

## Letters from Readers



### How State Rooks Philly Jobless

PHILADELPHIA

Dear Editor:

Negroes in Philadelphia are going over to the GOP by the thousands because of unfair employment practices by the State Employer-Unemployment Compensation office and the public assistance office.

When you make application for unemployment compensation the employer fails to OK the application which is necessary to be eligible. If you have bonds and savings for two-months support and the service of a lawyer until your case is heard in the Court of Appeals you are most likely to receive compensation.

If you have to apply for public assistance you are compelled to sign a bond and upon return to work you get a notice to report to the public assistance claims agent. There you are told how much you owe the State. If you don't pay the said amount you are going to jail. This is all supposed to have been the agreement when you received assistance. Quite a scheme! The worker pays for being unemployed and the employer receives a payroll tax reduction.

The same thing happens to recipients of public assistance who become eligible for pensions. To read these henchmen in the daily papers you would think they are saviors of mankind when, at the same time, they are taking the food from the table of the underprivileged people of the nation.

### Emily Dickinson—And Ben Levine

Dear Editor:

In his column on Emily Dickinson, July 1, 1956, it seems to me that Levine conceals behind a sentimentality a basic anti-humanism which should not go unchallenged.

The father of Emily Dickinson forbade her interest in the young man whom she loved exuberantly and who longed to marry her, as the research of Genevieve Taggard brought to light a good many years ago.

Eventually she turned to poetry in much the spirit of Heinrich Heine, who wrote "Out of my large sufferings do I make my little songs." But according to Ben Levine, "perhaps" we should thank her father as well as censure him, "for having kept his daughter enclosed in his cottage." Otherwise, says Levine, she might have wasted her energy on "washing and cleaning and breeding" for some "ordinary male."

There with a vengeance is the voice of paternalism and dictation of the lives of others—for their own good, of course. As it happens, her father had not even any knowledge of nor interest in her creative abilities, except her ability to cook.

Nor is it true that "she was aware of her greatness, though she never published her work." She showed a very few of her verses to a prominent cultured friend, who criticized them in a kindly way for not rhyming mechanically, and she had so little confidence in the real worth of

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# The American Road to Socialism

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

## Criticism, Self-Criticism, and Hypocrisy

By WILLIAM ALBERTSON

CONGRATULATIONS to Joseph Lash, newspaper writer, for informing the members of the Communist Party through the pages of the New York Post of Sunday, July 22, that there are basic political differences within its National Committee, what these differences are, and who represents what point of view. I am glad that it was Lash and not Winchell or Woltman. At least Lash is no reactionary. But it should have been Dennis and Foster; it should have been Gates and Max of the Daily Worker. Not Lash.

I am certain that Joe Lash, as clever a reporter as he might be, could not have sucked his article out of his thumb. Not being a Communist leader, however, he could not have obtained his information first hand from participation in the debates. He no doubt obtained it from someone who did participate. But Gates and Max, editor-in-chief and managing editor, respectively, of the Daily Worker, and Foster and Dennis—all participants in the debate, have this information first hand.

But the fact of the matter is that the membership must find out from non-Communist sources that a policy struggle is going on.

In the statement of the Discussion Committee of the Communist Party, printed every Sunday in The Worker at the top of the discussion page, it says, "For only an open, frank and vigorous discussion in which every member honestly and frankly states his or her position, can guarantee that we will emerge with a

stronger party and one more capable of truly serving and advancing the welfare of the American people and the cause of socialism."

The other evening I attended a meeting of a New York State C.P. Draft Resolution Committee. Part of the discussion there was on "how to stimulate the discussion."

The discussion will be stimulated only if the leadership is also part of the "open, frank and vigorous discussion" which it itself calls for. "Open" means open; not behind closed doors, only for selected ears.

The leadership has not kept the membership informed of its discussions, of the theory and policy struggles, of who takes what position and why, etc. The membership still does not know what has happened at the last three National Committee meetings. All it knows is composed of the final printed reports, the resolution on the Khrushchev report, and a few articles which may or may not be edited or non-

edited speeches. Why is the membership not informed of who said what at these meetings? This does not make for "open and frank" discussion. The leadership is acting as if the party is theirs exclusively, that the membership exists for the purpose of being "mobilized"

for the "line" once the leaders establish it.

We have forgotten all the editorials and articles in the Daily Worker only a few short weeks ago which with the greatest indignation criticized the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party for not themselves releasing the Khrushchev report on Stalin and for permitting Dulles to steal a march on them, so to say? How hollow that criticism now sounds in the face of the Lash article.

Comrades of the National Committee: Why do you not inform the membership of what is going on and what is being said in your debates, and by whom? Why did you let it leak through the New York Post? How about turning some of that same indignation against ourselves, in real self-criticism? Is it a fact that we have no confidence in the ability of our membership to participate in this great debate on an equal footing, to help formulate correct theory and policy?

The membership will soon be called upon to elect delegates to state and national conventions where these delegates, amongst other things, will elect a new leadership. How can they act with full knowledge and intelligence THEN if they are not informed NOW of the inner National Committee debates, the opinions being taken by every comrade on the National Committee, as well as the final resolutions adopted. The membership participation in this way now, with full knowledge, could conceivably help the present leadership come to more correct conclusions sooner.

The Soviet Party leadership, by circulating widely and discussing the Khrushchev report on Stalin amongst the party and non-party rank and file, is helping thereby to guarantee that the Soviet masses will never again permit another one-man leadership situation to develop with its attendant dictatorship and brutalities. At least, since Stalin's death, they are learning to have confidence in their membership and in the masses of Soviet people. The process of the "downgrading" of Stalin is also a process of mass education against one-man rule and dictatorship, and for the involvement of millions in the future development of socialist democracy.

Perhaps less arrogance, more humility and modesty, and some confidence in our membership rather than contempt for them (for objectively, that is what it is—contempt), may help us overcome the present party crisis. After all, as isolated as our party is, it is still the membership which is at the point of political and organizational production, in daily touch with non-party people to some extent. That deserves respect and confidence.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.

## Statement of the Committee

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

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

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

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

the American people and the cause of Socialism.

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

We urge upon everyone full participation in this discussion.

DISCUSSION COMMITTEE  
COMMUNIST PARTY

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WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.

## Nationality Groups Without Guidance

By CHARLES DEMETRI  
CHICAGO.

READING the reports of Dennis, Lightfoot and Weiss, I find a very clear way of putting things the way they should be put and examined, so we may be able in the future to create a program for the American working class, with fewer errors than the one we adopted in 1945-56, the errors of which are well taken by Dennis' report.

But still in this report we see a shortcoming—not considering the nationality groups which according to our estimate in 1939 composed 45 percent of the American voters. (That is, the naturalized first and second generations). This group in the past had a very important movement and its activities coordinated by the leadership of the Party.

What we see during the present difficult period of our Party is that these groups are left decaying without guidance, without cooperative decisions, without even consultation on some very grave questions.

Each group makes its policy and acts on its own without any checking on its activities. From time to time, somebody comes down, gives it some information about certain decisions, examines its work and that is all. No checkup, no continuation of discussions, no collective decisions.

If we recognize that many errors were made in the past by decisions without consultation, I

believe more will be made in the future if we don't establish organization in such a way that all these groups cooperate and make decisions applicable to their respective nationalities.

These groups are attacked very bitterly by the law and many of their leaders were deported or are deportable. In many cases the heads of committees are in this category. What will the Party do so this condition is repaired and the nationality groups brought to their proper type of existence and activities?

All these groups have the question of D.P.'s. Nothing is done by our Party to create a program in this direction. The

Romanian and Polish press is attacked bitterly lately. What will the party do to guide this group on how to protect their press.

How in general this group will be valuable in the elections of 1956. It is true that the general program applies to them too, but a specific discussion will strengthen their organizations and will organize them in such a way so they will be able to give all they can in the defeat of the Cadillac government.

The XXth Congress should be separately discussed with them, because the countries of their origin are involved in the program of the USSR, and the errors which were committed by the cult of the individual affects them more and they have many questions to answer to members of their nationality groups.

A group of 10 party members gathered for a pre-convention discussion send the following resolution:

That the party take adequate steps to insure direct club representation of the general membership at the National Convention, and as active participants in the discussion and convention business.



## A Proposed Resolution on Choosing Delegates

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WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.

# The American Road to Socialism

## A Return to the Mainstream of Jewish Life

By HY MANDELL

WHY HAS our National Committee still not seen fit, after many years of neglect, to display an awareness of the Jewish question? This question should come under review now, not only because it is long overdue, but also because we live in a country which has the largest Jewish community in the world.

In this field of work we have also put ourselves all the way out in left field, and we're still dangling there, incapable yet of reshaping our policy so that we can find our way back onto the road that will bring us into the mainstream of Jewish life and thereby assist us to make a really meaningful contribution in the struggle of the American people as a whole for peace, democracy, security and socialism.

Over many years comrades engaged in Jewish work have spoken out on many issues which were vitally important to the Jewish people. Because of our know-it-all attitudes and past answers, giving directives to the Jewish people (from the outside looking in) we only tend-

with the open collaboration of their leadership with the reactionary forces of our country. Since these reactionaries were trying to disrupt the unity or common actions of the democratic forces in Jewish life, it was important to build up the American Jewish Labor Council as a vehicle to counteract these Social - Democratic machinations.

This organization, another of our Left centers, folded up. Where we tended to go in the proper direction and develop perspectives of work in the Jewish mass organizations, somehow we had to drag along our organizations, and give them their proper place in our overall planning. And when these "advanced centers" did manage to get into some united front activity, it didn't last. Besides the influence of objective conditions, our "advanced" programs, slogans and methods of work continually plagued us.

Just as we find that we must shed and revise some of our thinking and methods of work

which this re-examination is disclosing, so those comrades engaged in Jewish work, with the assistance of the National Committee, must evaluate and examine the status and composition of the Jewish community in our country and adopt a program that is both realistic and modest, to which we can apply ourselves to bring us closer and finally help to make us an integral part of the Jewish community. I believe that more knowledge and an appreciation of the contributions made by the Jewish people in the development of our democracy and the history of our country cannot be over-emphasized. An effort in this direction was begun by the Jewish Left (although not exclusively) during the recent Tercentennial celebrations.

Our approach to Jewish work for too long a time has been weighted down with the thinking and cultural patterns of our Jewish comrades and intellectuals, who brought with them to this country the rich political, intellectual and trade union

experiences from Czarist Russia, pre-war Poland, and other countries. It is these comrades who helped form the nucleus and devoted core of our party in its formative days. To this day, their rich class struggle traditions and experiences have sustained them and helped us in carrying on, despite all the corrupting influences of our society and the sectarianism of our movement. The Jewish Left (Yiddish speaking sector) has been and still is a firm, loyal base of strength for our movement.

But the thinking, forms of organization, methods of work, interests and outlook of these older Jewish comrades have been static and inflexible for a long time. It is these comrades in the leadership of the Jewish movement who through the press and mass organizations which they have led for many years have in the main set policy in Jewish work.

I believe that a change is due. A fresh approach is needed. (Continued on Page 10)

## What Form Should Party Take?

By S. G.

CHICAGO.

WITH THE victorious Socialist Revolution, Communist parties were organized by workers all over the world modeled after the concepts of organization of the Bolshevik Party. Since that time we Americans in our patriotic struggle for the rights of the American people have trained several generations of Communist cadres.

Hundreds of thousands of men and women, who passed through our ranks, learned of the struggle for socialism, and millions of Americans are aware of the fact that we Communists propose a socialist society.

Yet despite our positive accomplishments, we have been plagued by left sectarianism, a lack of inner democracy, nepotism, and the cult of the individual that emasculates free discussion when an admired leader of our party takes a position.

Too, we are stifled by an organizational sectarianism under which personal loyalty to the party leadership, important as it is, becomes more important than the struggle for socialist principles.

We can add to this the cavalier way in which sincere, class-conscious elements in the party have been dropped from the rolls, or even expelled after years of devotion and loyalty to the cause of socialism. Is this because of the type of organization that we have? All indications point to a social organism out of tune with the present historical condition prevailing in the United States.

THE FORM of organization of our party is based on Lenin's concept of democratic centralism. That is to say, we took over the format mechanically without considering our own situation. This is understandable, particularly in a period where it was the Bolshevik Party that led the first Socialist Revolution, and emerged through war and action. But the Bolshevik Party was created during a revolutionary period of Russian history. Russian capitalism developed in an economy that was largely agrarian and semi-feudal, under conditions of cruel despotism and terrorism on the part of the Russian government. As a result, the Russian working class and peasantry were forced to adopt

revolutionary tactics to get even the most elementary concessions. The 1905 revolution, so brutally crushed by the Tsar, convinced the Russian people that their only salvation was the overthrowing of the Tsarist regime.

LENIN sparked the organization of the Bolshevik Party to implement this decision of the Russian masses in general, but in particular, to make possible the Socialist Revolution. (The revolutionary ferment among the Russian people was already evident in the 1890s, and Comrade Lenin succeeded, after years of struggle, in forming the Bolshevik Party in 1912, a year in which revolutionary outbreaks took place among the workers and peasants of Russia, and even in their armed forces). The historical situation in Russia called for the organization of a cohesive, monolithic force for socialism, operating on the principles of democratic centralism, to lead the revolution.

Does it follow then that we must model our party along the lines of the Communist Party of



the Soviet Union? I submit that this is the nub and crux of our present crisis! It is clear that we in America have not been in revolutionary ferment, and that our party, organizationally geared to this concept of organizing and leading the revolutionary ferment of the masses, is eating itself up in the frustration engendered by the contradiction between our organizational concepts and our program. This cannibalization could become complete and our party destroyed as a significant factor in American life unless we can create the kind of party structure that fits into the present historical period in the United States.

WHAT WE need now is a mass party for socialism, open to all honest men and women, and founded on completely

democratic principles in the American tradition. We can be confident that this new mass party for socialism will never desert the cause of the working class simply because we have the trained Communist cadre, the hundreds of thousands of people who have passed through our ranks, and especially the millions of Americans who understand that socialism is a reality and an example that exists in one-third of the world.

Should we move into a situation that is a revolutionary one, we can then adopt, if we choose the Bolshevik type of organization. We have the experience, the standards, and the know-how, things that the Russians had to learn the hard way. Further, we have an enormous working class that has shown how well disciplined it is at the trade union level.

WHAT form will this new party take? As with the general run of American organizations, this could be in the form of autonomous groups that affiliate through local and state bodies to the national office. The general policies would be laid down at the national conventions, with the state conventions laying out specific policies to carry out the decisions of the national convention. Locally, the clubs would work out their policies to implement and carry out the recommendations of both state and national conventions. Complete democracy would be practiced in all aspects of organizational work, and this would be a natural result of such autonomous groupings that voluntarily affiliate to a central body. This organization, of course, would be open to all people who honestly profess socialist ideas. This is just one of many paths that the new mass party for socialism could take. But this is the one that the writer feels would be the most successful.

We can carry on the ideological struggle for socialism in this way among the widest American masses. We can support and spark the immediate demands of the people from a much wider base, and carry our weight with a new party of this type. We can put an end to the left sectarianism, the splits, the doctrinairism and the isolation that has plagued the left-wing movement. We can achieve the widest unity for socialism. Forward to the new party for socialism; for a free and democratic America!

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her secret output that on her death-bed she asked her sister to destroy what she would find.

Four poems of hers were published during her lifetime without her prior knowledge, and the uneventfulness of their reception contributed nothing to her own confidence in them. At most she could have had the wan satisfaction of sometimes feeling that something she had written "seemed to her" very good.

Levine fails not only of humanism but of any real critical understanding of the uncompromisingly rebellious quality which was the essence of her poetic greatness, and which expressed itself in her view even of the world outside herself! In the audacities of her imagery and phraseology, the profound impertinence of her challenges to Deity, etc.

Also since when was Poe a "contemporary" of Emily Dickinson? Poe died in 1849, at which time Emily Dickinson was 19 years old, with her decades of poetic output still ahead of her.

-W. R.



## Heart of The Controversy

HARTFORD, Conn.

Dear Editor:

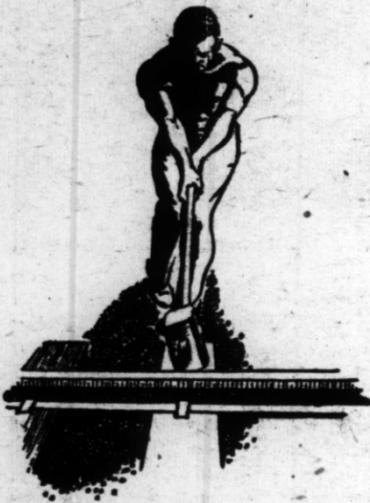
The West now faces a successfully industrialized Russia. Russia achieved this industrial success in forty years. This makes an irresistible magnet for the millions upon millions of people in the new nations that have emerged since the war, and that are about to emerge. They, too, want to leap, as has Soviet Russia, into a new world. And they are going to.

Will they take the West, or will they look to Russia, as a model and a helper? The two conflicting ideologies on this earth are Capitalism and Communism. What is Communism? The dictionary gives us the following definition: "Any system of social organization in which goods are held in common." Capitalism, in the broadest sense, gives primacy to private-profit, or in other words, greed, and this makes gain the evil of life; another name for it is the Market-Principle, which seeks unlimited production which always ends in depression and chaos for all. Communism, on the contrary, gives primacy to the State-Principle and insists on the subjugation of economic forces to the control of the state; another name for it is Socialism.

What is Socialism? "Socialism is an economic theory of social organization based on collective or governmental ownership and management of the essential means for the production and distribution of goods, so that 'All' share the good things of life."

Communism is a reaction against Capitalism. Capitalism is a barbaric and vicious system, conceived by man to enslave and exploit his fellow man. The most common expression made by businessmen, prior to the Roosevelt years was: "I can do with my wealth and my property whatever I want."

The capitalists did not like men to organize in communities, such as unions, but insisted that (Continued on Page 10)



ed to make our isolation more complete. And incidentally this also had its counter-effect on many of our people working in these mass organizations. To this day some comrades working in the larger Jewish mass organizations are not satisfied with our position on the Mideast crisis and unfortunately still believe that arms to Israel is the best solution.

The 1946 resolution on Communist work among the Jewish masses, the Williamson 1950 report in behalf of the National Committee, "For a United Front Policy Among the Jewish People - Sharpen the Struggle Against Bourgeois Nationalism" (this title bears within itself the seeds of our isolation) and the two articles by Comrade Rosen in the 1953 Political Affairs, "On Zionism and Bourgeois Nationalism," while they contain many fine points, which we haven't even tried to put into application as yet, nevertheless, in an overall analysis, headed us straight for left field. Each of the reports and the discussion articles indicate that the main enemy of the Jewish people is not big business, but Social Democracy, bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism.

I do not mean to imply that discussions on the question of bourgeois nationalism, etc., are not important. Of course they are, but not in the manner which they have been projected heretofore. All our heaviest and most learned ideological and theoretical artillery is zeroed in on these supposedly main targets, while the chief enemy, the 60 Families, remain unscathed.

We were told that many workers under Social-Democratic influence were disgusted

## Letters from Readers

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men should be treated like individual atoms: such as the right to work as wage-slaves; the right to life in company-houses; the right to buy the necessities of life, from the company-store. During, and after the Great Depression, a reaction against this took place by the state stepping in to protect individuals against exploitation.

Here, in capsule form, is the heart of the Capitalist vs. Communist controversy; the attempt to cling to the past, the refusal to change or to accept a new concept. From the West, we hear the old refrain: "It is unfortunate that Communism is doing so well, and just at a time when we were so sure that Capitalism was just the best system ever." Change is inevitable. Therefore the West must learn to change too. It just isn't good to cling so tenaciously and so stubbornly to the old way of life.

HENRY ADAMS

### Most Disappointed

New York

Dear Editor:

I've been following the discussion in your paper and other Communist periodicals and am most disappointed.

The same old phrases . . . same old platitudes . . . the same old breast beating and the same old arrogance that only the Communists know it all!

How many times have we heard how self-critical the Communist are? Or all about the principles of criticism and self-criticism? Or about the evils of left-sectarianism or right deviationism (am I using the right jargon?) whatever these terms mean! And the petty bureaucrats abetted by the top leadership, go around with a chip on their shoulders or write letters to the discussion page with an attitude which says: "See! Only the Communists can come out and confess their sins." What self-righteous petty! people! Phui!

No where except in this Sunday's article by George Samson (limited as it is) is an attempt made to discuss the issues. Everyone from Dennis down exclaims (with pride?) that the Party has made mistakes. And all the petty section organizers and unit organizers solemnly agree, "Yes we have made mistakes! No discussion of specific problems! Indeed, a veiled threat by Foster not to go overboard in the discussion—this is the face of admitted bankruptcy of the Party influence and its policies for the past 10 years.

Gentlemen, for the past ten years I have contributed to your fund drive. I have raised money from every source that I could. I was good for a couple of hundred dollars. This year I will not. Not until I see some action—not words. And the first action would be for the leadership to step down. They have

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# The American Road to Socialism

## Dangerous Features of the 'New Look'

By JARAMA

IT TOOK the intercession of the Communist International to help us get rid of Lovestone & Company with his theory of exceptionalism.

We became the only Party on the American scene to foresee a depression, prepare for it and mobilize the people for struggle.

It took the comradely advice of Jacques Duclos to break the hold that Browder, with his theory of benevolent American super-imperialism and peaceful integration of the Negro people into full citizenship in American life, had on our Party. To some extent we were prepared, therefore, for the post-war onslaught of big business against the trade unions, the cold war policies and attacks on civil rights and the Negro people and the general attack against the civil liberties of the American people.

Today it seems that many among our leaders resent the intervention of those "foreigners" in our "domestic Party affairs."

Many of them, without surprise, were, of course, staunch supporters of Lovestone and Browder in misleadership. The fact that the advice received was proven correct seems to have no bearing on the case. These leaders are making a "declaration of independence" and are prepared to farther a plan for bringing socialism to America: a "brand new made in America" version that has no roots or ties with Marxism, Leninism, or, God forbid the expression, Stalinism.

MAX WEISS quotes Lenin from the "Proletarian Revolution And The Renegade Kautsky" to justify the present "new look." He pulls a sentence out of a polemic that demolishes the very position he advocates. It is not necessary to go into the final prophetic fallacy of peaceful transition through parliamentary elections and the full freedom of political expression to reestablish capitalism. The very vehicle that is proposed as the means bringing such conditions into being, i. e., to curb the monopolists, etc. and legislate their tremen-



dous power into ineffectiveness is castigated in the following terms by Lenin in that very same pamphlet:

"The so-called 'Peoples' Labor State is just a paraphrase of the old 'Free People's Labor State' which the German Social Democrats paraded in the '70's and which Engels branded an absurdity. The term 'People's Labor State' is a phrase worthy of petty-bourgeois democrats, a phrase which substitutes non-class concepts for class concepts. . . . What about the need for the proletariat to crush the bourgeois resistance to expropriation—of that not a word."

IT MIGHT be well that Comrade Dennis, Weiss, etc. really read, or rather try to understand, because we are sure they read "The Proletarian Revolution And The Renegade Kautsky," and see how their path to Socialism paraded as the "new look" was copied by Vandervelde in 1918 after a map of the 1870's condemned as a hoax and leading to a blind alley by Engels and Lenin in turn.

Now this is not the first time quotations have been pulled out of context from Marx and Lenin in an attempt to establish positions for those revolutionaries that are, in fact, opposite to what they really expressed. Kautsky and leaders of the 2nd International established their entire philosophies on the basis of such abstractions from Marx. And in the relatively recent Browder period this was standard policy in the U.S.A.

Joe Clark intimates that Stalin's brutality makes it easy to demolish all that he stood for (at the moment, at least for the past few decades, it was pictured as all bad). The dangerous feature of the "new look" articles of Dennis, Weiss and Clark is that they use Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin to demolish not only Stalin but the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin as well.

These are not simply the result of developments in the Soviet Union. The tendency to gravitate in a reformist direction existed before in our Party, as referred to above, i. e., Lovestoneism, Browderism. The movement in

that direction once again was in progress to a marked degree long before the publication of Khrushchev's report. The report simply stepped up the process.

SCIENTIFIC evaluation and historical data of the past dealing with development of capitalism seem to have been forgotten at best or repudiated as anachronism that have absolutely no bearing on the "exceptional situation in the U.S.A."—an embarrassment and anathema that ostensibly haunts our leaders to the jailhouse.

These scientific studies place as the determining factor for the successful accomplishment of a change from capitalism to socialism: the conscious knowledge of the class conflict; the understanding that there is no such animal as "pure democracy"; that as long as there are conflicting classes, it is only for the class that has the state power in its hands that democracy prevails and there is repression for the others; that a ruling class historically never gives up its position peacefully; that the working class, when it is conscious of its power and gets the support of the majority of the people, must take control of the state apparatus (through parliamentary elections preferably — by other means, if necessary) and transform it and use it in its own interest, and, therefore, against the interest of the capitalists; that in establishing a democracy for itself, it is thereby also establishing democracy for the vast majority of people.

Nevertheless, the state apparatus still remains an instrument of repression that will disappear only when classes disappear and there is no further need for a democratic state. Only after many years of change in the economic structure and a change in social conditions, in which classes have been eliminated and the socialist economic structures have been established throughout the world, will the need for a democratic state (proletarian dictatorship) disappear and full freedom and brotherhood be realized.

## SOME VIEWS ON JEWISH QUESTION

(Continued from Page 7)

ed. The sectarianism of our whole movement also had its reflection in the Jewish field. For too long have we tried to work with forms, content and concepts which were not characteristic, acceptable or suitable for an American approach (with Jewish content).

### THE FREIHEIT

As of today the Morning Freiheit is still discussing the 20th Congress, the Khrushchev report, devoting much space to its readers and featuring special articles. It has reprinted the National Committee statement and has written some penetrating and hard-hitting editorials since the 20th Congress. But after this is said, it is sad to have to say that the Morning Freiheit has not yet gotten into the debate and discussion going on around the Dennis Report, nor has it enlightened its readership and following, nor indicated with the same boldness and fighting spirit the reappraisals taking place. Nor has it participated in the debate around some of the concepts advanced by some of our leaders on the path to Socialism in this country.

Since the paper gets itself involved in lengthy discussions about what is going on in the Soviet Union and People's De-

mocracies and correctly attempts to answer slanders which appear in the Jewish press, how about some attention to the debate now going on in the U.S.A.?

The paper also has not even begun to indicate whether or not there is any discussion or review of the work in the Jewish (Yiddish speaking sector in the main) left organizations, or our approach to landsmanshaften, the Workmen's Circle (despite our apparent isolation at present). In a word, major attention and emphasis is devoted to events and discussions abroad, while there is as yet no discussion around the developments in our Party and the left movement generally.

We also need some study on the trends and moods that exist among the English-speaking Jews of our country, the organizations they belong to, the Anglo-Jewish press they are reading and supporting (in ever greater number), where are they heading, etc. How effective is the progressive Anglo-Jewish press, how can it be improved, etc. And of course a review of the work of our comrades in some of these organizations and perspectives for further improving their work.

Jewish organizations have over the years developed an awareness and sensitivity on the

question of equal rights for the Negro people and the relation this fight has to the struggle against anti-Semitism. While the Jewish Left as a whole has done pathetically little in an organized way, here and there comrades locally have made excellent contributions on the bus boycott and around desegregation. The American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, the Rabbinical Council, have taken forthright positions and actions on these questions. These new trends and the potentials inherent in them need closer examination and study.

A wide discussion among Jewish Communists engaged in Jewish work must and should develop all over the country NOW. Whatever body or committee functioned as a National Jewish Commission must be brought together and a new vitality given it by adding fresh forces working in the Jewish mass organizations, workers from the shops, etc.

The older comrades, who for years have given direction to Jewish work, plus the fresh ideas and opinions of those more closely associated with the Jewish people and their organizations, can together help to get us into the mainstream of Jewish affairs in our country. A perspective for growth, I feel, demands such an approach.

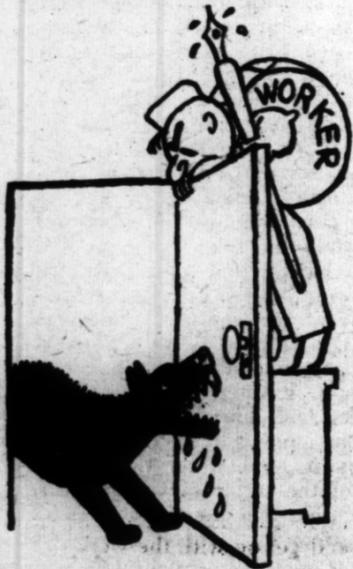
NEITHER Fordism, Keynesianism nor super-imperialism have affected the inevitable course of capitalist development, the aspiration for national liberation, and the role of the working class as the only force that can bring about the historic change that Marx, Engels and Lenin forecast—based on factual study of history, sociology and economics

Those facts are slurred over in order to justify a search for an idealistic path through our heritage of "freedom, justice and democracy," catchwords that, covering up the dictatorship of the capitalists, at most reflect the goals that the masses of American people have been striving to achieve.

Those objectives, for which they fought, languished in jail, were ostracized as pariahs or were brutally murdered, were never realized. Though entered as legal statutes in our Constitution, they have never been enforced when through their use any minimum danger faced the ruling class. Today, through enactment of legislation, even the few "legal rights" for which there has been 180 years of struggle are under constant barrage.

When we look at the program advanced for the immediate future, namely, the call for the promotion of a NEW PARTY of Socialism, the contradiction between what is said we should stand for and what is proposed as the course of action appears

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## Letters from Readers

(Continued from Page 10)

proven their incompetence from Foster right down. They are not qualified to lead, nor to conduct this discussion. Neither non-Party people nor many Party people believe in them. It's the best thing that could happen at this time. This request includes also many of The Worker writers and editors.

Fellers, your intentions were good but you haven't got what it takes, to lead a political party. Therefore, you have my vote of no-confidence. Step down! We need new blood! New ideas! Fresh approaches and you are not capable of giving them. All your articles and words since the 20th Congress belie your ability to change. Your attitudes, your words in your articles, your whole approach stands in refutation of your ability to do anything but continue in the same old way.

One final word about the paper. The Daily isn't worthwhile reading. There's nothing in it to read. That is due to the wrong conception of what it should do. It's based on idea of making it mass paper. Ridiculous! You haven't got a mass base so how can you have a mass circulation. Right now it should be turned over almost exclusively to discussion or the many problems faced by Communists and Socialists and how to go about building mass base. The workers don't read it. Only the people who are in the Party and a few others out of loyalty and habit buy it, look through it and then turn to the other newspapers to get their information. The Worker on Sunday's is a little better in that it has a large discussion page. But it too doesn't fulfil its function. I think you should conserve your monies and put out a paper with many more pages on Sunday alone and two or three times more a week, with heavy discussion pages on all the problems we face. After we have straightened out our own house, then we can consider what to do about making it the paper for the worker to buy and read.

This letter has been much longer than I thought it would be. But I feel so strongly about what has happened that I just had to give vent to my feelings since there is no other place one can do it—in or out the Party.

Sincerely  
—G. S.



# The American Road to Socialism

## Is It 'Cult of the Individual' or Bureaucracy?

By HOMER CHASE

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

The Daily Worker, Foster and Dennis have recognized the error of the cult of the individual in the CPSU. Neither Dennis, Foster nor the Daily Worker takes the position that bureaucracy and the cult of the individual are the main problems of the CPUSA. They have evidently not examined past writings in Political Affairs, in the Daily Worker, in draft resolutions, in political work (such as the Progressive Party) to determine if the cult of the individual

is the main weakness in the work of the U. S. Communist Party, both before and after 1945. For example, Foster and Dennis haven't mentioned that they suppressed Jim Keller's criticism on the first draft resolution after 1945. The Daily Worker still doesn't explain why they suppressed critical letters from 1945 to 1956.

### On Chauvinism

Gene Dennis states that the 1949-1953 campaign against chauvinism should have been a mass campaign rather than an internal one. This is the understatement of the year. It is possible that the national leaders started this campaign with the idea that it would facilitate the struggle for Negro rights. I supported it in the beginning because white chauvinism did exist in the Party. Most of it proved unintentional and the result of poor national leadership on the Negro question.

However, this campaign soon developed into a really vicious attack on the membership and secondary leadership by the na-

tional office. Expulsions reached heights never dreamed of by Browder. Many more members were made ineffective because of unjustified slander. Members were expelled without steps provided for in the Party constitution, often under the guise of security or "the difficult objective situation." Both Negro and white left the Party in large numbers.

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

Without numerous articles and speeches unduly praising Foster and Dennis it is very possible that most of the serious errors would have been avoided. Therefore a preface to the Dennis article on Khrushchev would have been strengthened by an explanation to the U. S. membership on his role in the so-called campaign against white chauvinism. The role of individual top

functionaries and National Committee members in that campaign also needs to be examined and explained. Certainly enough of them followed undemocratic methods between 1949 and 1953. Their unanimity in accepting that section of Dennis' report was a shocking non-Marxist act. The first step toward becoming a modest part of such struggles as Montgomery is admission by leadership that they have substituted dogma and directives for Marxist thinking and struggle.

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

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

### Reject the Report

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

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

I would urge on the National Committee:

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

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

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

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

## Examination of the New "Look"

(Con't from page 10)

in very sharp focus. The shell game of taking the theories of dead men, who therefore cannot contradict, and presenting the very opposite to what they said and wrote as a logical development of their mode of reasoning, cannot be applied. The field in which there can be nebulous speculation is gone and we are up smack against realities. A solution to this dilemma has been found however: "Change reality to fit the projected theories."

★  
AS IN THE PAST when a crisis arose (and the present crisis is the most serious one in our Party—one that may well lead to its liquidation) we have heard the cry: "We must base our program on the specific conditions, the exceptional situation in the U. S. A."

But what is being proposed in a distorted fashion is a mechanical application of a line that applies to conditions in countries other than the U.S.A. In France the CP has the support of mil-

lions of workers—the S.P. has a mass following. They have had the experience of Socialists heading their government—which did not lead to socialism, but led to the preservation of capitalism. Together these two parties could probably muster the majority of the French population and guarantee, through the necessary legislation and action thereafter, the fruition of socialism.

In certain countries like India and Indonesia the majority of political organizations, including those holding government control (which are anti-Communist) are committed to socialization of industry. These newly independent countries, with some of their industries already socialized, may well be kept on the road to socialism, even though the political organizations in government control are non-Communist, under the impact of economic assistance, sweep and influence of the socialist countries. In those countries the Communist Parties, while in the minority, have millions of supporters and without a doubt will play a major role in guiding the movement, insisting that it be kept on the correct course.

★  
BUT WE, as Marxists, cannot adopt a program based on those developing trends since they in no way apply to conditions in the U.S.A. Yet, there is speculation here about the promotion of a hodge-podge that encompasses both of those trends. We read and hear of a "new movement for Socialism" based on unity or a bloc with fragmentary semi or non-Marxist sects and groupings that are even more isolated from any mass movement than we, and the additional projection that such a "new party" should even include liberals.

Let's stop dreaming—most of those groupings could bring only chaos or confusion; others would not touch us with a ten-foot pole, and those that are honest and sincere in the cause of Socialism would be attracted to a real Marxist Party even as a Curie, a Haldane, a Nexo, a Barbusse, a Picasso found their way to the Parties in their country.

The above in no way implies that we should not seek a common basis for action, joint or parallel, with any or all of those groups.

The realities in the U.S.A. are that the majority of the workers



are not class conscious, are not socialist minded. There is every historic and economic reason for their lack of awareness of their class interests, including our incompetent manner of work. Our country does, however, have a history of militant class struggle, of accomplishments by socialist movements in which our Party made significant contributions in the past.

There are many issues and problems that a small CP, based on a correct program can tackle. There will be many hard struggles in the not so distant future—the economic system will bring them. To the extent that we play a positive role in these struggles—the small ones and the big ones—and to the extent that we bring class consciousness through those struggles and seek to educate and bring individuals into our movement, to that extent can we make the path to socialism easier for America.

To those who advocate the "new look": show us wherein Marx, Engels and Lenin were wrong in their basic theories (we do not refer to an incorrect evaluation they made here and there on a specific situation); show us on the basis of historical analysis of the class forces and realities of American life that the path you advocate is correct.

Do not write pamphlets that mean all things to all men, weighted with phrases about Marxism-Leninism, and than a Joe Clark, a Howard Fast and an Alan Max write petty-bourgeois columns that emphasize the non-Marxist features of your position, followed with disclaimers on contributions made by a James Allen or a Herbert Aptheker, two of the very few Marxist scholars we have in our movement. If you have a theorem, try to prove it! Do not present your position as being Marxist or Leninist when its essence is the very opposite of Marxism-Leninism.