final Convention Resolution, two resolutions on trade union work, the first calling for active experienced trade unionists at all levels of Party leadership, and the second calling for improved liason between trade union clubs themselves and also between the trade unions and the neighborhood clubs. A resolution of condemnation for the National Committee statement on Hungary of November 4th, a resolution on the general position of the Section stating that of all the prominent positions in the ideological discussion to date we preferred the Foster position, and, finally, a resolution that combined measures for the suppression of bureaucracy with fundamental support for the concepts of Democratic Centralism, Party Discipline, and the Vanguard role of the Party.

Following the Convention, and in the selection of our leadership, this Section resisted the trend developing in the County to abolish section organization and even industrial clubs. With difficulty and with unevenness we brought forward a Section and Club leadership and proceeded with our activity within the Trade Union Movement. While in this report I will not go into the activities of the various clubs I do wish to point out that a not inconsiderable success has attended our efforts and all or almost all of our basic organizations enjoy greater influence and status within the trade union movement than was true a year ago.

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\* The Section Convention resolutions are printed in full following this report.

Here I will confine myself to the Section work as a whole, and that, for the most part, sketchily.

Following the Convention what has this Section accomplished?

On the Peoples World: 1. We surpassed the Section quota on the Peoples World Fund Drive. 2. We distributed a large number of Little Rock Supplements, at least as many as any other comparable body in San Francisco. 3. Distributed more supplements on the labor situation as pertaining to the Teamsters and McLellan Committee than the whole rest of the Party in San Francisco.

Our section conducted a one day class on the Role of the Party and on the Meaning and Practice of the Anti-Monopoly Coalition.

We held a Section Conference on the fight against so-called "right to work" legislation which was carried back to the clubs and resulted in certain concrete activities, among which were meetings in both the Building Trades and the Metal Trades of Comrades and ex-Comrades to plan a joint program of activity against the legislation.

The Metal Trades Club involved members of other clubs as well as a number of non-Party persons in an educational meeting entitled "Women Workers under California Law."

We have sent full delegations to all Party Conferences and Conventions.

I am sure that I have omitted items of significance. However, I do not believe that the above constitutes such an outstanding record as to warrant smugness or complacency. It is more a minimum achievement than a record of astounding accomplishment. Only in comparison to the work of other Party organizations in these years of crisis do the events recounted achieve a qualitative significance. There is also much to state of negative significance, a certain measure of ideological disunity in the Section leadership and a real weakness in that the Section leadership is not fully representative of the Clubs, and that the Section staff is not complete, so that some of the worthwhile activities of the Section did not receive the full participation of all the members. Nevertheless our Section has maintained a general line successfully from the preconvention discussion to date, and, by way of attesting to that, we can point to the fact that following the Convention we have lost but two members, one in the recent organized factional withdrawal from the Party and the other previous to that. This concludes the sketchy summary of the activity of our Section.

#### ON THE IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS

Following the 20th Congress in the Soviet Union, the re-evaluation of Stalin, and the events in Hungary, our Party like many other fraternal parties was in a crisis. Our Party had a leadership whose responsibility was to devise educational material and a line of policy that would serve to unite the Party under the impact of ideological struggle. What can we say of the activities of our leadership? With certain honorable exceptions they caved in. They failed to project any sort of a united line. From the Dennis report of April 1956, the "new look" report that breast-beat our fairly glorious history as a Party into a succession of errors there opened a widespread flying apart at the seams of the leadership so that every idea dredged up from the discredited material of the past 100 years in the working class movement found a home in our Party and factional backing among sections of the leadership. Clark and Gates, Howard Fast, the New York State Committee, and others challenged almost every concept of Marxism-Leninism and under the banner of "friendly criticism of the Soviet Union" outdid the capitalist press in slander against the Soviet Union culminating in two National Committee statements on the Hungarian situation that were a disgrace to the American movement, and to this date these statements have not been corrected.

If at that time it was understandable that a good deal of confusion marred our Party view of the path ahead, if the rank and file could not authoritatively combat the disruption of revisionist ideology, what can we say now - two years later? When every fraternal Party in the capitalist, colonialist, and socialist countries took a different course, and what are the results of their policies? The British Party which recently registered 97% of its membership fought these ideas that developed in their Party, the Canadian Party with same or similar trends as developed in ours isolated the revisionists and maintained the unity of the Party, the Israeli Communist Party, where you would expect that the tales of so-called Soviet anti-semitism would have the most harmful effect and where the Party had an "unpopular" position on the Suez question, had an 18% increase in membership as far back as eight months ago and it is no doubt going higher, in a recruiting drive the Indian Communist Party more than doubled its membership, and

France and Italy and other Communist Parties with a united leadership moved from initial losses to almost immediate recovery and in many cases to outstanding advance. True it is that objective conditions varied from country to country, but one of the objective conditions in our country was the lack of working class stability in our own leadership.

Whatever the diverse trends existing in our organization, contrary to general world experience, we were not able to resolve them. This was true prior to the 16th Convention and the Convention itself helped but little. It is true that certain overt measures such as a denial of Marxism-Leninism and a change into a political action association were repulsed but as noted by D. Shevlyagin, a writer in Soviet periodical "Communist", "the struggle against right opportunism was not carried to completion; this reacted negatively upon further work of the Party. The conciliatory elements still continue their factional activity."

Following the Convention all agreed to work within the framework of its decisions - to accentuate the positive so to speak. The trouble was that what was positive to one was negative to another, and as the membership in organization after organization began to take a line against the forms of revisionism, the 16th Convention was invoked as the "Holy of Holies" by the dwindling revisionist influence. When Clark left he left with a cry that the 16th Convention decisions were being moved away from, Gates likewise, the resignations from the New York State Committee, and, finally, the latest organized withdrawal from the movement in California, the California Defectors, took up the chorus. Substantially the resolutions of the 16th Convention were a compromise, a toleration of diverse ideologies rather than a resolution for our Party. Also under its decisions all groups were free to consider the decisions there tentative and were free to agitate for their own ends. Nevertheless there was a certain agreement - an agreement to continue work and on that basis to leave the unresolved questions for a later date. While this policy had a little success - events conspired to disrupt it. Bandung, Sputnik, successes of the Soviet Union in relation to the colonial countries, Chinese theoretical documents on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, criticism of the American Party by the fraternal parties all tended to weaken the influence of those supporters of a "Made in America" brand of "interpreted Marxism-Leninism" and to strengthen among the membership those who desired not an "independent" Communist Party but a fraternal one. Nevertheless this loose alliance on the basis of "let's get out the work" continued with differences until now it has become shattered under the impact of three events occurring about the same time.

The first was the 12-Power Declaration of the Socialist countries in Moscow at the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the October revolution.

The second was the Draft Labor Resolution and the discussion around it.

The third were the "California Motions."

Many things are considered in the 12-Power Document, and I will not at this point go through them. It contains from its beginning where it characterizes the present as the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism many ideas concerning peace, socialist progress, and Marxist theory. It also contains good definitions of right wing opportunism, that is, revisionism, and also of dogmatism and sectarianism. What made it unacceptable to the National Executive Committee when they reprimanded the National Administrative Committee for favorably hailing the document was the following statement in the document: "In considering dogmatism, The Communist Parties believe that the main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, Right-wing opportunism, which as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyzes the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism." True it is that the document states that it is for each party to decide which is the main danger at any moment, and some have used this statement to repeat that in our country left sectarianism is the main danger. This cannot be supported in the document as in the description there of what constitutes modern revisionism, rejection of the vanguard role, rejection of democratic centralism, denial of the dictatorship of the proletariat, denial of the leading role of the Communist Party, all these items characterize our discussions in the National Committee, and are even memorialized in many of the documents of the 16th National Convention. International production of the 12-Power Statement was a serious threat to opportunist influence in our own Party and the faction in the National leadership that had picked up the American flag as their banner recognized it and fought it, but not directly. They supported it for information, for study, for anything but confirming its application to this country. The document deserves better treatment than it has received at the hands of the American Party.

The Draft Labor Resolution was next on the agenda. This represented an attempt by the then majority of the National Committee to develop in practice the implications of their position. The result was a hodge-podge of fact and fancy that nowhere received any basis of solid support. I will not discuss it in detail as we have already done that in the clubs and in two conferences and I believe that most of you have seen the critical document of the Metal Trades Club which points up many of the errors in the document as well as many items that should be in such a report. I call attention only to the general characterization made by the Washington delegation to the West Coast Conference. While disagreeing with many facts and conclusions of the Draft Labor Resolution the Washington delegation further went on to say that the Resolution was incorrectly based on a secondary contradiction, in the contradictions within the labor movement itself, whereas our Labor resolution should primarily concern itself with the fundamental contradiction, that between monopoly capital and the working class. In the West Coast Conference a much amended draft labor resolution was passed over the strong Washington resolution by a margin of two votes. Subsequently the Washington resolution was passed as an addition to the resolution by a margin of six votes. Because the labor resolution was one of the only concrete attempts to spell out in seriousness the American way to socialist development by this group of "independent" American Marxists it affords an opportunity to see if these champions of new approaches and, in words, battlers against dogmatism and sectarianism could really produce something genuinely new and capable of being translated into significant mass action among the working class. This apparently was too much to expect for the resolution as delivered was not much more than a sad tailing after trade union leaders where the independent role of the Party is reduced to trying to improve things a little within the framework of hailing whatever is constructive in the statements of the CIO Union leaders. Nor was the resolution a convincing analysis of real conditions among the workers of our country or their organizations, half-truths and wishful thinking being its main attributes, certainly not profound new truth. To top it off the Resolution got a nasty kick in a vulnerable spot from Old Man Life. No sooner was the ink dry on the Resolution when the news was full of the developing recession which is unmentioned in the declaration although it did not occur as a bolt from the blue - for example, many areas of the country including the Pacific Northwest and Michigan and elsewhere were in serious unemployment situations for more than a year, not to speak of the continuing agricultural crisis. And then again, no sooner had the discussion started when Reuther, who, though unnamed in the declaration, is really held up to be the advanced labor movement, switches his support from a shorter work week to a profit sharing plan. No, in this case, it didn't take long to expose the barrenness of this so-called new approach. And it's better that way and makes it possible for our Party to see through these and other "gimmick" approaches to the solution of our country's problems.

While these two documents strained the uneasy alliance of diverse ideologies based on "let's get out the work", the next item, the California Motions, shattered it to shreds. Here was an overt attack on the alliance itself. According to the California Motions the trouble with the Party leadership was that the 16th Convention decisions were not being fought for, that because of not wanting to come to grips with those who, in the opinion of the Northern California leadership, fundamentally disapproved with the results of the 16th Convention decisions, the Dennis forces were really capitulating to them. The document called for the isolation of the Foster forces, though not by name. In the submitting remarks of the District Organizer he made it clear that working together was not enough, it was time to make a decision once and for all. This article must be viewed in context with the report of Sid Stein who recommended that all the National Executive Committee be replaced, to quote: "by a new leadership based primarily on comrades who in the opinion of the National Committee will carry through the decisions of the 16th National Convention". I will have more to say of this document later in the context of the specific situation in Northern California, here I relate only its history. A resolution based on the California Motions was presented to the National Committee and was defeated through the adoption of a substitute resolution prepared by Comrade Dennis. The vote was 32 in favor, opposed 20, abstaining 3 and is printed in full in the March Political Affairs.

The approved Dennis resolution can be distinguished from the California motions in one particular. It recognizes the dangers of revisionist ideology and acknowledges the revisionist trend in the Party. As such it is a step forward in our Party and should be supported. It is in a certain sense a historic occasion, it represents the first time in the two year Party history that it was possible to get in the National Committee a majority recognition of the dangers of revisionism. I would not be frank however, if I failed to point out what I consider certain deficiencies in the document. It does combat revisionism but tries to do it solely within the context of the 16th National Convention. Thus, in citing what is revisionist it carefully excludes mention of either democratic centralism, the question of proletarian dictatorship, the leading role of the Communist Party in

the transition to Socialism (as distinguished from the vanguard role it plays previously to that time), or solidarity with the Socialist world. I suppose because the Convention resolution fails to confirm these in a positive way.

Also the Dennis resolution fails to assert that at the moment revisionism is the main danger in spite of the fact that the immediate occasion for the preparation of the report is to oppose the manifestation of the revisionist trend as exemplified in the California motions. If the aim of the National Committee is to extricate itself from the growing criticism in our own and the International movement then I believe that we should help as much as we can. If the reason they do not go beyond the Convention decisions is because they feel bound to them then we should try to unbind them, or the National Committee there elected, by calling another convention. However, if it winds up as another attempt to settle the differences on top only without making our Party from top to bottom united in principle and activity, and exists only as a manifestation of maneuvering for position within the National Committee, then the Party will have to recognize that, and, difficult as it may be, find a solution for that too. Perhaps all of these are reasons for some of the support to the Dennis Resolution; in any case, at this point we should welcome it as the first manifestation of organized struggle against revisionism from our National Committee. One could have wished that it was accompanied by serious self-criticism, but we should do our best to implement a principled unity of the Party, recognizing that fundamentally the class struggle and the rank and file of the Party will solve all the questions that plague us.

At this point it is necessary to try to establish here our understanding of what can be new and what is basic in Marxist science, to make our position clear on dogmatism and sectarianism. Certainly no American Communist movement can confine itself to any pattern of tactics and strategy developed elsewhere in the world no matter how beneficial the results there in the prevailing specific features of that time and in those conditions. Whether the opposite is true, no American Communist movement can be successful without enriching and developing the Marxist science of the whole world. Just as the Chinese Communist Party in its successful transition to socialism has enriched and continues to enrich the Marxist science of the world, we will be forced to do likewise before we can remotely dream of establishing socialism in this most developed stronghold of modern-imperialism. But events occur at the speed of light in this day and age, and what seems remote to us now in our disunity and unclarity may soon be imminent.

An example of where we must find new solutions to present day problems is in the development of a worthwhile slogan of the 16th National Convention, the development of an anti-monopoly peoples coalition. The way to do this is certainly not in using the slogan as a stick against the development of any independent Party position, it is certainly not an argument to negate the leading role of the working class or the role of the Party. Certainly in this process we can learn a great deal from the experience in struggle of the Chinese Communist Party in the development of a people's coalition against Imperialism and Feudalism. We can learn a great deal but we can't transpose it in a body, the American people live under different conditions, and the enemy though just as deadly, perhaps more so, has a different face. What must we do to creatively develop this slogan of an anti-monopoly people's coalition into a rounded out theory and practice than can bring a real result? We must, of course, study the history of the anti-monopoly struggle in our country, analyze its achievements and its weaknesses, study the monopoly penetration and, in some cases, control of working class and middle class organizations, try to understand the contradictions of imperialism, try to develop unity in action between groupings in our country that are or ought to be partners in the coalition, to develop joint and parallel actions, and, always, always, educate as to what monopoly is, to expose its camouflage, and to make it possible for more and more Americans to recognize the face of the enemy. Beyond this we must take every opportunity in the political life of our country to develop our program of unity, fighting in such a way so that we do not act as if each engagement were the last battle, trying to gain strength from our experiences, and, finally, in case of any setback not to wallow in panic and demoralization. In this there is plenty of room for new additions to Marxist science.

Or, to take another example: Certainly the struggle to secure the political and economic emancipation of the Negro people in this land draws some of its great strength from the successful struggle of colonial peoples the wide world over, certainly many of the ideas developed elsewhere in the battle for the rights of oppressed minorities and majorities can and are being used to good advantage here by the Negro people and its allies, but, of course, it would be harmful not to take into account the specific features of the American scene both in the character of the oppression and in the contradictions among the oppressors. Again plenty of scope for new and imaginative contributions to Marxist science.

But the champions of the "new" in the current and continuing and apparently endless discussions - what have they proposed? Is dissolution of the Party new? Or a Political Action Association? Is tailing after bourgeois reformers new? Is denial of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat new? Is denial of the leading role of the party new? Is the Welfare State mirage new? There has not been a genuinely new idea in any - we have beat around for more than two years. They are called not from previous successes but from the failures of the world working class. Wherever the working class has been led by these ideas, even when that leadership united the great majority, they have been led only to defeat. We need new approaches and new science but the Party must vigorously struggle against the sustained attempt to palm off on us the discredited as the new.

In our Section, among our organizations, there are as many different plans of work as there are organizations, and that is good, for conditions vary from industry to industry in our Section, and I do believe that, in view of some of our successes, we are in the position to at least preliminarily generalize some of our work, to try to smooth out some of the unevenness connected with it, and to subject it to some critical analysis. Here is one place where we can try to find some new conclusions. And we should do this soon.

And on the question of friendly criticism of the Soviet Union. I believe that the concept of fraternal relations between the Communist Parties of the world includes within it the privilege of friendly and positive criticism of these Parties. But this criticism is a two way street, comrades. It is not that from some lofty eminence we are privileged to criticize the Soviet Union and have the power to tell it and other fraternal parties when we are criticized by them to mind their own business. Friendly criticism means that such criticism should be seriously considered, and we cannot say that we have seriously considered the criticism of our Party by many others, French, Soviet Union, Latin American countries, etc. And, of course, in extending any criticism to such a fraternal Party we can leave no doubt as to our answer to the question posed in the words of the song, "Which side are you on, boys, which side are you on?"

In this connection we have to acknowledge that organs of our Party have not always made themselves clear so that it is possible for a progressive and socialist-minded person such as Vincent Hallinan to lump us together with other Socialist Parties in this country in a common characterization as follows:

"But it cannot be said that the socialist parties' organs ignore developments in the socialist countries! Indeed they do not! You can find pages in them devoted to proving that Khrushchev is a scoundrel and that they are all ruled by tyrannical bureaucracies. You riffle them back to be sure that you are not reading a release from the State Department and you hide them from potential recruits to the socialist camp. They appear exactly designed to frighten people away from it."

Yes, Comrades, we face a serious problem of isolation in our Party compounded of objective conditions and our own errors, especially the error of our five-year operation Nosedive, and we are in our Section and elsewhere making some progress in overcoming it. But we are compounding our problem with our increasing isolation from the honest left in our country which in past years sympathized with our Party and generally though not uniformly followed our leadership. Is it any wonder that faced with the indecision and panic in our ranks they seek elsewhere for leadership, and, failing to find it, resort to many shades and differences of opinion and program, not all of which, certainly, are adequate for today. I am not criticizing them, many and perhaps most of them work in the mass organizations as effectively as they can contributing to the growth of the Peace movement, to the struggle for Negro rights, in the economic struggles of the working class and the farm population, and in many and varied forms of political action. Once there was generally speaking a united left in this country, the other socialist parties were the narrowest of sectarian splinter groups whose main function for the most part objectively considered was the generally unsuccessful attack against our organization. Today the Left like our Party is in large part fragmented. Nor are the Stalin revelations sufficient explanation for this phenomenon. Some losses both in our Party and in our influence we could have expected but we could have regained it by now had we established a united and sound line as for example did the Italian Party who recently recemented its unity of activity with the Socialist Party which had been a casualty of the self-criticism in the Soviet union.

And certainly in our relations with the fraternal Parties, it is not necessary to exhibit such a sad lack of humility.

THE IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

How has the ideological crisis in our movement manifested itself in a special way here in California? Its latest manifestation is certainly the recent group departure of 26 leading and former leading people in our Party. The method of leaving plus the organizational measures they took in leaving, and also inherent in the content of their document indicate that for more than a recent period this group has led a factional existence. Beyond that of course we know of meetings held, phone calls made, and trips back and forth between Los Angeles and here, and even an attempt to organize people who have left the Party into coming back in - in order to fight for their factional position. Of course, the document itself attempts to put the best possible face to their departure and consequently does not discuss except in the most general terms the reasons for leaving, expressing disillusion with the prospects before the Party, but hardly coming to the meat of the ideological discussions in the Party. It must be viewed in the context of the preceding document signed by 22 Los Angeles comrades, most of whom, if not all, were part of the final withdrawal, in which the right wing opportunist revisionist line is a great deal more clear. In this connection I would like to quote from a report made by the Chairman of the Metal Trades Club before that club on the California motions. I quote from its concluding paragraph:

"The proposal of the District Committee at a time when it cannot be discussed by a representative body (such as a convention) can only be disruptive. The many districts would either be arraigned against each other or split. The National Center would lose any authority that remains. And the Party would be further reduced by an even greater exodus on the right. I do not think that this is desired by the majority of the District Committee."

To me this is an accurate prediction of some of the things that have occurred since the California motions were proposed.

But I will not concern myself too much with the recent departure. I am much more concerned with the attitude of the remaining District leadership. The District Organizer coming back from the National Committee meeting makes a report to an East Bay membership meeting that the National Committee turned down a resolution based on the California Motions and adopted one proposed by Comrade Dennis. He went on to say that, of course, the California motions were superior, and, that, as far as he was concerned, that the Party in California was going to continue operating according to the spirit of the California motions. When he was upbraided for factional behavior, and, it is certainly factional for a member of the National Committee and its Executive to refuse to carry out a resolution of the Party, he responded with the heated charge of so-called ultra-left factionalism on those rank and filers who had called him to task.

At the San Francisco County Committee he was specifically asked whether he would work to implement the recent resolution of the National Committee. He refused to answer a clear yes or a no, his answer was that he would abide by the decisions of the 16th National Convention. We have come a long way - we started out with a battle about the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and now we have come down to interpreting the 16th Convention. Another member of the National Committee at the County meeting answered this question without being asked - his answer was that he wasn't going to sign any loyalty oath. This, comrades, goes a long way beyond the right to dissent. Certainly, they have the right to their opinions, but this heads in the direction of setting up an independent Party in California, one with different policies and objectives from our national Party. It is this danger that the comrades should be aware of.

At the same County Committee a blistering attack on your section organizer occurred, as being a member of a faction called the ultra-left. Certainly, in an atmosphere where a general right revisionist attack has gone on in the Party, one could expect extreme left ideas to gain currency. But this so-called faction, so far as I can determine, are legitimate clubs and sections of the Party, some of whose literature I've seen, and, like all Party literature nowadays I agree with some of it and I disagree with others. They certainly have the right to state their views just as we have the right to state ours. This is reminiscent of the attack on the Indiana substitute Labor Resolution as left-sectarian, where the substance was hardly seen by the membership, and which, in my opinion, was very good, with some weaknesses, but the resolution was used as a whipping stick in order to try to put over the very weak and very useless Draft Labor Resolution. Beyond that I construe the attack on me to be an attack against the section. For I am a member of no faction, and the line I have is, I believe, the majority line of this section. I have been critical, and will probably continue to be, I hope constructively.

I believe that the District leaders who make this unprincipled factional charge should either press it or apologize. Of more significance than name calling is the real situation however. It was one thing when the California District leadership had, whatever their actions, the stated position of trying to find unity in the Party, it is quite another thing when the actions of the California leadership through the California Motions spearhead the right of our Party. In my opinion, the membership must become aware of it and act accordingly. It is not too late, in my opinion, for the leadership to draw some conclusions from the recent period, and to be a little self-critical about their recent actions. They passed the California Motions unanimously, this unanimous majority included the people who recently left the Party. After they passed these Motions, they were rejected before they were even considered by the National Committee by every trade union club in the City that took it up. This includes some clubs in our section, it includes Warehouse and Maritime. In fact I don't know of a single club that approved them, and the County Committee's approval was hedged with so many opposite amendments that I could even vote for it. They must see that this line heads nowhere and should change.

#### PROPOSALS

Comrades, in conclusion I have a number of proposals:

1. That this Report be mimeographed and distributed to the Party through the County Committee, sent to all members of the National Committee and submitted to Political Affairs with our recommendation for its publication - so that our thinking cannot be attacked by slander, and that the Comrades will have it before them.
2. Propose that a County Convention be called; the ideological issues and practical ones discussed; and that replacements to the District Committee for those who have resigned be there elected.
3. To recommend to the National Committee that a National Convention be called in order to form a clear line as opposed to the line of the 16th Convention which every ideological trend says they support from different standpoints.
4. That our Section reinstitute the classes that we started, and that the Section Committee be charged with bringing in a plan for them.
5. That at the earliest practical date we hold another conference so that the work of the clubs in their trade union organizations can be discussed and for us to try to draw some conclusions not only for our own work but for that primarily. The Labor resolution has not yet been acted upon and maybe we can help there also. This should be soon but not until the Section leadership can meet with each club to try to produce the maximum results at the Section meeting.
6. That the Section Committee in consultation with the Clubs try to complete the Section staff.

Comrades: This has been a long report and I hope I have not put too much of a trial on your patience. I sincerely hope that it meets with your approval. I do not wish that the result of this report be to divide the Section. It is my earnest wish that both those who support and those who oppose this report will continue to keep our Section healthy. We are a bright spot in the Party now, almost no losses, continuous work in mass organizations, and we should try to improve the quality of our work. I believe that we have it within ourselves to build the Party.

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#### APPENDIX: RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY AFL SECTION AT ITS PRECONVENTION SESSION.

##### RESOLUTION ON DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE SOUTH

Whereas, the economic advancement and the freedom of political expression of all organized and unorganized workers, North and South, depend on the winning of full democratic and trade union rights for all southern Americans, Negro and white, Be it resolved that our Party recognize that the most decisive struggle taking place at this time in our country is the developing fight for the democratization of the South, and Be it further resolved that we make this our major national task and take all the organizational steps necessary to make our maximum contribution to its achievement.

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RESOLUTION ON PEOPLES' WORLD

Resolved that following the State Convention the Peoples' World go on a weekly basis, and put into effect economic changes explained in their own financial statements.

We urge our membership to raise the necessary funds for its continuation as a weekly.

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RESOLUTION ON REFERENDUM ON RESOLUTION

Resolved that after the National Convention a National Referendum be held on the final resolution.

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RESOLUTION ON TRADE UNION WORK (1)

We recognize the Trade Union movement as the strongest organized pro-democratic , anti-dictatorship force in our country, and that the leadership of the Unions are more responsive to rank and file pressure than those of other mass organizations because of the direct ties to the economic welfare of the membership.

We believe that a major cause of errors in our movement generally, but especially in its policies and programs dealing with the trade union movement is the lack of trade union actives in the leadership of our Party. We strongly urge that special steps be taken to include a greater number of active experienced trade unionists on all levels of leadership in our Party.

RESOLUTION ON TRADE UNION WORK (2)

We recognize that our movement must be oriented on the trade unions as a focal center, and therefore propose that the County Convention take steps to provide:

1. More attention to and participation in trade union struggles for the neighborhood sections of the Party.
2. Improved liason between trade union sections of the Party, especially in related industries.
3. Improved liason between neighborhood and industrial sections, between the class struggle on the job and the class struggle in the neighborhood.

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RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON HUNGARY OF NOVEMBER 4th.

We condemn the statement of the National Committee on Hungary as being incorrect in that: 1) it reversed a previous accepted position without complete knowledge of the facts, 2) it did not analyze the situation from the viewpoint of a Party that is part of a world Communist movement, 3) it did not represent the opinions of the American Party membership.

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RESOLUTION ON GENERAL POSITION

Resolved that of all the prominent positions so far represented we feel that the Foster position represents the best hope for continuation and development of the American Socialist movement.

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RESOLUTION ON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

Be it resolved that we favor the maintenance of a Communist Party in the United States that accepts responsibility for the development of socialist consciousness in the United States and directs a concerted activity upon those issues most necessary for the defense and improvement of the working conditions of the American working class, and expresses and supports the aspirations and advance of the international working class movement;

Be it further resolved that in order to implement our aims we make changes in our organization guaranteeing the widest democratic participation of the membership in the making and review of decisions, in protecting the membership from harassment on the basis of difference from official position, and in stimulating

the membership to the most imaginative and most thorough discussion on the development of our work. In this connection we urge that the new constitution spell out in detail the rights and duties of membership, and to include in our constitution many of the excellent suggestions that have been developed in the discussion to curb the growth of bureaucratic trends within our organization. We support the following paragraph in the draft resolution: "The National Committee should issue a special publication on a regular monthly basis devoted exclusively to articles or letters discussing, debating, or differing with Party policies, whether current or long range. Such a publication is necessary to encourage the greatest possible participation by the membership in the formulation, correction, or abandonment of policies or tactics."

Be it further resolved that in order to implement the democratization of our movement it is not necessary to deny our history, to renounce those items of principle that have historically developed to differentiate our movement from bourgeois or liberal reformism. The concepts of democratic centralism, Party discipline, and the vanguard role of the Party. We consider that these ideas have already been proved in practice not only in other countries but also in ours in connection with some of our historic successes. We believe these ideas to be rooted not in some set of special conditions on some foreign soil, but in the dialectical materialist conception of reality, on the consciousness of struggle between opposing forces, and the awareness of the revolutionary nature of change. We confirm the conception of our organization as a devoted and advanced task force of the working class. Where we do not live up to our conception, and it must be admitted that we have not in many cases, we must strive to make our conception real, to prepare ourselves for the sharp struggles of the working class that lie ahead. THE UNITY OF OUR PARTY IN ACTION MUST BE DEVELOPED, NOT DESTROYED.

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## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 29

ON THE JEWISH QUESTION  
 By A. Waterman  
 From Marxism Today April, 1959, London

Comrade Ramelson in his article in the January issue of Marxism Today, whilst rediscussing the Jewish issue, makes reference to the recent experiences of the Jewish people, i.e. Hitler's extermination of 6 million Jews, the setting up of the State of Israel, and the elimination of Yiddish cultural activities in the U.S.S.R. in 1948. Nonetheless he does not seem to appreciate the profound impact these experiences have had on the Jewish people.

I want to dwell primarily on the part dealing with the Socialist Solution. It is important to recapitulate, though briefly, this unprecedented historical event. Merely to state that the Soviet Union in "eliminating anti-semitism . . . . had a tremendous impact on Jews all over the world" barely touches the significance of the 1917 revolution, as far as the Jews as an oppressed minority were concerned. Surely this was only one aspect of what the young Soviet Union did for the Jewish people.

(1) For the first time in history a revolutionary movement succeeded in removing, at one stroke, all forms of discrimination, economic, political and cultural, by granting the erstwhile oppressed and pogromised Jews full and complete equality.

(2) It made possible in the short period of fifteen years the complete transformation of the social, economic and cultural structure of Soviet Jewry.

(3) "Every facility given to them . . . for the development of Yiddish culture." It was not only a continuation of the old Yiddish culture, but an unprecedented renaissance, transformation and expansion of Yiddish cultural activities which became "national in form and socialist in content".

(4) Economically, it drew masses of Jewish people into the then developing industries. For those who could not be absorbed in industry, it promulgated vast land settlement schemes and brought hundreds of thousands of Jews into agriculture. Large areas of land were specially allocated for Jewish re-settlement, in the Crimea, Ukraine, White Russia and the Caucasus. Jewish administrative regions were formed, such as Kalindorf, New Zlotopol, Stalindorf, etc., where the official language in the schools, courts and local government was Yiddish.

This economic and social transformation had its immediate and direct effect on cultural expansion. Let me quote a report given at a conference of Jewish cultural workers in 1924 (Yevrei v SSSR, p. 262): "There are functioning in the U.S.S.R. fifty-two kindergartens, 439 elementary schools, fifty-six secondary schools, forty-four technical and four pedagogical institutes, all conducted in Yiddish; also four Yiddish faculties attached to Universities." At a similar conference in 1928 the above figures were almost doubled. In 1921, only 21 per cent of Jewish children went to Yiddish schools; by 1932 the figure was 64 per cent. There were at this time forty-two Yiddish newspapers and periodicals, four publishing houses, ten Yiddish state theatres and two theatrical schools. Book publishing in Yiddish experienced a fivefold increase, from seventy-three titles in 1913 to 339 in 1939. Shalom Aleichem's books in Yiddish rose from 220,000 in 1913 to 3,200,000 in 1939. Several radio stations gave many hours to Yiddish broadcasts.

On March 28th, 1928, a government decree set aside Biro-Bijan as a Jewish Autonomous Region, with a view to an eventual formation of a Jewish Socialist Republic, in order that it might "preserve a Yiddish Socialist national culture" (Kalinin).

It was all this that brought about a situation where "sympathy with the Soviet Union was general, and Socialism as a final solution to the Jewish problem was the dominant trend among Jewish workers and many of the middle class . . . Whilst Zionism met . . . but with little success". It is in the light of the above-mentioned developments that one has to consider what happened to Yiddish culture in the U.S.S.R. in 1948. To mention in the same breath those who honestly and sincerely question the forced elimination of Yiddish culture in the U.S.S.R., with those who slander the U.S.S.R. and accuse her of practicing anti-semitism, is a sleight of hand which encourages the slanderers and bitterly offends the friends of the U.S.S.R.

Let me say clearly and unequivocally that there can be no doubt that a process of integration is taking place in the Soviet Union, that many Jews, particularly of the younger generation, neither speak nor understand Yiddish and have adopted Russian as their mother tongue. No Socialist should oppose such a natural process of integration, But what about the three million who flocked to the Yiddish concerts given sporadically in the U.S.S.R. in 1957 (a figure given by Danilov, Vice-Minister for Culture, to the French-Jewish delegation in February, 1958)? Why should these millions, or even thousands, be denied full facilities to publish, speak, see plays, in what is still their mother tongue, namely Yiddish ?

Let us analyze Comrade Ramelson's arguments in this matter.

A. "That administrative measures were taken in 1948 to close down Jewish cultural institutions."

I can only assume that by "administrative measures" he means the unjust and illegal acts involving the complete elimination of all Yiddish cultural activities, together with almost all their outstanding representatives. Does not the reestablishment of Socialist legality after the Twentieth Congress demand the full rehabilitation and correction of these injustices and illegalities committed during the "cult of the individual" period ? Apparently that would be too simple an answer - so Comrade Ramelson must find other reasons to justify the "status quo".

B. "Segregation in the Ghettoes . . . created a specific Yiddish culture depicting Ghetto life."

How abysmally ignorant the above argument is. Those who have any knowledge of this literature will tell you that it was despised by the rich Jews and the Jewish clerics, who referred to it as the "skivvy" of literature, and the gutteral of the tailors, the cobblers, the carpenters, the artisans and the very poor. The rich and the educated spoke Hebrew or the country's language. This gave a special character and poignancy to Yiddish. It became a weapon of the working class and poor Jews, embraced and loved by them, sinking deep into their consciousness and daily life. Ghetto language indeed ! One may as well call Negro culture in the U.S.A. a Ghetto culture.

C. "Wherever the Ghetto walls were broken down as in Western Europe and America - Yiddish ceased to develop."

Yet there are still three daily newspapers, three Yiddish theatres, scores of journals, amateur theatrical groups, choirs, Yiddish secondary schools and Yiddish faculties at the universities in the U.S.A. Similarly in France, the Argentine - not to mention the New Democracies, i.e. Poland, Rumania, where one would hardly say that the "ghetto walls" had not been broken down.

D. "With the further development of Socialism . . . Yiddish ceases to be a living tongue . . . and rapidly crumbles."

It would appear that up to 1948 Yiddish was a living language, and that overnight it ceased to be so, by "administrative measures". To quote the President of the Zionist Organization in support of this theory is the measure of the bankruptcy of evidence available to Comrade Ramelson. The integration which Goldman bemoans and the "survival" he is hoping for has nothing in common with socialist ideas. We do not want the survival of the "love of Zion" or of the culture of the rabbis and clerics. This is precisely the kind of "survival" which the Yiddish-speaking workers fought against, using Yiddish cultural expression as a weapon.

E. "The breaking-up of concentrated communities . . . brought about a speeding up of the process of integration."

There are 500,000 Jews in Moscow, 40,000 in Kiev, Odessa, Minsk, 25,000 in Vilno. Considering that there are about 3 million Jews in the U.S.S.R., one would hardly call these considerable communities a "breaking-up" of concentration.

F. "Justification given for these measures (elimination of Yiddish) is that there was not sufficient demand for it to justify such undertakings."

Yet further on the same page Comrade Ramelson states that "neither financial cost nor relative smallness of the population of a nationality can seriously be considered as an obstacle to the application of this principle" - namely "the Marxist approach to national cultures is not only to permit, but to facilitate by every possible means, the fostering and development of all national cultures."

But then Comrade Ramelson goes on to argue: "As we have seen, the Jews are not a nation; Yiddish therefore cannot be treated as a national culture."

How devoid this argument is of Leninist principles on the question of nations and languages. "He who does not acknowledge and defend the equality of nations and languages, he who does not fight against all forms of national oppression or inequality, is not a Marxist or even a Democrat." (Lenin on the Jewish Question, p.14) Lenin does not speak of the equality of national languages, but of nations and languages. No Marxist would claim that the Jews in the Soviet Union were at any time a nation; yet if all facilities and help were extended to their culture and language between 1917 and 1948, what change has taken place in their status after 1948 to warrant the cessation and elimination of this culture? Does not the fact that 3 million flocked to Yiddish concerts, the existence of seventy-two Yiddish writers, poets, dramatists, the emergence of twenty young Yiddish writers (products of the Yiddish schools of 1936) prove that there is a demand for its continuation? Of course we should welcome the considerable translations from Yiddish into Russian of very many books. Yet I have not come across a coherent Marxist argument why these books, originally written in Yiddish, should never see daylight in their original tongue, nor why Yiddish Soviet writers should have their novels, stories and poems published (in Yiddish) by left-wing publications in capitalist countries (U.S.A. and France) and not in their country of origin, the U.S.S.R.

G. "The question is raised whether Marxists attempt by artificial means to delay this historical process . . . of complete cultural integration."

Surely this is putting the question on its head. I would rather stand it up on its feet. Should Marxists attempt by artificial means to eliminate a living culture and language, by "administrative measures", instead

of allowing the natural process of cultural integration to take its natural course? Particularly when Jewish religious practice and organization is permitted in the U.S.S.R. as a right, why should not Yiddish secular culture and Jewish communal organizations of a secular and socialist character enjoy similar rights?

There is no doubt that the problem is being discussed and considered in the U.S.S.R. It is a problem which has been raised again and again by every progressive Jewish delegation which has visited the U.S.S.R. since 1955. Furthermore, there seems to be general support among Soviet writers for the rehabilitation of Yiddish, its publications, theatres, newspapers, etc. Of six such delegations which have visited the U.S.S.R. since 1955, almost all have had varying promises made to them:

- A. That a newspaper would soon be re-started.
- B. That a Yiddish Theatre would be revived.
- C. That a Yiddish Almanac would be issued, and book publications resumed.

So far, these have remained promises; it is urgent and high time they were turned into reality. Let us remove this weapon from the hands of the enemies of the Soviet Union and of socialism. Let us counter the pernicious Zionist and reactionary propaganda by reaffirming our belief in socialism as a final solution to the Jewish question, and let us make it once again "the dominant trend among the Jewish workers and many of the middle class".

## COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 30

List of delegates to the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party who were delegates from the Northern District of the Communist Party of California :

Mickey Lima	Ralph Izard	Saul Wachter
Roscoe Proctor	Joseph Figueiredo	Douglas Wachter
Archie Brown	Al Richmond	Juanita Wheeler

Leibel Bergman—paid his own expenses and attended convention. He was not considered a delegate.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT NO. 31

The National Committee of the Communist Party consisting of 60 people, 25 elected as delegates-at-large and 35 from specific districts.

The following are the 25 delegates-at-large:

James Allen, New York	Geraldine Lightfoot, Illinois
Herbert Aptheker, New York	Hyman Lumer, New York
Philip Bart, New York	Mildred McAdory, New York
Erik Bert, New York	George Meyers, Maryland and District of Columbia
Jesus Colon, New York	William L. Patterson, New York
Benjamin Davis, New York	Pettis Perry, southern California
Eugene Dennis, New York	Irving Potash, New York
Elizabeth Flynn, New York	Danny Queen, Illinois
Simon Gerson, New York	Al Richmond, northern California
Gus Hall, New York	Mortimer Daniel Rubin, eastern Penn- sylvania and Delaware
Clarence Hathaway, Minnesota	Jacob Stachel, New York
James Jackson, New York	Helen Allison Winter, Michigan
Arnold Johnson, New York	

The following are the members elected by the various districts:

NEW YORK DISTRICT	OHIO DISTRICT
William Albertson	Edward Chaka
Michael Crenovich	Anthony Krchmarek
Miriam Friedlander	WISCONSIN DISTRICT
Betty Gannett	Fred Blair
Paul Robeson, Jr.	OREGON DISTRICT
Nathan Rosenbluth	Norman Haaland
James Tormey	SOUTH DISTRICT
Louis Weinstock	Louis Burnham (deceased)
MICHIGAN DISTRICT	Hunter Pitts O'Dell
Thomas DeWitt Dennis	John Stanford
Carl Winter	NORTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
INDIANA DISTRICT	Mickey Lima
Emanuel Blum	Roscoe Proctor
MINNESOTA DISTRICT	Juanita Wheeler
Sam Davis	NEW JERSEY DISTRICT
WASHINGTON DISTRICT	Patrick Toohey
Burt Nelson	EAST PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT	Thomas Nabried
Benjamin Dobbs	NEW ENGLAND DISTRICT
Dorothy Healey	Homer Bates Chase
Charlene Mitchell	MARYLAND AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
ILLINOIS DISTRICT	Jacob Green
Florence Hall	MISSOURI DISTRICT
Sam Kushner	Morris Childs
Claude Lightfoot	
James West	

## PRUSSION EXHIBIT NO. 1

## INITIAL REPORT ON BASIC PROGRAM

(Report of James S. Allen for the Initiating Committee on Program to the NEC,  
May 9, 1958)

In this initial report your Ad Hoc Committee is not presenting you with an outline for a program, nor with component parts of a draft program. Later in the report we will have some suggestions on how to proceed with a systematic examination of the many problems that must be considered in preparing a draft.

The main problem of the program is to make the Socialist perspective meaningful in American terms, to combine Marxist-Leninist theory with American reality. The problem is not new. Neither the C. P. nor any of the preceding socialist organizations ever had a completely worked out written basic program. But from the earliest pioneer socialist groups to the present time, American Marxists have grappled with the problem of how to open the road to Socialism in the United States. Nothing ever stands still -- neither the theory nor the American and world reality. Thus, while the problem itself is not new, it constantly presents itself in a new setting.

The tempo of world change -- of the transition to socialism and decline of imperialism -- makes it imperative for us, if we are to fully revive the Party and set it on its proper course, to tackle this problem with vigor.

In pondering the question of how and where to begin a systematic work of preparation, of how to find a start this time that will carry through to a successful conclusion, your committee thought it appropriate to re-examine some of the basic concepts about the transition to socialism in the new world rohtion of forces. It may seem at first that we are going over old ground, instead of tackling the down-to-earth questions and estimates of present developments upon which the socialist perspective must be erected. But it is our fooling, confirmed by the failure of our previous efforts to launch the program preparations, that there would be little chance for success in this new effort unless we were able to establish from the outset a unified view, or at least a community of thinking, with respect to the central concepts of the road to socialism in the present world context. This is necessary because the re-examination of some of the basic Marxist-Leninist concepts in the light of the new experiences of the past decade has led to a certain disorientation among us. There have arisen distorted and one-sided interpretations, either of a revisionist or dogmatic character. We have had plenty of trouble on both sides, and we are still trying to gain clarity on many questions affecting current policy as well as long-range perspective. But in order to arrive at correct positions, we must strive consciously to get rid of remnants of revisionist thinking, without falling into dogmatic positions or closing the door to fresh and exploratory thinking about our problems. We should approach the tasks of the program with a view to unifying the Party on the basis of clear, unequivocal and precise positions.

With this in mind, we propose to examine now some of the key concepts that must enter into program, namely: (1) the concept of our road to socialism, (2) the concept of peaceful transition, and (3) the concept of transitional government.

We take as our starting point the new relation of world forces in favor of socialism, the consequent new possibilities for transition to socialism in a period characterized by sharp competition between the two world social systems, and the strengthening of the world peace forces. We also discuss these basic concepts within the framework of the new possibility for extended peaceful co-existence, which derives from the relation of forces to which I have referred. (It is planned to prepare a separate discussion on the world role of American imperialism and the struggle for peace, with special emphasis upon the new problems of foreign policy arising in the present period.)

To some it may appear that the issue of socialism for this country is too remote to require extended discussion. But the issue no longer can be considered "long range" in the old sense. One billion people now live in Socialist countries, while other vast sectors of humanity are about to open the road to socialism in their countries in the process of current development. This alone requires that the American people, particularly the working class, gain a better understanding of what socialism means, in order to overcome the "cold war" propaganda and to fight effectively for peace.

Furthermore, the fight for extended peaceful coexistence takes place within the framework of sharp competition between the two world systems, in which socialism as a system of society is showing its superiority in many basic respects. The impact of this upon the American people will grow, as socialist successes continue and as the general crisis of our society becomes deeper. Already the impact of this competition is felt with respect to many domestic issues, such as unemployment, rate of economic growth, health, education, and science. A new standard of measurement has arisen: How far are we behind, how far ahead, of the Soviet Union on this or that question. In the cold war propaganda, this is presented negatively, as a threat to the country. But the challenge of socialism has great positive potentials for our country, once the people begin to understand that here too socialism is required for the well-being and survival of the nation. As long as we remain capitalist, we cannot be successful in the peaceful competition of the two systems. Our country will have to take the road to socialism in order to compete successfully, so that it can make its full and proper contribution to progress, in a world at peace.

## I. CONCEPT OF THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

### Need for A Definition of our Goal

The experience of the postwar years has shown a great diversity among various countries on the road to socialism. Much is to be learned from a study of this rich historical experience, for it provides many insights into the process of historical change. For one thing, it has shown that each country finds the road to socialism in its own way, in accordance with its national characteristics, traditions, and institutions. The concept "our road to socialism" challenges us to get down to a basic examination of the concrete American reality to a degree we have never before attempted.

When we speak of "our road to socialism" we must have clearly in mind the goal toward which we strive. For amidst all the variety and multiplicity of form, socialism as a system of society has an essence which distinguishes it from capitalism. What, after all, is meant by socialism? The question must be answered clearly, if we are to chart the road in the proper direction.

It is all the more important to provide a clear answer because, under the impetus of the new world changes and under the impact of the successes of the Socialist world, socialism is coming more and more under discussion in this country. All kinds of concepts are being brought forth. For example, in the recently published symposium, Toward a Socialist America, which contains some excellent contributions and which is an important reflection of the new interest in socialism, there is, however, a preponderance of evolutionary and reformist approaches. Many of these were common to our old Socialist movement before World War I, while others can be classed with the "new phase" reformism, modelled after John Strachey.

Post-Office socialism, municipal socialism, public ownership or public authority socialism, Christian or moral socialism, socialism by constitutional law, as well as the newer versions of capitalism growing into socialism, are to be found here. No doubt, this is a faithful reflection of the thinking among socialist-minded people in this country, with whom Communists should seek united action on many questions despite ideological differences.

Many of these views of what socialism means find a certain support in a rather loose or misleading interpretation of the new Communist approach in the present period. They are encouraged particularly by the "new" revisionism which interprets "our road to socialism" to mean a road different in essentials from all other roads to socialism, so unique because of peculiar American conditions as to lead off in any which way, ending up in some nebulous form of mixed society hardly recognizable in socialist terms. There has been a completely misleading and distorted version of the perspective opened up by the new world changes, which were summarized at the 20th Congress.

Definition by Other Parties

The idea of the "road to socialism" was discussed at the 20th Congress under the head of "Forms of Transition to Socialism in Different Countries." Note, that this was not a discussion of different roads to socialism. It was a discussion of a variety of forms of transition in different countries, depending upon their specific characteristics. What they referred to were the different ways in which the working class was able to win state power, the variety in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the different tempo at which the socialist transformation of society may be carried out in the various branches of the economy. As a result of the radical changes in the world arena, the 20th Congress saw new prospects for socialism and also the probability that as socialism gained in various countries there would arise even more forms of transition, in fact, a great multiplicity of forms.

Implicit in this discussion is the idea that the basic features of the road to socialism and of socialism as a system of society are similar, although the forms vary greatly. This was brought out explicitly by various participants at the Congress, and by other parties, notably the Chinese, after the Congress. The emphasis upon multiplicity of forms, however, directed attention to the new paths opened up by the shift in world relations. It was needed to unfreeze fixed and dogmatic positions, and to remove subjective obstacles to the freer development of creative socialist forces everywhere. There had to be a break with the old rigidity, formalism and doctrinairism if the new opportunities for advances to socialism, presented by the turn in the world situation, were to be realized.

After the 20th Congress, events like the Polish crisis and the counter-revolutionary attempt in Hungary called for further assessment, particularly of the relationship between the common socialist road and what was different in the road to socialism for various countries, for a more explicit statement of this relationship. The break with dogmatism and all manner of mechanical transference of forms and tempos from one country to another could not be permitted to serve as ground for the rise of revisionism, and thus facilitate the work of world reaction.

In this respect, the Chinese Party, which has operated within the greatest diversity of form and has added much that is new and unique to Marxism-Leninism, made a major contribution in its estimates of the experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat since its inception. Limiting ourselves to the question that concerns us at the moment, the Chinese formulated what they considered to be the common road to socialism, the basic features of this transformation, amidst all the variety of the actual historical experience. They developed the dialectics of the relation between the common road and the concrete national characteristics, which they showed to be a dynamic relationship, conditioned by both the world relation of forces and internal class relations as they were developing.

These concepts, shared by other parties as well, were given a common expression in the 12-Party Declaration of last November, which was drawn up in consultation with over 50 parties in non-socialist lands. We must reject the idea that this declaration is a revision of the basic approach of the 20th Congress on forms of transition to socialism. What it does is to state more explicitly the relation between the common road and the different forms, and in doing this the Declaration sets up safeguards against a reformist and revisionist interpretation of the new position of the world Communist movement. That is why Gates, among others, claimed the Declaration was a step backward from the 20th Congress.

The concrete path was defined in terms of the universal truths or basic laws to be observed in "all countries embarking on a socialist course," no matter how greatly varied the national characteristics. The 12-Party summation of the basic laws amounts to a definition of socialism as it has developed and as it is growing in the present-day world.

The experience of existing, living socialism should serve as an excellent basis for our definition of socialism, properly seen in terms of our needs and conditions. We are not among those countries embarking on a socialist course, but are

at a preliminary stage of development. Yet, in seeking to chart our road to socialism, we are in a much better position than the Marxists in the period before the Great Russian Revolution, which pioneered the road, or than we were before World War II, before a number of countries took that road. We can define the socialist goal on the basis of a broad range of experience in various countries. That goal is not the specific form of socialism as developed, according to their conditions and needs, in the Soviet Union, China, or any other socialist country. The socialist goal has to be defined in terms of the essential characteristics of socialist society as it has developed amidst a great variety of experience. If future events reveal new elements or variations in substance of the old, there will be time enough to take them into account.

#### Toward our Definition of Socialism

For purposes of our program, the essential elements of a definition of socialism as a system of society should include:

- 1) A government led by the working class which is guided by a Marxist-Leninist party, with the participation in government of the Negro people, the farmers and the various middle classes -- truly a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.
- 2) Public ownership of the basic means of production and the end of class exploitation, making possible production for use instead of for profit.
- 3) Public, social planning for full utilization of our resources and productive forces for the welfare of the people.
- 4) Development of the fullest economic and political democracy for the people, while safeguarding socialist society against obstruction and sabotage by unreconstructed capitalists.
- 5) Abolition of all forms of oppression and discrimination against the Negro people and national minority groups within the country, outlawing of all acts of race prejudice and anti-Semitism, and the abolition of all exploitation and national repression of other nations whether as colonies or as otherwise dependent countries.
- 6) Working-class internationalism in the interests of permanent world peace, mutual aid in socialist development, and special aid to countries formerly exploited by U.S. monopoly.

The first element -- a working-class government or, in Marxist terminology, a dictatorship of the proletariat -- is the indispensable prerequisite for a socialist transformation. Instead of a government led by the capitalists, a government led by the workers; this is the distinctive political characteristic of the change-over from capitalism to socialism. This is the essence of the change in state power, quite apart from the form of such a government, which in our country would have the characteristics of our national development and political institutions.

Experience has also shown that for the working class to play this liberating role and lead the nation it needs a vanguard party, which knows how to use Marxist-Leninist principles to attain the historic objective. This is quite apart from the possibility that there may be other political parties participating in such a government, which represent the interests of specific classes and strata, or even a political party of anti-monopoly coalition.

This first element has proved to be the main distinguishing mark between the position of revolutionary Marxism and reformism, in its various expressions. Traditionally, Social-Democracy has rejected the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Evolutionary socialists, in this country and elsewhere, have viewed the bourgeois-democratic state as the medium through which socialism can be legislated, from above. As we shall see later, revolutionary Marxists have modified their view on how the state is to be transformed to serve socialism, but this modification has nothing in common with the reformist concept of the state as an institution above society. The new-phase revisionism denies the

validity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in any form, sees no use for a vanguard party, and sees socialism as a higher, democratic phase of some kind of organized capitalism.

The second element expresses the essential change in the structure of society that is brought about by socialism. The speed and the extent of such a change in structure is a variable factor, depending upon the specific correlation of forces. Small-scale production on a private ownership basis, small business in trade and services, and privately owned family-sized farms, for example, may continue for some time after the nationalization of the big monopolies by a socialist government. In fact, the way things are in this country, socialism can rescue the middle strata from sure obliteration by monopoly, and offer them a long period of adjustment and gradual, step-by-step socialist transformation. China provides a valuable lesson in this respect.

Here again we should distinguish between public ownership in the reformist conception and real socialist collective ownership. In this country, we have many forms of municipal ownership of public utilities and also Federal ownership of power dams, arsenals, and the atomic energy industry. In the reformist conception, these are already elements of socialism which will mature into full socialism. According to this idea, no class struggle is essential, no vanguard party, no change in the state. Every new government intervention in the economy, as in the regulation of utility rates or the rate of interest or in price fixing, is greeted as still another element of socialism, bringing over closer the inevitable growing out of socialism from capitalism. All these forms of government intervention in the economy serve the interests of monopoly, whether they appear as concessions to the popular forces or as direct give-aways of national resources to the corporations, as long as monopoly is able to control the government without let or hindrance. Only a working class government can assure the permanent utilization of resources for the people.

Another trend is today arising among reformists and social-democrats. In the name of liberty and free economic activity, they are retreating from their traditional demand for public ownership, even in its accustomed evolutionary garb. The British Labor Party took this backward step when it retreated from the nationalization demand at its recent Congress, and the Austrian and West German Social-Democrats have just followed suit. This may be a way to seek the good graces of American monopoly and its State Department, but it is a sure way to widen the gap even further between the Right-wing Social-Democrats and the working class. We do not dismiss the fight for various forms of public ownership and government controls, but under specific conditions in response to the needs and struggles of the masses, about which more later.

The third element -- social planning -- stresses the fact that for the first time in our country it will be possible for society to control economic forces instead of being controlled by them. Socialism is a full-employment society.

Reformists point to certain elements of planning which undoubtedly do exist under capitalism, especially within our highly co-ordinated monopoly structure, to sustain their evolutionary, "post-office" concept of socialism. But the essential characteristic of capitalism is its anarchy, the sharp contradictions which generate economic crises and the danger of war and make impossible the rational utilization of science and technology. This is nowhere more apparent than in our country of great know-how, mastery of technique, high level of labor skills, and gigantic productive plant. At this level, planning by a socialist government can do away with poverty, unemployment, the great gap in income distribution, depressed and underdeveloped areas almost overnight.

The fourth element of our definition emphasizes that the limited democracy won under capitalism by the struggles of the people throughout our history will be expanded and deepened to include, for the first time, real economic democracy and people's government on a scale never had here before. At the same time, we would be ignoring the lessons of history if we did not allow for the necessary function of safeguarding socialist society from counter-revolutionary attempts. To what extent such functions will be brought to bear will depend upon the overt actions of the capitalists themselves, upon their submission to the popular will and the verdict of our historical development. We have no way of knowing under

what conditions a socialist government will operate in this country. However, our program must build upon the democratic gains already won. Those democratic guarantees which have proved their worth in our history should be retained and strengthened under socialist democracy -- such as habeas corpus, jury trial, right to strike, etc. Our program will have to develop the concept of socialist democracy in all its aspects to show that in essence the people replace the rich in governing the country, in the work of local and state governments, in all the mass media of culture, and in the management of industry.

For the present, we will not discuss further points 5 and 6, which obviously are necessary elements of the definition. Those, as well as the other elements mentioned, will have to be explored in depth as work on the program proceeds. We have not attempted to give a final definition, but only the elements that seem indispensable. They can no doubt be improved, in concept as well as in formulation.

All these elements, taken together and developed over a more or less extended period after the shift to working-class power, constitute the essential requirements of socialist society as we know it, and, as far as we now know, would find expression also in socialism under American conditions. Any of these elements taken singly does not constitute socialism. For example, without working-class and peoples' government, public ownership and state controls over production could operate in favor of monopoly. And it is inconceivable that a socialist government could be gained in this country without the alliance with the working class of the Negro people, the farmers, and all the middle sectors opposed to monopoly -- an alliance which would be expressed in the Socialist government itself.

The inadequacy of many of the definitions of socialism now current stems from their emphasis upon one or more separate elements of socialist society, without seeing the development as a whole. This is the fault, for example, with the definition of socialism given in the credo of the Monthly Review, which sees only two fundamental characteristics: "first, public ownership of the decisive sectors of the economy, and second, comprehensive planning of production for the benefit of the producers themselves." It might be said that once these were obtained, the other socialist elements would follow; but it is precisely in obtaining these that the working-class government is decisive. Furthermore, the basic shift in state power cannot be achieved without the strategic alliance between the working class and all anti-monopoly sectors, which must be built up during the entire preceding period. It is often the failure to comprehend this that accounts for the remoteness of some Socialist groupings in this country from the actual class struggle.

Thus, it is necessary to have a comprehensive definition of what we mean by socialism, so that all other positions now current can be evaluated properly, in the interest of clarity of discussion and with a view to convincing other advocates of socialism that this is the correct approach.

#### The Road is American

The definition of our socialist goal is not an abstract exercise but, as we have seen, involves many questions of current interpretation and policy. Our concept of the goal must of necessity also affect our concept of the road we want to chart. For, while defining the basic elements of socialism as a system of society, we need to maintain and develop the positive emphasis upon the concrete conditions of our country, which is so strongly implied in the concept of "our road to socialism." The goal, and the road to it, has to be seen in terms of American reality, within the given context of world relations.

We should understand that this concept does not carry within it the rejection of what is common to all roads to socialism. It rejects only the mechanical imitation of the forms and methods that proved successful in other countries, instead of critically evaluating their experiences in order to learn from their mistakes as well as their successes what may or may not be valid for us.

We must work in the context and the idiom of American history, tradition and experience of the class struggle. But doing this, in a country that remains the most powerful and expansionist center of world monopoly capitalism, we should be

extremely sensitive to the constant internal pressures diverting us from an objective Marxist assessment of events and trends, particularly the constant pressure of opportunism from within the labor movement. This pressure increases as monopoly exerts itself to defend its power positions and privileges at home and throughout the world, as world imperialism declines and world socialism grows, and particularly as the internal crisis, economic as well as political and social, grows more acute. We cannot meet these pressures effectively if we fail to overcome dogmatic or doctrinaire attitudes. Nor, unless we do so, will we be able to provide the insights and creative guidance which are required to pioneer the path to socialism in a country such as ours.

## II. CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL TRANSITION

Since 1948, our Party has been advancing the idea of a peaceful, democratic road to socialism for the United States. It has been advocated in the policy reports of Comrade Dennis, in the writings of Comrade Foster, and in the Party program of 1954. The latest official pronouncement of this perspective is contained in the preamble to the Party Constitution, which was approved at the 16th National Convention: "We advocate a peaceful, democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the American people within the developing constitutional process."

We take this as our essential starting point in considering the concept of peaceful transition. For programmatic purposes, this needs considerable elaboration. To avoid ambiguities of interpretation, it is necessary to develop a clear idea of what is meant by "a peaceful, democratic road," by "the political and economic struggles of the American people," and by "the developing constitutional process."

The requirements of clarity on this question are these:

- 1) The clear-cut affirmation of the working-class interest, and the interests of the entire nation, in seeking to achieve the transition from capitalism to socialism, which is a social revolution, by peaceful means.
- 2) To make clear the struggles required at all times, beginning with the here and now, to establish and safeguard the prerequisites for a peaceful transition. This is the most important link between the present phase of struggle and coming phases along the road to socialism.
- 3) To take fully into account the disposition to violent resistance to change which is present in our ruling monopoly circles and their arrogant defense of class privileges, as shown by our history and by current conflicts, and therefore the need of the working class and its people's anti-monopoly allies to build up their organized mass strength, so that the will of the people shall be realized.

Seen in this light, the concept of peaceful transition is dynamic, a concept of class struggles and strategic alliances aimed at monopoly and carried out in the interests of the entire nation. In that sense, the struggle for socialism is on now. We cannot present the question as if the favorable world trend toward socialism amounts to a guarantee of peaceful transition as is sometimes done, although this trend enhances the possibility of a peaceful transition in our country, providing the American people take advantage of the opportunity. Therefore, when we project the perspective of a peaceful transition, and even present this as an historic aim and duty, we should always begin with and return to the necessity of the struggle to win and preserve the prerequisites for such a development. The working class and its anti-monopoly allies, in the process of building up their alliance and gaining the support of the people as a whole, will have to fight monopoly in order to keep open and broaden the democratic channels against the constant trend by monopoly to regiment our society and militarize the state. Without such a struggle, the aim of "peaceful transition" is meaningless; moreover, it may become deceptive.

What is of particular importance here and now is to guard against a sloganized concept of "peaceful transition" that ignores its revolutionary content, and has the effect of stifling the will to struggle which is so precious to the working class and a working-class vanguard party. Peaceful transition is a revolutionary process that requires revolutionary Marxist leadership, and a fine fighting mettle on the part of all anti-monopoly forces.

Discussion of the Question by other Parties

The development of this question by other Communist parties, in theory as well as in practice, is extensive, and we cannot here review the matter in its entirety. I will only touch on certain aspects of the question that may throw some light on our approach.

At the 20th Congress, the possibility of peaceful transition was seen as arising from the favorable world situation now developing -- that is, the further growth of socialism and the decline of imperialism. It was discussed in relation to the probability that new forms of transition to socialism would make their appearance, as more countries take this path. And these new forms of transition, according to the 20th Congress, because of the shift in the balance of forces toward socialism, "need not be associated with civil war under all circumstances."

The first thing to note about this approach is that peaceful transition is not placed as a law of social development. That is the significance of treating peaceful transition in the category of "form." The basic historic process of our epoch is the transition to socialism. This may take place in different ways, peaceful or non-peaceful, depending upon the specific correlation of forces.

As has always been the case, whether the transition is violent or not depends upon the methods used by the ruling classes to resist necessary social change and override the will of the people. What is new is the correlation of forces on a world scale favorable to socialism, national liberation from imperialism, and peace. This relationship of forces sets up obstacles to imperialist intervention against nations taking the road to progress, while people's governments are able to count upon support from the socialist world. The freedom of action of imperialism has been seriously delimited by the rise of a world system of socialist countries, with the Soviet Union as one of the two great world powers, the accelerated crumbling of the imperialist colonial system, and the deeper stage of the general crisis of capitalism. Accordingly, if the working class is able to lead the people's forces for the historic task it may be possible in a number of countries to effectively forestall and prevent violence from the exploiting classes, and thus to remake society without civil war.

In the discussion of new forms of transition which may be carried through without violence the emphasis is upon the parliamentary road. But this is seen within the context of a revolutionary transformation of society, as distinguished from the reformist concept of this road. It is necessary to have this distinction clearly in mind, in view of the disposition in some Left circles to give a reformist or neo-revisionist reading to the 20th Congress. Considerable attention was devoted there, as well as in the discussion by other parties, to this distinction, particularly as it pertains to the leading role of the working class and of the vanguard party, the attitude to state power, class struggle and class alliances, the attitude towards reform and the maturing of socialist consciousness. As Mikoyan put it: "It should be remembered that revolution -- peaceful or not peaceful -- will always be revolution, while reformism will always remain a fruitless marking of time." And Togliatti, citing the record of reformism during the past four decades, made two points well worth emphasis in his report to the 8th Congress of the Italian Party:

- 1) "It is the revolutionary struggle and the victories won in this struggle that have opened a democratic way for the advance toward socialism."
- 2) "Experience proved that even to follow the road of democratic legality, a revolutionary leadership is necessary."

Togliatti made another point to which I should like to call attention, since it also serves to infuse the concept of the parliamentary road with the necessary dynamism, class content and militant elan, without which it would lose its revolutionary significance. He points out that all roads to socialism are democratic, even non-peaceful roads, for they entail a transformation the essence of which is economic and political democracy on a scale never experienced before. Is it not true that sharp class struggles fought by the workers for their demands, or militant campaigns for Negro rights fought against vigilantes and White

Citizens Councils, are democratic in aim and content? We see that all democratic struggles are not necessarily peaceful, and we should not seek to equate the two. We should make clear, first, that socialism means democracy infused with the deepest economic content and extended politically on the broadest scale for the people. Secondly, we must make clear that "peaceful transition" means essentially the carrying through of the socialist revolution without civil war and within the framework of revitalized, strengthened and more representative democratic procedures.

What kind of perspective was developed by other Parties, some of them much closer to the goal, with respect to the parliamentary road? This is summed up in the 12 Party Declaration, which drew upon the extensive discussion in the Italian, Indian and other Communist parties since the 20th Congress. The prerequisites which they consider have to be fought for to open such a road and to keep it open, are as follows:

- a) a united working class, headed by its vanguard, which
- b) leads a "popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organization," which is capable of
- c) uniting the majority of the people for the winning of state power without civil war and with the aim of ensuring public ownership of the basic means of production, and also providing
- d) the working class is able to defeat the opportunist elements favoring compromise with the capitalists.

Given these prerequisites, the working class together with its allies can open the peaceful parliamentary road to socialism by:

- a) defeating the reactionary forces,
- b) secure a firm majority in parliament,
- c) "transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people,
- d) "launch a non-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces, and
- e) "create the necessary condition for peaceful realization of socialist revolution."

Further, these conditions can be won only by "broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism."

It will be seen, first, that they view the possibility of realizing the peaceful parliamentary road in terms of working-class leadership and of the fullest involvement of all the people's forces in the struggle against monopoly, and not merely as a struggle within a parliamentary body. Secondly, they allow for a wide range in the form of political coalition and popular organization in the struggle for a parliamentary majority. Third, they consider a high level of socialist consciousness necessary, as implied in winning the majority of the people to the aim of public ownership of the basic means of production, and the defeat of opportunist compromisers with capitalism.

We should also note the important modification with respect to the classical Marxist concept of "smashing" the former state apparatus as a condition of the transition to socialism. In the new concept, the parliamentary institutions are to be retained, although not necessarily without structural reform, but are to be transformed into institutions serving the working people.

We should also note that some kind of transitional government along the road to socialism is not excluded, although, as is only correct, it is not presented as a necessity of the advance toward socialism. It is implicit in their concept of different forms of political cooperation, and may arise in the process of winning a parliamentary majority, as we shall discuss later.

#### Our Parliamentary Road

This is necessarily a generalized statement, including the basic elements, the expression of which and the relative pertinency of each being different for different countries. In working on our program we have to keep in mind, first, the present level and aims of the struggle within the country for economic security, democratic rights and peace; and, second, the level of political maturity of the working class, not primarily in relation to the level in other countries but directly in relation to the general level of political maturity in the country as a whole. Furthermore, we have to examine for ourselves the particular traits, conditions, traditions, social and political formations, and pertinent peculiarities of our economic and state structure, which must enter into our consideration of a peaceful parliamentary road.

It will be necessary to devote a major part of our program preparation to an examination of the "developing constitutional process," having to do with our forms of independent political action, the structure and operations of the party system and government formations, historic and present trends in relations among the three branches of government, the relation of the Federal government to state governments, approach to the principles of the Constitution and the struggle for constitutional reform, and many other questions. We will have to draw lessons from the great labor struggles, popular anti-monopoly movements and the fight for Negro rights of the past, especially in the recent period.

However, we can set down certain preliminary observations:

- 1) The parliamentary road is a road of mass struggle, led by the working class, against monopoly, which starts from the present struggle against unemployment, reaction and the danger of war, and to which is opposed the program of struggle for full employment, defense and extension of Negro and democratic rights, and extended peaceful coexistence.
- 2) To the extent that we advance this struggle, building up the necessary strategic alliances between the working class and all the people's anti-monopoly forces, to that extent will we approach the establishment of the prerequisites for a peaceful parliamentary road to socialism.
- 3) The struggle may go through a number of stages, with corresponding political formations related to the maturity of the working class and the status of its alliance with the Negro people and the class allies.
- 4) To realize these objectives an ever stronger, wiser, mass Marxist-Leninist party of the working class is required, which will unite in its ranks all believers in socialism.

### III. THE CONCEPT OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

The concept of a transitional government is the most important theoretical problem of charting our road to socialism. For some time we have had the idea of such a government, defined as an anti-monopoly coalition government, led by labor, which would operate a program aimed at delimiting the power of monopoly, extending social legislation on behalf of labor and the people, defending and broadening full Negro rights and democratic liberties, and safeguarding peaceful coexistence. This would not be a socialist government, but would open the way to socialism and would therefore be transitional.

We should retain this concept, but it needs to be elaborated further, particularly with respect to (1) the development of a program for limiting the power of monopoly, and (2) the nature of the alliances and political formations that are required for the attainment of such a government.

The main problem is to define the nature of such a government in terms of a continuous movement toward socialism. If we try to place it in terms of a stage of social development, a government corresponding to some form of society in between capitalism and socialism, we will make a serious mistake. It is here that we tend to stumble. For the concept of an intermediate form or stage of society obscures the basic social revolution involved in the transition from capitalism to socialism. Thereby, it also feeds various currents of reformist and revisionist thinking, according to which the "postoffice" elements of socialism will grow into socialism.

We should view an anti-monopoly people's government as a high point in the political struggle for socialism, and not as a stage of society. It is the culmination of a stage of struggle against monopoly, a struggle basically democratic in content, and at the same time opens the road to socialism. At its full development, such a transitional government would be led by the working class, supported by a powerful gathering of all its allies, which would already have socialism as their common goal, although there might be a number of political parties with programs of their own.

If we view the matter in this fashion, transitional government does not become a substitute for the struggle for socialism, but is a decisive step in that direction. It provides not a final goal but a main juncture along the parliamentary road to socialism where the working class can gather the people's forces, in an advanced stage of readiness, for the transition to socialism, within our established democratic procedures, improved as the people see fit. At this advanced stage of the struggle the people will already have ousted the monopolists from political power, and themselves will have taken over the government. The government remains transitional just as long as it may take, within the given relation of forces, for the working class to emerge as the leading governing force, ruling together with its people's allies. For then it would be ready to begin the realization of socialist aims.

This does not mean that a transitional government which is ready to open the Socialist road would be reached directly, in one long trek. Or that once there, the leap ahead into socialism will necessarily be taken immediately or at top speed. That will depend upon many things that we need not try to imagine or speculate about.

Beyond a general perspective with respect to the socialist potential of our country, the program must concern itself mostly with the preliminary phases. There may well be a number of way stations along the road before a fully developed anti-monopoly coalition government is attained. Such advances may be expressed politically in coalition governments of changing class composition, with different array of parties, and with a different relation of class forces within the coalition. Perhaps there will be a number of anti-monopoly coalition governments before the working class emerges clearly as the leading force in the government. Experiences somewhat along those lines were seen in Spain before the war, and in France and Italy immediately after the war, although the development was set back by imperialist pressures and intervention.

We must direct our attention to what is required to build up a people's anti-monopoly coalition on the basis of the issues keenly felt by millions, and for which they struggle. We must seek to work out a program of economic as well as political measures against monopoly which will express the aims of an anti-monopoly coalition, led by labor. But our approach to these problems will be effective only as we see them in relation both to the immediate demands and to the perspective of our road to socialism. In this respect, we must explore the kind of basic reform that can be won under capitalist conditions and that will at the same time strengthen the anti-monopoly forces and undermine and weaken the power of monopoly.

On Basic Social Reform

A Similar perspective has been raised by a number of Communist Parties, in terms suiting their own countries, and a considerable debate has taken place among them on such questions. On another occasion it may be fruitful to review some of these debates -- between the French and Italians, for example. I should also point out that not all parties adopt the same perspective of the parliamentary road. The British Party, for example, in its new program does not seem to envision any transitional government, perhaps correctly for Britain in view of the Labor governments of the past and the high level of socialist consciousness in that country. Instead, they see a Labor-Communist majority in Parliament, with a similar Cabinet, setting out immediately to achieve socialist aims.

Among the big parties which in this period have very seriously pursued the road to socialism via a transitional government are the Italian and the Indian. We hope soon to have the documents of the Indian Party Congress recently held, which we will certainly need to study, in view of their electoral success in Kerala and their rapidly growing influence in India as a whole. For the moment, let me single out some of the questions which have been discussed at length by the Italians, which should throw some light on the kind of problems we must grapple with because they are so far advanced toward their goal. Needless to say, I am not advocating for America the Italian Road to Socialism. However, some of their discussions are very suggestive of the line of reasoning we might pursue in our own way and in the light of our own problems.

The Italians propose a people's democratic government as a transitional government that will open the road to socialism. The component programmatic content of this concept is (1) structural reform, and (2) democratic legality. The latter is attuned to the specific circumstances of the fight to enforce their new post-Fascist Constitution, which was won by the struggles of the people in the recent period, and which incorporates important basic social reforms. In this respect, our problem is different in content and form, and we will have to explore it along other lines.

I want to direct attention to their concept of "structural reform," for once we make due allowances for the wide differences between the countries and the level of the working-class movements, the ideas involved here can be useful to us. What they mean by "structural reform" are the kind of basic social reforms that might be associated with a government of anti-monopoly coalition, and the fight for such a government, in our country.

As the Italian Communists view them, "structural reforms are not socialism. But they represent a transformation of the economic structure which paves the way for the advance toward socialism." In other words, the structural reforms they advocate correspond to the fight for a people's democratic government in Italy, and constitute its transitional program.

They have in mind essentially a general land reform, the expanded participation of the workers in the management of industry, and nationalization or democratic control of the monopolies.

In the United States, the only kind of land reform that would involve basic social changes applies to the plantation regions of the South, and is tied in with a general democratic reform of the South that would raise the general level of this region to that of the rest of the country. We have advanced the aim of completing the democratic revolution in the South for some time, particularly in relation to the Negro freedom struggle as well as the advance of the South as a region. This is certainly a key part of any program of basic social reform that we would advance in connection with our concept of the government of anti-monopoly coalition, and we must pursue this question further along our own lines.

With reference to workers' participation in management of industry, the Italian Party has for some time advocated a trade union program (called "Labor Economy") which urges structural reforms in management of industry and also in government control of production that goes beyond the simple economic demands of the workers. Here, too, I do not mean to draw mechanical parallels. But, under our conditions, it might well be worth exploring the idea along the lines of labor's

intervention in the policies of industrial management, particularly with respect to guarantees of employment, utilization of automated and other new labor-saving machinery, the price policy of monopoly, and the utilization of the internal capital resources of the big corporations.

The labor movement here has done some probing in this direction. Reuther, for example, in his own reformist fashion, has nibbled at some of these problems -- as with the guaranteed annual wage, his recent proposal for price cuts on cars, and some timid proposals on labor participation in introduction of automation, while retreating on the basic demand of the shorter workday. We have to examine these questions carefully, with a view to seeing if we can develop a program that goes beyond the simple economic demands, and presents a perspective for the trade unions that will tie in the fight for the immediate economic demands with measures aimed at controlling the operation of monopoly in the interests of labor and the people. In fact, it is useless to talk about labor leading an anti-monopoly coalition, unless we can show how labor through its own approach and methods of struggle can fight for measures of an anti-monopoly character.

In this approach, we can find a real meeting ground for labor and the other anti-monopoly sectors of the people. Labor has been reluctant to take up leadership in the broader fight against monopoly, in the past led by the middle classes and the farmers through the so-called trust-busting campaigns. But monopolies have found numerous ways, especially through the tax system and price-fixing, to take back from the people much more than they are forced to give the workers in wage increases and fringe benefits. As a result, they have built up large capital reserves, which are the accumulation not only of profits from the direct exploitation of the workers in the enterprise but also from the wholesale robbery of the people through the tax privileges they enjoy and through the pricing mechanism. If labor steps into this picture, with the demand to have something to say about the utilization of these reserves and other questions of management, it will be able most effectively to forge and lead a broad anti-monopoly coalition, including the farmers and the middle classes.

We may also learn something of value from the Italians on anti-monopoly reform although we must allow, as always, for differences in the structure of monopoly in the two countries.

For some time we have grappled with the problem of the kind of measures that should be advocated to curb, delimit and control monopoly power. Today, in terms of current policy, this problem is uppermost with respect to the inflated price situation, for example, or wholesale bankruptcy of small producers, or repossession of installment goods, in the midst of the economic crisis. Something new is demanded in the way of anti-monopoly action, that will defend the people from the effects of the economic crisis. Although we have come up with some elements of program, we have not solved the basic problem of approach to an anti-monopoly program which will be economic as well as political, and which will serve as a basis for alliance between the labor movement and the various middle class sectors threatened by monopoly. A special study and discussion will have to be organized on these questions.

Here I want to call attention to two elements in the Italian approach: (1) democratic controls over monopolies, and (2) the concept of "dismantling" certain backward and particularly pernicious aspects of the monopoly structure.

We all know how government controls under the anti-trust laws, the various regulatory agencies, and government-owned projects like the atomic energy industry, have in practice redounded to the benefit of the monopolies and against the interests of the people. We also know that the idea of "dismantling" monopolies is the philosophy underlying the anti-trust laws, and was even tried on a big scale in Germany and Japan after their defeat in World War II. But despite all the "dismantling", monopoly power has grown here and has been restored in West Germany and in Japan. Also, the regulatory agencies of the government, which are supposed to administer utility rates for the benefit of the people, have actually followed the monopoly-dictated policy of high prices, granting one rate increase after another.

It is obvious, of course, that as long as these controls are administered by government agencies under the complete control of monopoly they will function exactly in the way they have -- in the interests of monopoly and its policy of regimenting the entire economy to serve its aims. Are we therefore to conclude that nothing can be done, as long as capitalism exists, to protect the people from wholesale robbery by monopoly? To adopt a negative viewpoint on this question would be mistaken, for we would forego the interests of the people as consumers as well as wage-workers, and the interests of the very broad and extensive middle class strata on the land, in business, industry and the professions.

The merit of the Italian position is that they approach the problem from the ground of continuous mass struggle to impose the kind of reforms on the state that will allow for democratic controls by the unions and other anti-monopoly forces over the operation of monopoly, much as we have won labor and social reforms here as a result of the pressures of the labor and popular movements. Furthermore, in their approach they keep central the aim of defending the present and future interests of the middle-class sectors -- their interest now in the fight against extinction by monopoly and their interests later under socialism. This is the indispensable requirement of an anti-monopoly coalition for us, also. We must, therefore, explore carefully and fully the kind of anti-monopoly reforms that should be advocated here and the way the fight for them should be carried out.

The question is raised whether the "dismantling" of monopoly is in the long-range interest of the working class and of socialism. We know the basic Marxist distinction between the socialization of production, which is a positive outcome of highly developed capitalism, and private appropriation of the values arising from the capitalist exploitation of labor. But it is argued that the dismantling of monopoly would lessen the socialization of labor, without making any significant change in the process of private accumulation. In this view, the demand for "dismantling" is considered retrogressive, in the historical sense.

I would like to suggest for critical exploration a proposition that may perhaps clarify this matter and also help crystallize a basic approach on the problem of controlling monopoly.

The proposition involves a distinction between what is permanent in the structure of monopoly, and what is transitory. In other words, the distinction is between what cannot be changed in the present system, indeed what we may not want to change keeping socialism in mind, and, on the other hand, what can be changed now and in the future. What is permanent is the great concentration of production together with its advanced technology -- now used to obtain maximum profits for monopoly, but which socialism would take over and utilize for the maximum benefit of the people. What is transitory is the system of control over this vast productive plant, leading to the extreme centralization of economic power in a few peak monopoly groups. Our Marxist studies of the question have very ably shown the specific form of peak control in the Rockefeller, Morgan, du Pont and other financial interest groups. But we still have to draw programmatic conclusions from this, beyond the obvious truth that it will be changed by socialism.

Now, what is transitory in the long run of history, is also subject to preliminary changes in advance. It is not a question of breaking up the vast and integrated production units, as big as they may be. We have to direct attention to the apparatus of control managed by the big groups of finance capital, which cuts across all industrial, financial and commercial lines, and which has been erected to manage huge investments, without any regard to their actual productive functions. It is in this area, the very center of monopoly control, that the process of "dismantling" might prove both possible and effective.

In suggesting this distinction, I do not want to imply that the intricate system of monopoly control, which reaches into all branches of the economy and dominates government, is something extraneous to monopoly capitalism. It is a very decisive part of the monopoly set-up, the way of centralizing maximum profits, and the center of the political oligarchy. Monopoly will very zealously defend its positions in this sphere. But it is also the most changeable, the most sensitive,

the most vulnerable part of the structure -- with constantly changing inner relation of forces as the result of the competition of giants and changes in the economic relations, here and abroad. And one or another part of this area has always been the target of the popular anti-trust revolts -- whether the bankers control of the railroads and the food-processing industries, or more recently monopoly control of contracts for munitions production. Here also lies the center of the monopoly price-fixing mechanism.

This should be studied and explored. And we should do this not only with a view to a program for an anti-monopoly transitional government. We should also elaborate the kind of demands that can be raised in the present situation with the purpose of developing anti-monopoly actions and alliances.

There is much in what I have said, especially in the third section, that is tentative and merely suggestive of lines of inquiry and discussion. As you can very well see, I have not gone into many other complex problems that arise in the process of preparing a basic program, but these must be handled as we go along. However, with respect to the concepts of our road to socialism, peaceful transition, and transitional government I have tried to provide an orientation, upon which I hope we can all agree, as a base from which we can proceed to prepare a program for our road to socialism.

#### IV. APPROACH AND PROCEDURE

Your committee exchanged views on how to launch the work of systematic preparation of program.

First, a few words as to general approach. We have to start from an examination of the problems of the present phase and of developments and trends now discernible. From an examination of the down-to-earth questions that affect the workers and the people as a whole the program must provide a line of solution leading to socialism. The socialist solution must be presented as a projection of the immediate struggles, class alliances and trends in their development. In other words, we do not propose to imagine what a Socialist America will be like under whatever conditions may prevail at that time. We can speak only of the potentials of a Socialist United States, and devote the major part of the program to the question of how we are going to get there.

Second, there is no model program for us to follow. We shall learn what we can from the programs of other Communist Parties, from how they handle this or that question, from their theoretical treatment, and from how they solve problems similar to our own. But the program will have to be distinctively our own product. The work of preparing a program is therefore to be seen as a really major task. If we are successful, it will be the first written basic program for this country produced by any Marxist group or party. Our main concern has to be to give it a solid base and framework so that it can be of more than passing interest. It must become an important instrument for raising the socialist consciousness of the workers.

Third, a draft handed down by a committee, without the broadest consultation and discussion, would be ineffective if not worthless. The Draft Program has to be the outcome of study and public discussion at all stages of preparation, the outcome of an expanding wave of serious discussion. But the discussion would be in danger of becoming aimless and even futile, unless it is directed toward specific programmatic questions, and is carried out in an organized way.

Accordingly, we favor a step-by step procedure, along the following lines:

1. The posing of a series of questions, covering the entire range of program, phrased to produce programmatic answers and placed in relation to each other in provisional programmatic sequence. This would amount to a simple outline, to be used as a guide for the organization of special study and research. It is proposed to group the program question more or less under the following heads: (1) The unsolved problems of our society; (2) The U.S. world position

and the fight for peace; (3) End want, for a higher standard of living; (4) Cultural--education, mass communications media, science and the arts; (5) The defense and extension of democracy; (6) The fight against monopoly; (7) Labor and its allies--trade union movement, Negro people, farmers, middle strata; (8) Political action and the anti-monopoly coalition government; (9) The transition to socialism and the socialist potential; (10) Role of the Party. In the working out of the draft, the order may be changed considerably. The draft program questions should be ready by the end of May or the first week in June. They will be submitted to members of the NC and other qualified people for comment, suggestions and expression of interest in working on a specified phase.

2. On the basis of these comments and suggestions, the Program Committee is to prepare an Analytic Outline, in which a basic approach is already incorporated, explicitly or implicitly, wherever possible, while controversial questions are raised in provisional form. It is hoped to have this ready about Labor Day for comment and public discussion.
3. The organization of special study and research on the program questions is to begin immediately, involving existing Party commissions (like the Negro and Economic), specially qualified individuals, and all those able to contribute. While the Program Committee will have to bear a special responsibility, the burden of this work should not be restricted to the Committee members, nor to the New York area. Special efforts have to be made to involve people in many parts of the country.
4. As material of substance becomes available on key questions of the program it should be published for comment and discussion. It is proposed to set aside a special section of Political Affairs for this purpose, under the supervision of the Program Committee or a subcommittee designated by it.
5. The Draft Program Committee should consist of members able to contribute to the formulation of program and willing to take special responsibility for its preparation. Its function is to prepare a draft program, for submission to the National Committee which has the responsibility for passing on it, and submitting it to the Party for discussion and final action at a Party Convention. The resident members of the Draft Program Committee shall meet regularly, organize and guide the work of preparation, consult with the non-resident members, and meet together with them whenever possible.

\* \* \* \*

#### ACTION ON THE REPORT BY THE NEC

1. A general consensus of opinion was recorded that the report provides a basis for beginning systematic work on program.
2. Decided to present the report to members of the NC and others to be involved in program preparation, for information and comment. The question of publication of the report was left to the Resident Program Committee.
3. Approved the recommendations of the Initiating Committee for work on the program.
4. Designated a Draft Program Committee, consisting of:

Jim Allen	Gene Dennis	Jim W.
Herb Aptheker	Betty G.	Martin C.
Hy Lumer	George Morris	N. S.
Jim Jackson	Pat Toohey	Al Richmond
A. Bittelman	Claude Lightfoot	Pettis Perry
Si Gerson	Carl Winter	Burt Neleon
Will Weinstone		Charlene Alexander

(Please address all comment to Draft Program Committee, 28 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y. )

## PRUSSION EXHIBIT NO. 3

## PRESS CONFERENCE

OCT. 27th &amp; 28th, 1956

Following is an abridged version of report by Al Richmond, on behalf of State Board and the management committee:

## HISTORIC BACKGROUND

ORIGIN: Initial suggestion for launching daily paper on Pacific Coast came from national committee in early 1937. Proposal was enthusiastically adopted at a California conference. National committee envisioned chain of three daily papers - in New York, Chicago and California. (Chicago paper was launched shortly after The People's World, but gave up the ghost after a year's publication.)

SITUATION IN 1937: Conditions were favorable for launching daily because:

1. There was the militant upsurge of the CIO movement in California, with Left-maritime unions in the van.
2. New Deal movement in California was nearing its high tide (resulting in election of Olson-Patterson ticket in 1938)
3. Party had great prestige and influence in labor movement and progressive political currents.

## THE EARLY DAYS

The paper enlisted considerable official labor support, including AFL and CIO unions.

Quite a number of New Deal political figures - some quite far from the Left - participated in various activities on the paper's behalf.

Paper played a vital, generally recognized role in such mass movements as 1938 elections, last stages of free-Mooney fight, strikes and organizing drives.

The paper objectively achieved a united front character because a united front did exist, in which the party and the Left generally were recognized and active components.

To a greater or lesser extent, depending on turns in the political situation, the paper retained this character into the early postwar years.

## COLD WAR

With the onset of the cold war and the attendant repressive hysteria, coupled with our own sectarian errors, the Party became increasingly isolated, and so did the paper.

Official labor support declined to the vanishing point, as did expressions of support from progressive political figures. The united front character of the paper diminished, and was ultimately destroyed because in life the many united front relationships of the party and the Left had ceased to exist.

Situation became more acute after outbreak of the Korean war, especially after decisions made around the events of June, 1951.

The State Board adopted a policy of a determined fight to maintain the daily under those circumstances because:

1. The paper remained as the sole consistent medium for public expression of our views.
2. The paper represented a principal toehold on a legal status.
3. Abandonment of this position, under enemy attack, would have grave consequences on morale of party and movement.
4. The paper afforded a channel for exercising leadership when other "normal" channels were disrupted or clogged because of the system of leadership established in party.
5. At the onset of this period we still had a relatively adequate circulation base. (In October, 1950, we published 8,000 daily papers and a shade less than 17,000 on the weekend.)

As a negative development in this period, the pressures resulting from the fact that the paper increasingly became a primary medium for exercising leadership in the narrow inner sense tended still further to give the paper the more pronounced stamp of a party organ.

Nonetheless, paper played considerable role in such mass activity as was carried on by the Left in this period (fight to save Wells; petition campaign in connection with UN anniversary meeting and peace action generally; fight for party's legality, most notably around California Smith Act cases).

The paper was a major factor in emergence of California party from recent period in relatively better shape than the organization elsewhere.

#### PARTY CRISIS AND EFFECTS ON PAPER

At the beginning of 1956 the paper was in a fairly precarious position.

**FINANCES:** Because of the deficits accumulated over the years, the paper's debts were in the neighborhood of \$115,000.

**CIRCULATION:** From about 1954 on the paper's losses were minimal, and it was possible to speak of a relatively stabilized circulation - but at a low level.

The position was such that any appreciable loss in financial support or circulation activity placed the existence of the paper as a daily in jeopardy.

Estimating the situation in May, the State Board decided to launch the fund drive with the perspective of fighting for the daily, but recognizing that this perspective might not be realized in view of the critical situation developing within the party. The State Board perspective of maintaining the daily was related to two factors: fulfillment of the fund drive approximately on schedule, and maintaining circulation. Success in the fund drive was regarded not only as an economic question (although the paper desperately needed every penny sought) but also as a political measure of the entire party's capacity and readiness to fight for the paper.

With the development of the party discussion, some very sharp criticisms were directed at the paper. The staff sought to encourage discussion of the paper's content - through readers' conferences, questionnaires, and letters in the paper. At the same time, the staff sought to assess this criticism, and to make changes along the lines that, in its judgement, was indicated by the bulk of the criticism.

In staff discussion, and consultation with the state board a general approach was adopted for striving to make of the paper a voice of the Left (going beyond the party), but directing itself to the broader mass movement.

The revamped weekend paper was undertaken as a pilot project in the direction of a broader character and a more popular appeal.

#### SITUATION TODAY

**FINANCES:** As of the end of October, even after a month's extension of the fund drive, the drive was still some \$30,000 short of the \$150,000 goal. The paper was faced with an accumulated indebtedness of \$150,000 by the end of the year.

**CIRCULATION:** Because of a virtual halt in circulation activity, the paper's combined (daily and weekend) subscription list declined by 14 percent between May 1 and Oct. 1. While there has always been a dip in circulation between May, the height of the circulation drive, and October, this year's decline was far sharper. Last year, for instance, the decline was 7 percent in the same period. Thus, the rate of decline was twice as great this year.

**POLITICAL OUTLOOK:** Whatever the long range perspective for the party, and this is at the core of the pre-convention discussion, the short haul - the next six months - is clouded with uncertainty, and it is unlikely that the critical situation within the organization will be resolved quickly.

Against this background, an intense discussion has developed about the paper's future, centered on the issue of whether it can continue as a daily, or should be transformed into a weekly.

## THE THREE POSITIONS

## Arguments for a weekly:

1. The movement, given its present numerical size and relative isolation, just cannot carry the burden of a daily paper, especially in view of the paper's small circulation and narrow base. If, by any chance, through a super-human effort, the movement did realize the finances, it would be only at the expense of other activities which are essential if we are to break out of our isolation.

2. With our relatively meager financial resources, we can at best sustain the manpower and technical facilities for putting out a poor and inadequate daily. If the same resources were poured into a weekly, we could put out a paper of superior quality - politically and technically - that could better attract and retain readers.

This is a positive perspective, and such a paper could do a better job of interpreting and analyzing events, of treating issues more skillfully and thoughtfully, and could better meet the other needs of its readers.

With such a paper we could strive for a radical improvement in circulation. As one comrade put it, it is preferable to have one paper a week that reaches five people than to have five papers a week that reach only one person.

3. In the immediate future, it is not likely that the party, as an independent force, will lead mass struggles of any consequences. Therefore, the need for a daily as an independent organizing and mobilizing instrument is greatly diminished.

## Arguments for maintaining the daily:

1. Abandonment of the daily now would have the most adverse effect on the morale of the party, would have national and possibly international repercussions, and would feed the liquidationist currents.

2. A daily newspaper assumes a fighting character in relation to issues as they arise that cannot be imparted to a weekly. A daily maintains a day to day contact with its readers, possesses greater mobilizing ability, can be more flexible and timely in reacting to events, and is more effective and consistent in the battle of ideas.

3. The present period is a period of transition. We have hung on for 18 years - if we hang on for six more months, we'll be over the hump and a strengthened, unified and more effective party organization will be able to carry the burden. Together with this, there are the improvements in the objective political situation, and the increasing possibilities for re-establishing old united front relationships and inaugurating new ones.

4. A daily fits in with the perspective in the draft resolution for a party of action, which is best served by a daily paper.

## Arguments for delaying decision until convention:

1. A daily is desirable; the real issue is whether it is feasible. We will be better able to gauge the feasibility when we see what emerges from the convention.

2. More time is required to explore possible alternatives before so fateful a decision is taken.

3. There is considerable divergence of opinion on the daily vs. weekly issue, and the period of pre-convention discussion might serve to further clarify the issue, especially as it will be considered in relation to the fundamental issue of what sort of party and movement will best meet the needs of the American working class at this time.

## STATE BOARD PROPOSALS

After weighing the arguments above, the first question that faced the board was whether it should or should not make a recommendation. The majority felt it was the responsibility of the board to present its opinions to the party in the form of recommendations, fully confident that the party conference would weigh those opinions (and all others) on their merits and would reach its decision on the basis of its independent judgment.

The issue then boiled down to - should we recommend postponement of any decision until the convention, or should we now recommend transformation of the paper into a weekly.

Generally, everyone favored waiting until the convention - IF it could be done. The rub is that for every month we delay, the paper goes into the hole for \$17,000, as against about \$9,000 for a weekly. The difference in the monthly deficit for a daily or a weekly in the next period is \$8,000. That means about \$24,000 if we wait until January, or \$40,000 if we wait until March.

The majority did not see where this money would come from. The majority felt that extraordinary action would be required to come close to fulfillment of the fund drive, let alone raise any added cushion.

The majority of the board present ( 6 for and 1 abstaining; with attending members of the management committee divided 3 for and 2 opposed) decided to recommend a weekly now.

The majority opinion was that in view of the failure to make the full fund drive quota, the drop in circulation, the accumulated debt, and the critical situation within the party, there was no realistic alternative.

We believed we were faced with a choice between an organized retreat now, or the danger of a rout later.

Spelled out the recommendation was:

1. That the conference recommend going over to a weekly.
2. That this recommendation be submitted to a referendum vote within the party for a three week period. Simultaneously, the paper would conduct a ballot among non-party readers, and would hold consultative sessions with representative groups of non-party readers.
3. If the referendum approved the recommendation, then the state board together with the management committee would proceed to put it into effect.

Two other recommendations were approved:

1. That the counties continue the fund drive until completion of their quotas.
2. That the matter of moving the paper to Los Angeles be left open, since no commitment has been secured from any printer to print the paper, and no specific bids as to costs were available as yet.

#### CONCLUSIONS

While the board did not see at this time the means for continuing daily publications, it also recognized that maintenance of a weekly would greatly tax the party's energies and resources, and would require a consistent and determined fight.

The board believed the possibilities for winning such a fight were favorable because:

1. The \$120,000 raised in the fund drive thus far represents a considerable achievement, in view of the situation within the party, and demonstrates that the base for a Marxist paper is present on the Pacific Coast.
2. The paper's circulation on a daily basis is twice the party membership, and on the weekend is four times as great, indicating the paper retains a base among non-party persons, a base that could be expanded.
3. The revamped weekend paper represents a modest break through in the direction of the sort of paper needed, and the response to it indicates that continuing changes could generate enthusiasm for building circulation.

We believe that out of the present difficulties and profound upheaval, a healthier and more effective party will emerge, and a Marxist paper is indispensable if such a party is to make its full contribution to the furtherance and development of a popular anti-monopoly coalition.

\* \* \*

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