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INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION AND COMMUNITY WORK

S.F., New York

The major area of industrial work for our Party is of course at the point of production--in the shops, with particular attention to organized shops. But an industrial concentration policy must encompass the entire working class--organized and unorganized, in industry as well as in working-class communities--thus involving the entire Party in developing ties with masses of workers. The activities of our industrial and community organizations must complement each other. To the extent that a relationship is established between the two, our industrial concentration policy will be a successful one.

An approach was developed in New York in the spring of 1966 at a State Committee meeting dealing with this question, as well as at our State Convention. We established three target industries (needle trades, distributive and a service industry), laying down guidelines for the comrades in industry and setting tasks for the entire Party, with the aim of turning the community organizations to a policy of working-class and industrial concentration.

In the industries selected the major task is to bring into activity and leadership the large mass of the most exploited and discriminated-against members--the Negro and Puerto Rican workers who make up a tremendous underpaid and unrepresented segment in them. In the communities, the major task is to establish a concentration area that would, by its composition, necessarily include large numbers of workers in the concentration industries--a predominantly working class, Negro and Puerto Rican area.

A Program for the Bronx

The Bronx County organization, together with a number of comrades from industry, set out to implement these decisions. A thorough discussion, on an ideological as well as on an organizational level, was initiated in the County Committee and then brought into all of the community clubs. It was immediately recognized that an ongoing educational program must accompany the organizational tasks undertaken in order to permeate the entire Party with a working-class ideology and orientation.

A county concentration area was selected--a large, low- and middle-

income housing project, overwhelmingly Negro and Puerto Rican in composition. In addition, several shops in the concentration industries were selected for special attention.

Forms of activity were then explored and selected to put the program into motion. The first major step was canvassing the project with The Worker. A special team of comrades, drawn from all clubs, was established for this purpose. They have done their work well, with the result that a regular bundle of The Worker, both the mid-week and week-end editions, is distributed. A large number of new readers have been won for our press; a number have become paid subscribers; and now, after a year and a half of consistent effort, we have established a base from which to develop broad activities in the community and to recruit into the Party. In the course of this activity, several contacts have been made for work in the concentration industries, and others as well.

The shop concentration has taken a little longer to develop because of the need to establish a more direct link with the industrial and trade union comrades concerned. In recent months, one of the selected shops has been leafleted by several comrades from the club in that area, with the result that a trade union peace organization has now been established there.

Another task placed before the community comrades was to turn the attention of all their mass organizations (peace, political action, etc.) to the working class communities. A continuous educational campaign relating all activities to our concentration policy has brought an awareness to our comrades in mass work which has enabled them to integrate such a working class orientation into the programs of their organizations. Specific forms, particularly in peace and political action work are becoming evident in the concentration area.

Finally, every club and every comrade are responsible for developing some activity within their own communities which will extend the industrial concentration policy beyond the concentration area itself and provide comrades in industry with the names of members, contacts, friends and family who are in the concentration industries.

Integration of Work

One of the problems requiring most careful consideration is the relationship to be established between our Party in industry and in the community. The Bronx County organization and the industrial section concerned have begun to work out such a relationship. Comrades in concentration industries are to be represented at the county committee meetings and invited to lead discussions in the community clubs on questions relating to industrial and trade union problems. A county leader has been meeting with the industrial section and a liason has been established on problems that arise from day to day. Representation at our respective conventions was exchanged.

The local shop leafleted by community comrades was one chosen by the industrial comrades. The comrades from industry have given us the names of trade

unionists in our county to be visited with The Worker. The industrial section, participating in the New York City peace referendum, has mobilized its membership to concentrate once a week in the Bronx, and after this campaign is over, each of their members who is able to do so will canvass with the Bronx press team once a month. These are some examples of the mechanics involved in developing a joint effort to carry out our industrial concentration policy.

Among other immediate activities designed to root the Party in the working class is the establishment of ties through our mass work with community-based trade union projects. Such projects have been established in our concentration community and are concerned with such issues as housing, sanitation and police brutality in the ghetto areas. The broader movements have not yet related to these projects, and the forms for this are yet to be developed. From this must flow a more active participation of trade unionists in the politics of the community with ultimate participation in electoral activities and the fielding of labor candidates at all levels of government.

Implicit in all of the plans and activities outlined are the objectives of broadening the participation of the working class--and particularly the Negro and Puerto Rican masses--in all phases of mass activity; increasing and elevating their leadership in the ranks of organized labor; and building the Party and our press. This calls for a clearly defined industrial concentration policy of the State organization, implemented with the necessary ideological and educational program that will reach into all areas of the Party.

* * *

ON WORKING IN PARLIAMENT

From The Memoirs of William Gallacher:

Lenin covered one eye with his hand and looked at me intently. "I would like to ask you a question," he said. "You say that the bourgeoisie successfully manages to bribe everyone who is elected to parliament. Now if the workers of England had sent you to parliament to represent their interests would you become corrupted?" I looked at him with surprise and muttered: "What a strange question!" "Comrade Gallacher," Lenin continued, "that is a very important question. Would you permit the bourgeoisie to bribe you?" "No," I replied, "I cannot allow anyone or anything to corrupt me."

Lenin had been leaning forward, looking at me. When he heard my answer, he straightened and, smiling broadly, said: "Comrade Gallacher, you must make the workers send you to parliament. Then you will show them how an incorruptible revolutionary works there. Show them how to utilize parliament in a revolutionary way."

In the course of our conversation I was forced to admit that we had made a serious mistake when we left the working class of England to the mercy of MacDonald, Henderson and Co.

(Comrade Gallacher, a leading British Communist, did serve in parliament for many years of his life. There he fulfilled Lenin's behest.)

CONTENT OF THE DAILY WORLD

By John Pittman

The decision to launch a Marxist daily newspaper was based on a political estimate. There was a happy conjuncture of necessity and possibility. The need for such a paper was apparent to all who participated in making the decision. So, too, was the possibility of launching it, thanks to some substantial initial contributions.

Differences arose, however, as to the possibility of maintaining a Marxist daily newspaper, for everyone knows that newspapers with far greater financial and material resources have been unable to survive. Newspaper publishing in today's inflationary and highly competitive situation is a precarious venture at best. And some feared the initial contributions would be spent in a few months, before the new paper could achieve acceptance by sufficient readers to sustain it.

But the thinking of a majority prevailed, and the new paper comes into being on the conviction of this majority that it can and will be maintained.

There is, however, a difference of opinion even among this majority as to how the Daily World can be maintained. Some express the view that its content will be the decisive factor. Let the Daily World give people what they want and people will buy it, according to this view. It is as simple as that.

Too simple! It has, indeed, a grain of truth. But the sound grain lies amidst chaff, and the chaff can be dangerous.

I would like to take this sound grain and re-word it: "Let the Daily World give the people who will distribute, promote, sell and solicit contributions for it what they want, and they will build it and maintain it."

It should not be difficult to contrast the two concepts. The one full of chaff would place the full burden of the paper's maintenance on the staff that produces it. It takes no account of the functions of circulation, distribution and promotion, for which big metropolitan newspapers and newspaper chains pay enormous sums, in many cases more money per week than the entire legacy bequeathed to the Daily World. It glosses over the financing function -- the obvious but all-important distinction between a paper that lives off advertising revenues and one that can expect only a trickle of revenue from advertising.

Indeed, a close look at the mortality statistics in the daily newspaper field reveals that these functions -- distribution, circulation, promotion and financing through advertising -- are the decisive factors for survival. To perceive the importance of the advertising function, one has only to compare the space allocated to advertising with that given to non-advertising material in any daily newspaper in the country.

In commercial newspaper publishing, circulation is a commodity, to be bought and paid for. Whoever believes content to be the decisive factor for survival should try to imagine what would happen to any daily commercial newspaper suddenly boycotted by all its advertisers and deprived of funds for circulation, distribution and promotion. In such an event, not all its content, neither the factual accuracy and comprehensiveness of its coverage, nor the excellence of its craftsmanship, nor the "human interest" appeal of its features, nor its comics, sports, handicapper, cross-word puzzle, astrology column, photographs (nude, semi-nude and fully clothed), cartoons, illustrations, advice to the lovelorn, nor the entire bag-and-baggage of journalistic gimmicks -- none of these nor all of them together will save it.

In the newspaper world, such truths have attained the status of bromides. But their repetition is compelled by the persistence of the fallacy that all a Marxist daily newspaper must do to survive is strike a happy balance of reporting, features and editorial gimmicks and -- presto! -- it "has it made." If the congested graveyard of commercial newspapers, which enjoyed financial resources immeasurably greater than any Marxist daily newspaper can expect to enjoy in a capitalist society, bears testimony to the deadliness of this delusion, why some Marxists should cling to it defies understanding.

To grasp the importance of the non-editorial functions for a Marxist daily newspaper, one has only to observe what emphasis is given them by the mass circulation Marxist dailies of other countries. L'Humanite, for instance, and Unita. Or, for that matter, by the Marxist dailies in some socialist countries. To my knowledge, every Sunday in Paris is a "Red Sunday" when the French Communist Party builds the press, its members canvassing house-to-house for new readers and new contributors. The London Morning Star has a permanent press building apparatus and seeks contributions the year around. Moreover, it should be noted that in these countries the political climate is less hostile, the commercial distributing outlets more cooperative, the newspaper reading public conditioned to political journalism, and the number of press builders, distributors and contributors much more numerous than in our country.

From such considerations it follows that the functions of distributing, circulating, promoting and obtaining contributions are decisive for the survival of the Daily World. Their importance cannot be exaggerated. A Marxist daily newspaper will survive only if these functions are carried out effectively and continuously by the Marxist party and other sections of the population convinced of the correctness of the Marxist solution of society's ills.

* * *

Now, to return to the sound grain of truth about the content of a Marxist daily newspaper, the founders, organizers and staff of the Daily World have taken this into account. Readers of Party Affairs and of The Worker, as well as participants in any of the many discussions relative to launching the new paper, are familiar with the numerous ideas and suggestions presented about content. I think it can be said that the editorial staff is fully committed to the task of giving the people who will distribute, sell and solicit contributions for the Daily World the content

they want. The staff and the paper's founders and organizers have weighed the suggestions and ideas, and have reached a consensus on a number of general principles, as follows:

1. The standpoint of the Daily World will be that of the working class, its philosophical outlook that of Marxism-Leninism.
2. Although not an official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, the Daily World will reflect the views of the party and its leaders.
3. The Daily World will determine its own news priorities and news values in accord with its standpoint and philosophical outlook.
4. It will strive for factual accuracy and excellence in craftsmanship.
5. It will try to have the most modern and attractive type dress and layout.
6. It will strive for national coverage.
7. It will strive for comprehensiveness of coverage in four areas of struggle: peace, national liberation, labor and youth.
8. It will offer material in the categories of entertainment, recreation and culture.
9. It will strive for ideological clarity through dialogue, symposia and polemics.
10. It will produce a 12-page newspaper five days a week, and in addition, on the fifth day, a 12-page magazine.

By working to realize these aims, the staff believes it can give the founders, organizers and builders of the Daily World the kind of newspaper they want.

*

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ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY*

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For centuries the religious institutions worked hand in hand with the existing ruling classes. For centuries the Church organizations exerted all their energies to maintain the status quo. At the head of this endeavor was the Catholic Church.

Age of Change

We are living in the age of change, however. It is a common saying these days that everything is changing at a very rapid pace.

This correct general statement, however, needs further scrutiny in order really to understand the meaning of these changes. We are witnessing a rapid change in the development of subjective forces that realize the need of doing something fundamental about the poverty of 30 million Americans, about rebuilding the ghettos, about teaching a trade to hundreds of thousands of young people, about putting them into useful and remunerative jobs, about building schools, libraries, homes, hospitals, etc.--in short, about implementing now the recommendations of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. But in contrast to this, the actual conditions of the masses suffering in poverty, the objective conditions, are going from bad to worse. This is especially true in relation to those who make up the affluent part of our society.

Signs of growing numbers of people who recognize the need to change the objective conditions of millions of Americans are all around us.

First and perhaps foremost is the youth of our nation. There are those in the forefront of the struggle for equal rights and opportunities. There are those fighting to end the war in Vietnam. There are those campaigning for Senator McCarthy. There are also the different shadings of the New Left, the leaders of the Negro people's movement and the progressive section of the trade union movement.

It is interesting to note that the need of immediate and meaningful change is recognized by an important segment of those in power as well. The leading editorial of the New York Times of April 15 speaks of "a commitment to national action--compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and richest nation on this earth."

Role of the Church

The main purpose of this article is to call attention to the rapid and meaningful changes that are taking place in church organizations in general and in the Catholic Church in particular. Pope John XXIII's Encyclical, "Pacem en Terris," was the first major sign of the change. This is a document that should be studied

* This article deals with only one aspect of the changes taking place within the various religious organizations. It is not intended to cover the whole subject.

and used by all who are interested in involving the millions of Catholics here and the world over in movements designed to promote the well-being of the people.

In this brief article we wish only to refer to most recent events in the Catholic Church showing that the attitude of its leaders has changed for the better, and that their present attitudes make it possible to work with them shoulder to shoulder on a great number of important current problems. More than that, the documents of a number of church organizations can be used in mobilizing the religious masses for progressive causes.

The New York Times of April 14 reports that the leaders of America's four major religious bodies--The National Council of Churches, The National Conference of Catholic Bishops, The Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas and The Synagogue Council of America--called on President Johnson and the Congress to take "extraordinary action" toward the enactment of a multi-billion dollar economic bill of rights for the disadvantaged--a goal sought by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. These leaders did not deal in generalities. They quoted Dr. King's words: "I hope...that what comes out of these non-violent demonstrations will be an economic bill of rights for the disadvantaged requiring about 10 to 12 billion dollars."

These religious leaders identified themselves with this statement of Dr. King. But more than that, they recognized that the program they advocate will remain on paper, unless they mobilize the masses and secure their active support. They declare in their policy statement that "only through massive contributions by the American people can this nation duly honor the life offering of Martin Luther King, Jr. and responsibly lift up the burden of the poor and oppressed in our land."

This is not the same language we use, but the meaning is clear. They are mobilizing the masses of the American people to support their endeavor to "lift up the burden of the poor and oppressed in our land."

Role of the Progressives

But this message reaches down to the rank and file of Church goes only in those parishes where the local priest, minister, or rabbi is progressive. Most of the Catholic churches and Jewish synagogues are still under the domination of conservative or outright reactionary leadership. In these religious communities the progressive religious documents never reach the rank and file. Quite the contrary. They are fed material in complete contrast to the progressive document quoted above.

Here is where the progressives have a decisive role to play. It is the duty of progressives to call the attention of Catholics, Protestants and Jews to the clarion calls of their top organizations and mobilize them for peace, for the war on poverty, against racism.

The possibility to talk to these millions on the basis of the documents drawn up by their own religious leaders is there--we only have to take the opportunity to do it.

This has been done in the Hungarian field mainly by reporting in detail about the progressive declarations and actions in the progressive press and mailing these copies to thousands of church-going people. The net result of this work is manifested among other things in the fact that about 500 new readers of the Hungarian paper have been secured during the past year and a half, most of whom were and are church-going individuals.

It is of the utmost importance to get acquainted with church-going people and through personal contact and patient, consistent and persuasive work, involve them in the movement for peace, in the war against poverty or in the struggle against racism and through them involve as many other church-going people as possible in the same work.

Other Evidence of Change

We have referred above only to "Pacem en Terris" and one other basic document. But there are numerous other signs of change we could mention.

Take for instance the speech delivered by the Most Reverend Ernest J. Primeau, Bishop of Manchester, N.H. at the conference of Catholic educators in San Francisco. Bishop Primeau said, among other things, that we have to train our students to become "revolutionaries" not followers of the status quo. He also said that Catholics, especially those of the middle class, should be educated more effectively to help correct social ills, such as poverty, violence and racism.

"It is therefore time," said the Bishop, "that Catholic education accept for itself the challenging but no less important task of preparing those whom it reaches not merely to fit into their society, but to change that society." He continued:

The mature Christian is in a sense a man in a state of permanent revolution, which begins within himself but extends to the society in which he lives. In this sense Catholic education must be dedicated to training revolutionaries -- men who will remake themselves and then go on to remake society.

This is plain language. It speaks for itself. No comment on our part is necessary.

They, the Catholics, wish to remake, to change society. We, the Progressives, wish to do the same. They want to do away with poverty. We wish to do the same.

The point is that there are more things that can bring about unity of action between us than there are things which divide us.

That is the lesson we have to learn. It is our job to find the avenues, the means by which we can bring people together with us in joint actions for the common goal.

Or read what Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Washington, D.C., said in a pastoral letter that was read in all Catholic Churches in his Archdiocese:

...we shall halt new church and church school construction in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Washington to free funds for use in poverty-stricken areas of the city...to relieve the permanent needs of our stricken brothers....

This is a new voice of the Church. This indicates the changes, meaningful changes that are taking place in the life, attitude, program and action of the Church today as opposed to the past.

The sooner we realize the full implication of this new situation and adapt ourselves to it, the better it is for all movements designed to promote the interests of the people.

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* * * * *

PRECONVENTION DISCUSSION

ON THE PEACEFUL PATH TO SOCIALISM

By Hyman Lumer

I believe there is much confusion in our ranks on our approach to the question of peaceful transition to socialism in our country, and that the Draft Program, as now worded, does not help to dispel it. Some comrades come away from reading the Draft feeling that the constitutional path to socialism is presented as if it were virtually a foregone conclusion. Some feel that it reduces the process to "voting in socialism" and casts aside the cardinal fact that the capitalist class will fight against its overthrow by every means at its command. How can we speak of moving peacefully to socialism, it is asked, in the face of the violence which the ruling class is using today against the Negro people, against the peace forces, against the students?

I don't think the Draft actually puts things in this way, but I do believe that our approach needs to be spelled out more fully in a number of respects to dispel such confusion.

To begin with, it is necessary to be clear about what is meant by "peaceful transition." It means a transition to socialism without armed insurrection--without civil war. It does not mean a struggle devoid of all violence--of police brutality, of the use of the National Guard and federal troops, of murder and assassination and other forms of terror such as are being used today. To expect that would indeed be utopian. But this still falls far short of civil war.

Secondly, it is impossible to predict today what will be the actual path to socialism in the United States. Such a question can be answered only when the socialist revolution is the immediate order of business, and in terms of the precise situation prevailing at that time. Anything else would only be rank speculation. The tactics of revolution can be determined only when a revolutionary situation actually exists--when the ruling class can no longer rule in the old way and the masses are no longer willing to accept the existing order. Such a situation plainly does not exist in the United States today. The immediate task, therefore, is not that of preparing for revolution; this would be sheer adventurism. The present task is rather to work painstakingly to develop unity in struggle and to advance the thinking of growing masses of working people.

It is permissible, however, to discuss the possibility of peaceful transition as a realizable alternative. It must, I think, be dealt with in the following terms: 1) The socialist revolution is inherently a democratic process, in that it can be achieved only when the majority of the working people are prepared to fight for it or to accept it. It cannot be the result of a conspiratorial coup by a small minority. 2) The Communist Party seeks to bring this democratic will to expression by peaceful means. 3) Monopoly capital will do everything possible to thwart that expression, including the use of armed force.

4) The question of whether a peaceful path to socialism is possible or not hinges, therefore, on the question of whether or not the forces of socialism are powerful enough to prevent the ruling class from utilizing armed force to suppress the democratic process.

The question is thus primarily one of the relationship of forces on the eve of the revolution, both inside the country and on a world scale. It must be placed in these terms: Is it possible, at least in some countries, to develop such a relationship of forces that monopoly capital can be prevented from attempting to drown the popular will in blood? This question we and other parties have answered in the affirmative: in the present historical epoch, when the balance of world forces has shifted in favor of the world working-class movement and other forces opposing imperialism, such a possibility exists. The 81-Party Statement puts it in these words:

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organizations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and the landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realization of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible 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.

The Statement also notes that: "In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind." It concludes: "The actual possibility of the one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions."

What is noteworthy in the above quotation is that it contains a number of "ifs." If the working class can be united; if a popular front or other form of cooperation can be built; if the opportunist elements can be rebuffed; if a popular majority capable of securing a firm parliamentary majority can be created--in short, if a host of struggles can be successfully carried out, then the conditions for a peaceful transition will have been developed. What

is envisioned also is a combination of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggles--a far cry from social-democratic parliamentarism.

This is essentially the way in which our Draft Program places the matter. It calls for the unification of the working class and for the unity of labor with the Negro people as the foundation of a popular coalition against monopoly, for the formation of a mass people's party capable of contesting for political power on a national scale and fighting to bring about a series of radical reforms restricting monopoly's power. Only on the basis of success in these democratic struggles does it then tackle the question of the path to socialism. Only on such a foundation does it build the concept of a constitutional path as a realistic possibility.

Nor is this approach peculiar to our own party. In more general terms it is aptly summed up by Y. A. Krasin in his pamphlet Leninism and Revolution (Novosti Press Publishing House, Moscow) in these words:

The great changes that have taken place in the world in the last decades lead to a change in forms of revolutionary transition to socialism in the developed capitalist countries, but not to the need for socialist revolution. In the obtaining situation the road to the socialist transformation of the system of social relations in these countries lies through the struggle for democracy, through unity of all anti-monopoly forces and the creation of a united anti-monopoly front. This road was mapped by Lenin. The idea of struggling for socialism by way of consolidating all democratic forces opposing the rule of the monopolies, effecting radical democratic transformations in the economy, social structure and political relations in the developed capitalist countries and orientating to peaceful democratic transition to socialism, without an armed uprising and civil war--this idea has been thoroughly developed in the Program documents of a number of Communist Parties. (P. 53.)

Of course, the ideological struggle for socialism, the struggle to build a socialist movement, cannot wait upon the outcome of the democratic struggles but must be carried on throughout their entire course. Such, too, is the function of a vanguard political party.

To sum up, I believe the Draft needs to be revised to present these points more clearly than it now does.

* * * * *

THE PATH TO SOCIALISM

Notes on a Discussion

This report is the product of a discussion by several students at the Party's National School this spring, a discussion generated by what were felt to be weaknesses in the Program's handling of this question. Expressions of criticism and skepticism regarding this section have come from many quarters, within and outside our Party; our perspective has been characterized as reformist, gradualist, un-Leninist, and so on. In order to meet these criticisms we must locate their sources in the Program; this is what our discussion has tried to do.

It is significant that most of the participants in the discussion began with the assumption that they had fundamental ideological differences with the Program's handling of this point, but ended a careful collective study by concluding that they did not. This is revealing for two reasons: it helps reaffirm the basic soundness of the Program's position, but it discloses also that to arrive at a clear understanding of that position it is not enough merely to read the Program once. Put another way, the Program is unclear on this crucial point; nor can we ignore the dangers of this unclarity, first, in clouding (rather than clarifying) wider understanding of our ideas, and second, in leaving us open to hostile criticism from ideological opponents on the Left. Once this had been established, our discussion took the direction of trying to locate particular weaknesses and misplaced emphases in this section of the Program.

The first point around which there have been difficulties is the perspective for "revolutionary change...through the constitutional process and constitutionally established institutions." (III-50, line 18 ff.) This is perhaps the outstanding example both of unclarity and misplaced emphasis. It overlooks, in our view, the historical roots of the Constitution as the organization chart of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and blurs the (elsewhere clearly expressed) distinction between reform, however, radical, and qualitatively revolutionary change. It further creates the subjective impression that the Constitution is somehow sacred except for the cumbersome, piecemeal amendment machinery. And finally, it appears to ignore (although other paragraphs of this section do not) the many-sided extra-parliamentary struggles, already in motion, that will culminate in the decisive defeat of monopoly capitalism.

A similar unclarity arises around the concept of peaceful transition, a key phrase which is, however, nowhere defined in the Draft Program. The Program, basing its broad perspective on the dialectic of mass struggle and shifting relationships of forces, correctly points out that no confident prediction can be made as to the nature of the transition. It further says correctly that if the transition is violent, the initiative for violence will come not from the revolution, but from the counter-revolution, the last effort of the ruling class to retain its power. But does it follow from this that by peaceful transition is meant an altogether bloodless, orderly rearrangement of the relations of production?

Surely such a prospect is too unlikely to form the core of our perspective. It may well be that a strong and united people's movement will be able to tie the hands of the coercive agencies of monopoly--FBI, CIA, National Guard, etc.--and our position rightly projects this as one aspect of the struggle that will lead to socialism. What we mean by peaceful transition, in fact, is revolutionary change without full-scale insurrection by armed, organized forces, without a head-on military confrontation of the ruling class. But this meaning is not made clear in the Draft Program.

Closely related to the last point is the almost off-hand treatment (III-52, line 17 ff.) of the "possibility of crisis situations leading to swift revolutionary confrontations....resulting from a protracted war, or from an attempt at a reactionary coup, or from an economic depression....strategy cannot be hinged to waiting for such contingencies." Nevertheless, strategy must take them into account. In our view it is perilously one-sided to soft-pedal the forces in our society that can lead to just such crisis situations: political preparation for such developments, in the short and the long range, must be based on a realistic assessment of these forces. But such an assessment is missing from the Draft Program.

Another ambiguity in the discussion of the transition to socialism can be located around the distinction between the taking of state power by the working class and its allies, on the one hand, and the use of that power decisively to expropriate monopoly ownership, on the other. Here, again, our discussion developed no real ideological disagreement with the Program's projection. But, although the Program rightly avoids trying to draw a blueprint for historical development, it leaves unclear a crucial element in the transfer of ownership from monopoly to the people. Simply to elect to commanding power an anti-monopoly or even a socialist party is not enough: that party must go on to change, qualitatively and irreversibly, the relationships of production in our society. This, too, the Program fails to deal with adequately.

A final point wherein we found weaknesses in the Program has a somewhat different character, though this weakness arises out of the over-emphasis on the constitutional transition to socialism and the accompanying neglect of extra-parliamentary forms of struggle. Briefly, what is not raised is any projection of the possible organizational forms such a struggle will develop; certainly none of the present vehicles of mass struggle, whether in the labor movement or in the struggles for peace or black liberation, is so constituted as to be able to serve as the organizations of the working class for exercising state and economic power. Again, no useful purpose is served--indeed, flexibility may be damaged--by trying to draw up blueprints. But it may not be too soon to open a theoretical discussion of this question.

In general, the weaknesses, unclarities, and misplaced emphases in this section of the Program take on the character of one-sidedness. Starting from a correct dialectical analysis of the changing balance of forces as mass struggle grows and monopoly power correspondingly shrinks, the Program then blurs the culmination of that dialectic--the qualitative leap involved in socialist transformation-- by leaning too heavily on such concepts as constitutional amendment, peaceful transition, and a one-sided rejection of the "crisis perspective."

From this one-sidedness, the group feels, comes the widespread misunderstanding and consequent criticism of this section. And let it be said that a program for our Party that cannot be understood without such exhaustive study and discussion by Party members is inconsistent with a genuine mass approach that looks toward reaching large numbers of Americans with our ideas.

To sum up, then: We have developed no serious ideological criticism of the general line of this section in the Program. Nevertheless, the point at which ambiguity and imbalance become (or can be made to seem like) ideological error is not always easy to locate. For this reason, and because a program aimed at the widest possible circulation must have the greatest possible clarity and directness, we feel it is vitally important to correct these weaknesses. We have not tried to rewrite the section under discussion but, rather, to point some directions in which it should be rewritten for greater clarity and better balance.

* * * * *

THE ROLE OF THE LEFT IN THE ANTI-MONOPOLY COALITION

A Group of Students *

One of the most difficult problems in writing about the new Draft Program is that very few of us have any idea what this program is intended to be. If it is intended as a mass educational piece aimed at introducing large numbers of Americans to the way Communists view this society, then there is one set of criticisms we would make. If its purpose is to develop a general strategy to guide the work of the Party during the present period, then a different set of criticisms is in order.

The classical rejoinder in the Party to any such statement is: "There is no contradiction between the two." But contradictions are tricky things and they cannot be chased from the inner nature of things by slogans. The problems that face the American people are not identical to the difficulties we face in organizing them to combat those problems.

The new draft uncovers the roots of oppression and social decay in America, and points out the general contours of the path that must be followed in the struggle to eradicate these problems at their source. In general, the program presents the logic of battle in a clear and readable style. The program is not weakest in telling the American people what they must do to liberate themselves. Its weakness lies in the failure to spell out what Communists must do to insure that the people will be prepared and equipped to do the job.

Let us get down to concrete examples. The program depicts the development of a massive anti-monopoly united struggle. It describes the transition

* Like the preceding article, this one is also the product of a discussion by a group of students at the national Party school.

to socialism that grows out of the logic of this movement as follows:

Our strategic perspective is premised on sharpening conflict between the popular forces and monopoly, for no monopoly-dominated government can resolve the contradictions in a monopoly-dominated society. (III - 47.)

Such contradictions, growing more acute the longer they are unresolved, supply the compulsions for fashioning a great anti-monopoly alliance and its crystallization in a new people's party. (III-48.)

Such a party would fight for government power. (ibid.)

Whether it attains the reins of government or not, sooner or later, in the course of intense and titanic battles for its democratic aims, an anti-monopoly alliance will be compelled to face the fundamental issue: either it destroys monopoly or monopoly destroys it. (III - 48-49.)

Hence at the juncture where a popular majority arrives at the conclusion that it is necessary not simply to curb monopoly but to destroy it, the fight for socialism, which develops in the course of the democratic anti-monopoly struggles, comes to a head. Socialism becomes the urgent immediate objective of political battle. (III - 49.)

What exactly does that vague phrase, "the fight for socialism which develops in the course of the democratic anti-monopoly struggles" mean? As we define the anti-monopoly coalition, it is a broad multi-class front, including all sections of the people that suffer at the hands of monopoly. This includes professionals, small farmers and businessmen, and even sections of the capitalist class itself. The issue of socialism will not be raised by them, and will not spontaneously develop from a movement that is led by them.

Indeed, while these sections are necessary allies in the struggle against particular forms of monopoly oppression, a large number of them will seek an accommodation with monopoly on the issue of who should hold the "reins of government." While they may fight to curb the political power of monopoly, they will not seek to destroy the roots of that power. Monopoly is the bulwark of modern capitalism. It is the one force that can rule, and, at the point of social revolution, its right to rule will be supported by those who still cling to the economic status quo.

Now the people who wrote the program are very much aware of what we just finished saying. They know that any old anti-monopoly coalition can't do the trick. In fact, they clearly delineate the prerequisites for a successful socialist revolution.

Whatever the circumstances, resolute, revolutionary leadership committed to the socialist goal, mass socialist consciousness, and the decisive participation of the working class would be requisite features of a political alignment for socialist revolution. (III - 49.)

This, of course, is where the work of Communists is decisive. And it is precisely in regard to how we go about insuring that these necessary conditions develop in the course of the struggle against monopoly that the program is weakest. This, we would contend, reflects what is perhaps the greatest weakness in our practical work: the difficulty we have in developing a program which integrates the building of an independent and socialist Left as an integral aspect of our work in activating and organizing a broad democratic movement. The building of the party, while crucial in this regard, is no substitute for a mass, socialist-conscious, working-class force. Indeed, whether or not the struggle against the system which generates monopoly, will be determined by the strength of such a force, and by whether or not it has assumed leadership over the anti-monopoly coalition.

The relationship between socialist-consciousness and class-consciousness is not adequately reflected in our Program. While it is true that not everyone who proclaims himself a socialist has a working-class ideology, it is not true that socialist-consciousness and class-consciousness are therefore two entirely distinct things. If workers do not understand the necessity of abolishing private ownership over the productive resources, then no matter what their militancy and hatred for those who oppress them, they are forced to seek an accommodation with capitalism. Workers, of course, do not have to be socialists before they will struggle to improve their immediate conditions. However, if capitalist society is taken as the premise of its existence, the working class must, and will, tailor its demands to bring them into line with the inner requirements of capitalist production. Do not the actions of the British Labor Party confirm this?

Workers do not, under all conditions and at all times, act in accordance with their class interests. They do so to the degree that they are conscious of those interests. When we talk about bringing the working class into the leadership of the democratic movement, we assume that this can happen only as the working class becomes conscious of its own stake in the struggles of all oppressed strata, and that these begin to understand that the mass action of the working class is decisive to any and all democratic victories. This consciousness, while only attainable in the course of mass struggles, does not arise spontaneously out of these. Indeed, the interconnections between the complex sets of interests will often be overshadowed by the myriad of specific conflicts unless there is a concerted effort to win workers to an appreciation of their broad class interests. That this consciousness will develop through an anti-monopoly struggle is unquestioned; that it will develop from a "united people's party" is something else.

We agree with the draft's formulation that "socialism is not on the agenda." Our present strategy centers on the building of a broad, anti-monopoly force.

This does not mean, however, that socialist thinking, that working-class ideology is not relevant to the present phase of the class struggle. Class-consciousness is required not only to make a revolution, but is essential, likewise, in the battle to secure and defend even the most limited gains. While the building of our Party is crucial in this respect, independent socialist political action must not be ignored as a factor in the struggle for mass class-consciousness.

We are not proposing that socialist political action is the only form of electoral activity that is relevant to the work of the party. Nor do we suggest that this will be the principal form through which masses will first begin to express their political independence from monopoly. But there can be little doubt that a socialist sector of sizeable proportions will develop (in fact, is already developing), and that we have not adequately taken its strategic significance into account. We believe that the Party should have a perspective of eventually bringing this current to an independent form of political expression--not when "socialism is on the agenda," but rather, during the "course of the democratic anti-monopoly struggle." Such a party will not be the anti-monopoly coalition. It will represent the interests, both present and future, of the working-class component of that coalition. Whether or not our Party can fulfill this necessary service in its own name is a question that we should discuss.

We apologize for the vagueness and abstractness of our presentation. However, we wished only to open a question, not answer it. The New Program deals very inadequately with the necessity for independent Left activity of a mass character.

We are not here calling for a surrender to certain sectarian trends which are pushing not only for independence from monopoly, but independence from the issues and struggles that today involve the mass of the American people. However, the Party would make a serious mistake if it traced the limited appeal of the New Left to its militant and increasingly anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist posture, rather than to its petty-bourgeois aloofness from the immediate concerns of the people.

ERRORS AND OMISSIONS

S.P., New York

I want to call attention to an error on page 6 of Chapter V in the draft program. The list of famous people who were Communists includes Eve Curie. She was not a member of the Communist Party; however, her daughter, Irene Joliot-Curie, became a member, as did her son-in-law, Frederic Joliot-Curie. Also, I think the name of David Alfaro Siqueiros should be included in such a list.

On page 13 in Chapter IV, in the last sentence, the name of the French martyr who spoke of singing tomorrows--Gabriel Peri--should be given.

OUR PICTURE OF THE FUTURE

J.F., San Francisco

Every time I review dialectical and historical materialism I become disturbed about placing world communism in its proper perspective. Now I have begun to find the answer to this problem. Perhaps it is something that should be indicated in the Party's program. I want to share my concepts briefly with you.

Evolution has been going on for some five billion years, according to estimates I have seen by scientists who are in a position to estimate such things. I would break this process down, as I suppose any Marxist would, into four great stages. First is the evolution of material particles and gravitational and electromagnetic energy. Second is the evolution of non-living matter, at one end of the scale into atoms and molecules and at the other end into galaxies and super-galaxies of stars. Third is the evolution of living matter, concerning which our observations are necessarily extremely limited, from drops of organized organic material in the hot primeval oceans all the way to the human species. (By pointing out the limited character of our observations, I mean only to emphasize that these observations are limited to events on one planet of one minor star in one galaxy of about a billion stars among the many galaxies in one super-galaxy. Who knows how many super-galaxies there are? The forms of life probably vary tremendously throughout the universe, even though the basic laws governing its development do not vary.)

The fourth stage of evolution is, on our earth, the evolution of human society. The achievement of world communism will see the completion of this stage. The human species, to our knowledge the highest form of organization of matter, will be freed of the inescapable drive of living matter until this time, the day-to-day struggle for existence for itself and its progeny.

In my opinion, the human species as a manifestation and an instrument of the evolutionary drive of the organization of matter to ever new, higher and more complex forms, will free itself from the pressures of the struggle for existence in order to discover, lay out and carry out the fifth great stage in the evolution of matter. There will be qualitative changes involved which so far as I know no one can yet project, predict or even imagine.

It certainly seems likely that this stage will involve a link with living matter elsewhere in the universe. That it will require the combined conscious participation and intellectual effort of great masses of people seems a sure thing, and that it will bring about revolutionary changes in the thinking and activity of people seems a sure thing too.

I have always felt that something was missing in our picture of the future. This is what I have missed. It may relieve an empty feeling in other comrades, too, or fill an unconscious need in many outside our ranks. If so, I think it belongs in our program, not as a plan, but as a perspective.

* * *

LABOR AND THE PARTY

Two Members of National Groups Commission

Our country today is witnessing great class struggles that are qualitatively different from the ones that took place in the past number of years. The difference lies not only in the fact that greater numbers of workers are involved in these struggles, as in rubber, auto, transport, civil servants and copper, but also in the fact that the workers go on strike against the recommendations of their leaders and remain on strike despite court injunctions.

These things take place despite the top reactionary forces within the leadership of the AFL-CIO headed by Meany. This is reflected also by the fact that ever greater numbers of agreements negotiated by the leaders and recommended for acceptance to the membership have been rejected by the membership.

We deem it necessary to point out at this time the distinction between militancy and radicalization on the one hand and class consciousness on the other. It is the duty of the Party to utilize this radicalization to show the workers the class nature of these struggles.

American capital has invaded practically every country of the "free world" and is taking over industries in England, France, Japan, Italy, etc. It becomes imperative, therefore, that a working relationship should be established between the trade unions of our country and the rest of the world for the purpose of carrying on common struggles against the common enemy.

Unity between Negro and white workers in the trade union movement is essential to promote the interests of the working class and the nation as a whole. This can be done only by paying special attention to rectify the criminal policies of discrimination practiced not only by the employers, but by many of the union leaders, especially in the building trades, which have resulted in complete elimination or token representation of Negroes. A systematic educational campaign must be launched in the various ethnic groups. For this purpose, the report of Johnson's Commission on Civil Disorders should be utilized as a text book. In addition, concrete steps should be taken in every shop, factory and trade union to see that Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans are employed and promoted.

Organization measures should be taken to carry out all of the above by systematic calling of regional and district conferences as well as a national conference to exchange experiences and make further plans to implement the progress we hope and expect to achieve.

*

SOME PROPOSALS

E.B., Ohio

The Program is of the utmost importance. It is a major political document of international significance. I appreciate the time and effort it reflects, its wide scope, its scientific devotion to change, its Marxist concern that Negroes are to have complete, unconditional economic, social and political equality, also its section on other minorities.

I assume the Program is to be read by a person with a sixth-grade education. If so, it should include a glossary. I found 52 terms needing definition, such as means of production, radical, monopoly, autonomy, thermonuclear, cybernation, etc. Definitions are needed if you want to reach the very poor who read.

The Program should give more positive suggestions for action in its text. Like the invitation it contains, it should encourage people to move.

A plan of collective research for program preparation should be adopted, with committees working on specific subjects. All committees should include both uneducated and educated, and a Program Review Committee should be set up to formulate the program precisely. It should be revised yearly or every two years.

The Program should dwell in great detail on white racism, the poison spread by capitalists among white people. White workers, if they were actively fighting it, would help to create a much better world. On racism we should expound, preach, be as sharp as a razor and as hard as a diamond. We should show in dollars and cents what it costs all Americans, all the world.

We should deal with the need for union organization. And we should say very much more on the woman question.

*

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PATH TO SOCIALISM

A.J., Minnesota

One of the questions raised by Comrade Lumer in his letter to N.C. members and district leaders is: "Is a constitutional path to socialism a realistic outlook?"

It seems that under the present circumstances it will continue to be realistic for the Communist Party to advocate the peaceful road to socialism under our Constitution, through parliamentary channels, as long as those channels remain open for the majority of the people to carry out their will through the democratic process. If that road should become blocked, then the Constitutional path would no longer be realistic. It would not be realistic to try to establish socialism by other than

Constitutional means as long as the American people do not favor it and still tolerate capitalism and have faith in capitalist democracy.

The powers-that-be might welcome such an attempt by a small minority in order to crush it. For example, and this is a real danger, what would happen should the Negro people accept the leadership of some of the advocates of armed uprising? It would lead to senseless bloodshed and open the door to fascism. The President could proclaim an "internal security state of emergency" which would amount to an invitation for a fascist take-over.

The American people would not support an uprising for socialism any more than a Black Power uprising; it is doubtful if they would be ready to resist a fascist take-over.

As long as the civil rights movement, organized labor, farmers, and the peace forces are still divided, each pulling its own way, as long as they have not been able to form a united front to force needed reforms under capitalism, they cannot be expected to take up an armed struggle for socialism.

In the meantime, it seems, democracy must be preserved, the Constitutional path must be kept open until the American people realize that their problems cannot be solved under capitalism and they are ready to take the Constitutional path to socialism or, should this path then be closed, to take to whatever path is necessary.

*

IS UNEMPLOYMENT RISING?

J.M., New York

There is a sentence, beginning on line 11 of page I-7 of the second draft of the New Program of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., that appears to me to be inaccurate: "Not only has the economy been plagued by recurrent recessions, each with its upsurge of joblessness, but the level of unemployment has tended to grow in periods of upturn as well."

The following percentages of the civilian labor force unemployed over the past 18 years have been taken from page 215 of the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1962, and from page 16 of the United Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, March 1968:

<u>Year</u>	<u>% Unemp.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>% Unemp.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>% Unemp.</u>
1950	5.3	1956	4.2	1962	5.5
1951	3.3	1957	4.3	1963	5.7
1952	3.1	1958	6.8	1964	5.2
1953	2.9	1959	5.5	1965	4.5
1954	5.6	1960	5.6	1966	3.8
1955	4.4	1961	6.7	1967	3.8

It might be more accurate and to the point to state that unemployment in the United States has been at a higher level in the years since World War II than in almost any other developed capitalist nation.

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