The Synthesis of Socialism and Democratic Movements Under Capitalism

By William Z. Foster

Socialism is the abolition of the private ownership of the social means of production and distribution, and of the exploitation of the laboring masses for private profit, with the substitution therefor of the social ownership of these means of the people's livelihood, and with production carried on for social use and the maximum welfare of the people. This revolutionary reorganization, constituting the greatest social advance in the whole history of mankind, involves far-reaching improvements in every phase of the life of the people-in living standards, in cultural levels, in methods of thinking, in industrial techniques, in democratic institutions, in governmental structures, and in the general management of the world, in social perspectives.

The world is now in the full process of this fundamental surge ahead from capitalism to Socialism—the first stage of Communism. The profound revolutionary change is, in a historical sense, taking place very rapidly and along various channels. The road to world Socialism is very complex. Its leading, fullest, and most decisive expression is the tre-

mendous growth of new Socialist regimes in various countries during the past decades, since 1917, as decaying world capitalism sinks into general crisis. Forty years ago capitalism, which had already predominantly become monopoly capitalism, ruled supreme in the world, dominating all countries, industrial and agricultural, advanced and backward, without there being in existence anywhere any rival and challenging social system.

The Russian Revolution produced a drastic change in all this, splitting irretrievably the imperialist world structure and blazing the way for a vast spread and intensification of people's democratic movements in all directions. It gave an enormous impulse to world Socialism in general, which has now come to embrace many countries in a system of states containing about one-third of the total population of the globe. In many phases of social strength, the new world socialist system already exceeds that of world capitalism. and it is rapidly on the way to "overtake and surpass" the latter system generally. The revolutionary peoples have also largely shattered the capitalist encirclement of the Socialist countries, at least in its economic and political spheres, which has so long constituted a profound hindrance and deadly threat to Socialism and to world peace.

The advance to world Socialism. however, has not been confined to the countries that now have Socialist regimes, nor to those forces that are consciously striving for Socialist objectives within the capitalist countries. The essentially anti-capitalist movement spreads far beyond these relatively limited boundaries. It is native to all the capitalist countries in the world. In the latter respect it manifests itself in many movements, backed by the broadest masses everywhere, which are aiming at objectives that often may not in themselves be specifically Socialist but that, nevertheless, have a common kinship in all countries, capitalist and Socialist. These are spontaneous movements, and they are based upon specific national conditions and popular struggles. All this two-phased struggle-growing Socialism on a world system and dewithin the veloping democracy framework of capitalism-works out as a synthesis of organized Socialism and of people's democratic mass movements. Thus, Socialism, victorious in many countries, sheds its rays of eventual emancipation far and wide also throughout the capitalist world.

Socialism and the many mass

democratic movements in the capitalist countries (which we shall analyze later) are definitely related on a class basis to each other. It is not that the latter are just a sort of pale reflection of the former; they are parts of one vast movement. Significantly, the big revolutionary overturns in various countries during the aftermaths of the two world wars. including the great Russian Revolution, were founded upon and drew into their train vastly expanded mass democratic movements. They were also accompanied by bitter strikes and sharp political movements, of varying degrees of intensity, of the workers and their allies throughout almost the entire capitalist world. The two types of movement were but phases of the general worldwide struggle of the workers and other oppressed masses against capitalist exploitation. In the capitalist countries the democratic movements. waged under less favorable objective and subjective conditions, did not take on a revolutionary character because of such hindering factors as the less advanced stage of the economic and political crisis in these countries; the relative weakness of the workers organizationally and ideologically; the strength of the Right Social-Democrats; the lack of a strong Communist Party, etc. An important element of difference, of course, between the two types of movement was that whereas the revolutionary movements were led by Marxist-Leninists, the democratic mass movements were largely in the hands of Social-Democrats.

In view of all the above considerations, it is necessary, therefore, that we break with old habits of assuming, or half assuming, that the revolutionary struggles of the workers that established Socialism in their respective countries, are one thing, and that the democratic mass movements in the capitalist countries are something unrelated to Socialism. Too often in the past, as classically expressed in the writings of De Leon and other sectarians, we have tended to look upon the democratic mass movements of the workers as a hindrance to the development of the movement for Socialism, instead of as a stage in that general direction. They have even been considered virtually as tools of the Right Social-Democrats, or even of the emplovers themselves, with which to defeat the workers' fight for Socialism. Of course, as we shall note further along, these organizations have been used on many occasions in this anti-working class sense by conservative and corrupted labor leadership -which means by the employers. But this fact must not lead us to misunderstand their basic class purposes and relationships.

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One of the most dynamic features of the broad and complex democratic movement as a whole in the capitalist world is the enormous scope that it has taken on in recent decades, especially since the beginning of the Russian Revolution, and also after World War II. Of course, the origins of much of this movement date far back into the earliest history of the labor and national liberation movements; but major differences are that the democratic mass movement of today in the capitalist countries is vastly greater in size and also that it tends more and more to sum up into the character of a direct attack upon the capitalist system as such. The vast expansion in extent and quality of this movement after the two world wars is due to the beginning and deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system, marked by its two elementary features: a) the developing weakness and breakdown of world capitalism, and b) the general influence and growth of world Socialism in all its ramifications.

The co-existence of the great and growing world Socialist movement and of the related, ever-expanding democratic movement for elementary reforms in the capitalist world, together with the continually more involved relationships between these movements, are raising up a host of new and complex problems for the workers of the world and their allies. These problems cover many questions of theory, strategy, tactics, organization, and general social outlook, and they have been all too little explored and analyzed by Marxist-Leninist theoreticians in the general sense in which we are here considering them. Especially, the new problems deal with the mutual effects of mass democratic reform movements upon the two great rival social systems of today—capitalism and Socialism—and also with their consequences as to new and possible alliances between the revolutionary and democratic forces of the world. These alliances tend to rise above the many formal political, ideological, and organizational barriers which at present separate and weaken these natural allies in the common struggle against the central enemy, monopoly capital and imperialism.

SOME OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS REVIEWED

a) The fight for world peace: International peace is a keystone feature of world Socialism, but the achievement of this basic Socialist objective has already become a very urgent world matter of today, actively striven for by the democratic masses in all countries, despite their differences in ideology. The central slogan of this world-wide anti-war movement is the peaceful co-existence of all countries, irrespective of the character of their internal regimes. With an unparalleled mobilization of peace forces during the cold war, the peoples of the world -with the USSR, People's China, and the European People's Democracies in the lead-successfully blocked the dangerous atomic drive of American capitalism for world conquest and domination.

great accomplishment was registered in fact at the famous Big Four "summit" conference at Geneva in 1955. While the grave war danger that had been hanging over the world for several years was thus eased, the still precarious character of today's peace is emphasized by this country's threatening diplomacy and by the building of additional American atomic war bases in various countries of Europe and the Middle East. Only Socialism can finally ensure world peace.

b) The struggle against colonial. ism: The Socialist world will be one without colonies; hence the existing Socialist countries are inveterate enemies of colonialism in all its forms. But, as in the case of world peace, the oppressed peoples of the world faced by the most desperate need for immediate relief, cannot and will not wait until the arrival of world Socialism to break their colo-The nial shackles. anti-colonial struggle dates back to the first American Revolution and beyond, but the historic Russian Revolution in 1917, of which anti-imperialism was a basic constituent, gave the initial big impulse to the current anti-imperialist, anti-colonial movement, and it has also been further stimulated by the great Chinese Revolution of this decade. Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (with Latin America soon to come) are aflame with the bitter struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against British, French, Dutch, Belgian, Spanish, Portuguese, and American imperialism. The birth of Ghana, in Africa, is the latest victory of this tremendous movement. Over one-third of the world's population are already actively in this elementary struggle, and their ranks are constantly swelling.

c) The fight for national independence: World Socialism will be a regime of free, cooperating nations. Not surprisingly, therefore, the struggle of the peoples under capitalism generally for freedom-with their inevitable tendency in the direction of Socialism-naturally carries with it a sharp stress upon national independence, as against the enslaving tendencies of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. This trend prevails not only in the colonial world, but also among the capitalist nations, many of which have been living, especially lately, under varying degrees of control by the major imperialist powers. This far-reaching movement in the capitalist world is of multiplied importance at the present time inasmuch as the powerful and aggressive United States, in its bid for world hegemony and domination, is arrogantly striving to subjugate all the nations economically and politically, against their growing resistance, including even such erstwhile mighty capitalist empires as those of Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan.

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d) The industrialization of back-

ward countries: It is a basic tendency of monopoly capitalism to develop its own home country at the expense of all others. Consequently, over the decades, the great bulk of capitalist world industry has been concentrated in a few imperialist lands; whereas, the rest of the world, living mostly upon a colonial basis, has been deliberately deprived of industrialization. In addition to putting the latter countries at the mercy economically of the former countries, this trend has denied the majority of the world's population the general advantages of mechanization and of the great modern inventions-steam, electricity, electronics, etc. Now, however, largely under the impulse of the Socialist revolutions of our times, the hitherto backward countries under capitalism, with varying speeds and in accordance with their respective resources, are crashing through this repression and are pushing vigorously and irresistibly for industrialization. They are being actively supported in this by the Socialist world, and even the imperialist powers, with whom it has always been a matter of major policy to prevent such industrialization, are being compelled to make concessions to them. This battle of the peoples against the industry-monopoly of imperialist big capital is one of the most significant social struggles now going on in the world.

e) The nationalization of industry: This is another major movement, which reflects in a measure the Socialist policy of socialized industry and which also began to take on its greatest significance after the Russian Revolution. It is now a powerful trend in the capitalist world. It plays a particularly big role in such countries as Great Britain, France, Scandinavia, and other capitalist regimes, as well as in many of the newly established countries of Asia. It is definitely an invasion of the sacrosanct right of big capital to own and exploit the industries that the people must live by, although in some cases employers try to have the state rid them of obsolete industries at a profit. The consumers' cooperative movement, which during the past generation has taken on an enormous spread in scores of capitalist countries, also has this tendency to infringe upon the capitalists, especially in the fields of retail trade.

f) Land Reform: This is another far-reaching movement of the masses to secure a grip upon their means of livelihood. Land for the users thereof is an historic demand of the peasantry in many countries; but this mass movement, like so many others in the capitalist countries, was given its first real mass impulse by the Russian Revolution. The nationalization of the land by the Soviet government, one of its very earliest acts, is still having its repercussions in various parts of the world. In many capitalist lands, as

never before, the owners of big landed estates are under heavy and growing pressure from the land-hungry peasantry. Land reform, in one form or another, is very sharply manifesting itself not only in the erstwhile colonial lands, but also in such capitalist countries as Japan, Italy, and various others. The movement has played a big role in Latin America.

g) The workers' fight for improved living conditions: This is the oldest and most widespread of all the democratic mass movements within the scope of the capitalist system. Over the years the number and size of strikes have increased enormously, and so have the trade unions themselves. In round figures, the total number of trade unionists in the world has grown from some 12,000,000 in 1914 to about 150,000,-000 in 1957. The workers' political parties, striving for every conceivable reform designed to improve the position and condition of the working class, have also greatly increased in their size and in their representation in the various capitalist governments. Notable in this general respect has been the growth of strong Communist parties in almost every country, totalling some 30,000,000 members; while the Social Democratic parties have about 10,000,000 members and some 64,000,000 electors in the capitalist countries. Social Democrats now lead the governments of France, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Burma. Then there are the vast women and youth movements embracing many millions.

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h) The fight against unemployment: This struggle, which is going on in every capitalist country in the world, is one of the most powerful of all mass democratic forward movements. Like almost every other development of this general type, the battle against unemployment has been very profoundly stimulated and extended by the course of events in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. In the USSR mass unemployment was abolished many years ago, and the right to work has been fully established as one of the most fundamental rights of the people. This basic example has not been lost upon the workers of the world, who, in the normal development of their growing labor movement, have also naturally tended, on their own, to fight to achieve these same broad objectives. Generally, workers in the major capitalist countries have reached the stage of development where they will no longer passively "starve through" economic crises, as in the old days. They are not only preparing in advance with enormous programs, enlarged social insurance, etc., to protect themselves against the burdens of economic holocausts, but they will surely fight resolutely against mass unemployment as it comes. Traditionally, the capitalists have cynically welcomed widespread joblessness and have utilized it to enable them to slash the workers' wages and to crush the budding trade unions. But nowadays they have come considerably to fear the revolutionary possibilities of such situations. This fear is one of the major considerations they have in mind in their greater respect for the workers' demands for social insurance, and it also plays a part in their essentially futile efforts "abolishing" economic crises through Keynesian "managed economy" policies of subsidizing industry.

i) The struggle for political democracy: One of the most striking phenomena of the capitalist world in recent years has been the enormous extension of the workers' fight for democracy-among other phases, to defend their right to organize and strike, to establish minimum wages and maximum hours, to regulate child labor, to set up health and safety regulations, and to democratize the government in every possible World Socialism direction. enormously stimulated this struggle. One of the most dramatic aspects of this world-wide fight for democracy in the capitalist countries is the heroic struggle of the Negro people in the United States for civil rights and against the infamous Jim Crow system. The greatest of all the struggles for democracy, however, was the bitter fight against the malignant plague of fascism, culminating in

World War II. This most terrible of all wars, with its far-reaching revolutionary consequences, was won primarily by the toiling masses of the world, with the Soviet Union playing the most decisive part in the epochmaking struggle. It saved world democracy. This was a direct blending of the revolutionary and democratic struggles on a world scale.

i) The fight for mass education: This is one of the historic struggles of the working class, as old as the labor movement itself; but like all of the other broad democratic trends in the capitalist world, it has taken on vastly greater volume in the recent decades, particularly since the Russian Revolution. Its broadest scope has been in the conquest of illiteracy among the countless millions in the erstwhile colonial countries, and the highest achievement of the people's educational movement has been in the Soviet Union which, despite its relatively short span of existence, has already surpassed the United States in turning out capable technicians, engineers, and scientists. The workers' fight for culture all over the world is one of the most decisive characteristics of this period of general revolutionary advance towards Socialism and Communism.

k) Other democratic currents and movements: Besides those listed above, there are various other popular democratic movements of impor-

tance in the capitalist world, more or less akin, in an elementary sense. to developments within the Socialist nations. Among these may be mentioned movements for the conservation and development of the people's natural resources; such as oil, coal. metals, water, the soil, etc., all of which are grossly wasted and neglected by the capitalist ruling class. But such conservation efforts under capitalism pale beside the strides being made in this direction by the USSR and People's China, with their gigantic development of natural resources, irrigation, flood control, projects to change the climate, to reclaim the deserts, and the like.

Another democratic trend is the beginning toward systematic population control. Marx was correct in his polemic against the reactionary Malthus a century ago, and his basic contentions remain valid. Many Communists, however, have concluded erroneously that this polemic ended all real concern with the population question which is something quite different from Malthusianism. But changing general conditions are now putting this matter of population in a new setting which requires attention. Due to the rapidly declining death rate, population limitation has already become significant question in various countries. Thus, in the New China there is today an officially developing large-scale birth control movement. It is necessary, therefore, that guarding Marxist theoreticians,

against doctrinairism, should deal with this new mass movement dialectically.

GENERAL EFFECTS OF DEMOCRATIC MASS MOVEMENTS

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Beyond question, the many great democratic movements and struggles within the capitalist world, as at least partly indicated above, constitute a source of positive strength to the Socialist world. These democratic movements are elementary forerunners of the eventual development of Socialism in the respective countries, and many of them also directly contribute to the growing class consciousness of the workers. Their very existence, acting as a brake upon the counter-revolutionary pressures of capitalism, is direct support to the Socialist world. Hence, the more these mass movements grow and become stronger, the better it is in general for world Socialism. This is true despite the fact that very often these movements are led by anti-Communist elements for definitely pro-capitalist objectives.

The mass democratic movements produce both negative and positive effects upon the capitalist system as such. Undoubtedly, the capitalists have been able, under certain conditions, frequently to exploit these essentially hostile mass movements for their own class interests. Here, usually, the misleadership of Right Social Democratic elements comes into play. With their smooth

demagogy and strong bureaucratic controls (and with the direct help of the employers and the state), such elements are often able to falsify the basic purposes of democratic movements and to use them directly against the class interests of the workers. This emphasizes the imperative need, therefore, for the Left constantly to strive for more progressive leaders and policies in all these movements and organizations. The fight against reformism in all its forms remains a fundamental task of the working class.

A recent example of misleadership of the workers and their organizations was afforded by the fact that the Social Democrats have had their parties and unions generally support the Wall Street-inspired NATO, and they have also joined in with the repeated imperialist war threats against the USSR and the rest of the Socialist world-although undoubtedly the vast mass of their members were strongly for peace. And to go back a bit into recent history-thus, following World War I, the alarmed capitalists of Germany and Italy were able to save their system on the basis of promises to Right Social-Democrats of an extensive nationalization of industry and other reforms which were never realized. formist illusions, cultivated by such elements, about the "progressive future" of capitalism also generally weaken the labor movement. By the same token, under boom conditions such as at present exist in the United States, the winning of many concessions by the workers from capitalism, although leading to much strengthening of the workers' mass organizations, also tends to blunt their class consciousness and their revolutionary spirit. The capitalists furthermore reap some advantage, both in profits and economic stability, from the governmental financial stimulation of industry secured largely through the workers' efforts. Capitalism can also reap some temporary economic advantage from the industrialization of backward countries.

In general, however, the effects upon the capitalist system of the vast and growing democratic mass movements are decidedly negative to that system. Numerous examples of this could be cited. Thus, the enormous growth of the workers' economic and political organization, despite the efforts of reformist Social Democratic leaders to keep it subordinate to the capitalist system, is fundamentally a growing threat to that system, and to the ability of the capitalists to operate it for an intensified exploitation of the workers. The workers' increasing democratic pressure upon the state also undoubtedly tends to weaken it as an instrument for working class repression, as in contrast, say, with a fascist state. The powerful fight of the workers against mass unemployment, too, weakens this "reserve army" weapon of the employers. Likewise, the unionization of the major industries definitely tends to restrict the arbitrary wage control and general domination of the capitalists in this decisive area. Illustrating these points-one would have to be politically blind not to see that the great and successful organizing campaigns by the C.I.O. constituted a major victory for the American working class by strengthening its whole position; or to fail to realize that the present effective attacks of the Negro people in the South against the Jim Crow system (lynching, segregation, denial of the right to vote and work, etc.) is a serious blow against the monopolists who are now dominating this vast region.

Many of the other broad mass democratic movements cited earlier are also achieving even more powerfully negative results upon the capitalist system as such. Thus, the immense struggle of the many peoples, expressed by the Bandung movement, against colonialism is having a revolutionary effect, as it is literally tearing away basic foundations of capitalism. The directly related industrialization of the backward countries is also a highly disruptive factor in the world capitalist economy. And so, too, is the struggle of many capitalist nations for national independence, as against the dominating imperialist powers -it sharpens up capitalist rivalries and antagonisms and it does much to prevent the creation of an all-out capitalist war front against the countries of Socialism.

As a whole, the vast complex of democratic movements and struggles in the capitalist world tends definitely, on the one hand, to strengthen world Socialism, and on the other hand, to weaken world capitalism. This is a conception far removed from, say, that of De Leon, who rigidly condemned such democratic tendencies as essential helps to capitalism and as disastrous to the workers. Basically, the democratic movements are an expression of the people's efforts to combat the harmful effects of the deepening general crisis of the whole capitalist system. They are not buttresses of capitalism, but forces undermining it, even though, under reformist leadership, often they may specifically endorse capitalism and be distorted in their purpose. This is why, historically, all these democratic mass movements have had to overcome bitter capitalist opposition.

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The world capitalist system, despite its post-war industrial boom, and its still obvious vitality, is not being stabilized by the many democratic mass movements. On the contrary, the fundamental internal economic and political difficulties of capitalism are multiplying on a world scale, the conditions of the toiling masses are worsening, and the system as a whole is sinking deeper and deeper into its general crisis. The XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave the following realistic picture of the current critical state of world capitalism:

The situation in the capitalist world, the zone of which has significantly narrowed, is characterized by the further accentuation of profound contradictions. The increased production registered by the capitalist countries in the ten post-war years, thanks to such factors as militarization of the economy and the arms drive, intensified foreign economic expansion, renewal of fixed capital, and sharply intensified exploitation of the working people, has not imparted stability to the economy of capitalism. On the contrary, the economy of capitalism has become still more unstable. The general crisis of the capitalist system continues deepen.

Contrary to Strachey and other soothsayers of capitalism, the world capitalist system is not being transformed by the democratic movements into a progressive "welfare state" or evolved into Socialism. The capitalist state remains an oppressive organ, the basic purpose of which is to further the exploitation of the working class and other toiling masses. And the sole path to Socialism is the abolition of the capitalist system, through organized struggle against the capitalist system, including its state. Socialism is impossible without the revolutionary transformation of society.

Due to the vast and ever-increasing strength of the anti-capitalist forces, both relatively and absolutely, it has now become possible to accomplish this revolutionary transformation along parliamentary and relatively peaceful lines. But as Mikoyan said at the XXth Con-

gress of the C.P.S.U., "the question of the possibility of the peaceful revolution in certain countries should not be confused with reformism. It should be remembered that revolution—peaceful or not peaceful—will always be revolution, while reformism will always remain a fruitless marking of time." The road to Socialism is a road of struggle and it cannot be traversed without a strong Marxist-Leninist Party to give leadership to the vast movements of the masses, whose basic trend is inevitably in the direction of Socialism.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

In the face of a weakening world capitalist system, the general outlook ahead is for a continuing growth of world Socialism on the one hand. and for a further expansion, on the other, of the numerous mass democratic struggles and movements within the capitalist world. The relentless increase of forces, both within and without capitalism, favoring the course of world Socialism, will continue, with the world's workers fighting under improved opportunities for success. These opportunities will also become qualitatively better when the revolutionary labor movement gets "over the hump," so to speak, of capitalist resistance and enters upon the "downhill pull" for Socialism.

This situation, of the progressive advance of the toiling masses on both great fronts—that of organized So-

cialism and that of bourgeois democracy-will present many new and basic possibilities to broaden and unite the fighting front of the workers and their allies and to more effectively establish a working synthesis of world Socialism and world democracy. By the above-described forces the basis is being laid increasingly for all-inclusive people's front movements in the respective capitalist countries; for world trade union unity upon a new scale; for better relations in general with the Social Democracy; for broader alliances with and among the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and for new forms of co-operation between the Socialist countries and the lesser capitalist countries fighting for world peace and for national independence, as against the aggressions of the big imperialist powers. The workers everywhere, fighting against doctrinairism, opportunism, bureaucracy in their own party, must be alert to take full advantage of these new possibilities for democratic advance.

In this general situation two basic Marxist-Leninist policies of the present period are playing an enormous role. The first is the struggle of the peoples for the peaceful coexistence of all nations, regardless of their internal regimes—a policy which tends to unite the vast bulk of the world's peace-loving masses in growing struggle against the imperialist warmakers for the maintenance of world peace. And the second policy

is the prospective establishment of Socialism in many countries along parliamentary and relatively peaceful lines—a policy which offers the broadest base for co-operation among all democratic and anti-capitalist forces in their common struggle against the common enemy, monopoly capital, eventually to the point of abolishing capitalism and establishing Socialism. It is along this revolutionary path—not out of a progressively evolving capitalist system—that Socialism is coming to the world.

Highly important is the present strong tendency of the Communist parties, as a result of the painful Stalin revelations, to cleanse themselves of bureaucratic practices, to democratize their parties and state governments, to take a more realistically critical attitude towards each other, and to adopt a less dogmatic attitude in working out their theory and policy. Above all, this is a time when Marxism-Leninism must be flexible and closely adapted to the national conditions facing the Communist parties. Entirely out of place are the harmful Left-sectarian practices of earlier years, and so, too, are the Right-revisionist tendencies which have recently grown so vigorously in many countries.

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of cy The Communist parties everywhere, including the CPUSA, must also be alert to carry out their fundamental vanguard role in the modern conditions of complex class struggle. The workers and their allies have the most basic need for resolute and clear-sighted Marxist-Leninist leadership at the present time, in order to meet their many new problems. This is not least true in the international sphere. Every Communist Party, must, of course, root its policies in the specific needs of its own working class and people, but it cannot meet this requirement unless at the same time it displays the strongest spirit of proletarian internationalism. Such internationalism is especially demanded in this period by the whole complex of problems presented by the varied relations of world Socialism and world democracy toward each other.

This is a period for the re-dedication of workers to the Communist Party and to Marxism-Leninism. In the present far-reaching discussion over the Stalin question, there is going on a fundamental re-examination of the theories, practices, and general results of the world struggle of the Communist parties. From this discussion the Communist movement is emerging more democratic, more united, more flexible, more clear-sighted, and generally more capable of leading the world struggle for Socialism. Altogether it is a time of proletarian progress, such as should inspire every fighter for Socialism and a better world.