

Letters from Readers



Royalty and the UnAmericans

Editor, Daily Worker:

Did the UnAmerican Committee ever contemplate hauling before its august presence His Royal Highness, the Prince of Monaco, now spliced to the late Grace Kelly? About whom Miss Monroe was alleged to have said; "She married a foreigner of no ability; I married a great American dramatist." Not on your life. For the Prince, despite the fact that he is operational head of one of the biggest gambling joints ever to grace the historic mediterranean shores, is, according to the peculiar measuring rod of the Un-American Committee, not only safe, respectable and sound, but extremely worthy as well.

True, there was a time in this great democracy of ours, when royalty . . . even genuine royalty, was about as popular as can-



MARILYN MONROE

cer is today. But that was before commoners, turned into the power of Kings. America was healthy then.

Not so today. An insidious disease, deeprooted, makes itself apparent in every way, shape and form. A Prince is exalted, an Arthur Miller is degraded.

They say we leftists are irreligious, or that, if we are at all inclined to worship, it is confined to a political state of affairs outrageous to free men. I want to refute that misconception of the leftist by declaring that I have been praying to the good Lord to give Arthur Miller strength enough to tell the so-called UnAmerican Committee to go to hell.

And if they send him to jail may the good Lord also give Marilyn Monroe the strength to utter such piercing cries of woe and strength that the hearts of our people will be wrung to such an extent that they will once and for all put to an end to the most soul searing and dehumanizing process ever invented by man in his hour of frustration and fury . . . that of the witchhunt.—G.H.

Smith Act's Southern Victims

MIAMI, Fla.

Dear Editor:

It is very hard for the Southern readers of the Daily Worker and The Worker to understand why there is such silence in your columns regarding the Southern Smith Act Victims.

There is much to be said about (Continued on Page 7)

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

Ignorance, Arrogance—Pitfall for Marxists

By HERBERT APTHEKER

IN THE AREA of ideological work what have been the main sources of weakness in Party activity? And it is weakness, not strength, I wish to discuss in this brief communication.

Ignorance and arrogance would be my answer to the question posed.

As for the first: Nothing takes the place of knowledge; not even Marxist-Leninist formulae learned by rote. Knowledge comes only through study, and the first requirement for an American Communist is to study his own country. Communists who work in the areas of history, economics, philosophy, psychology, anthropology, sociology, mathematics, the natural sciences, must be expert in those disciplines and this means, in the first place, that they must know the currents of thinking within their particular fields and must know these thoroughly.

The Communist specialist must be the peer of anyone in his own field. The Communist must be able to surpass the bourgeois scholar on his own terms, in the first place, and, with this as a basis, must then leap away ahead of the non-Marxist by virtue of his grasp of dialectical and historical materialism.

The Marxist-Leninist, by virtue of his commitment, has an infinite advantage over the bourgeois scholar, in terms of scholarship, in terms of creative work. This advantage can be dissipated if the Communist does not fulfill all the onerous and painstaking labors of scholarship. The Communist's work must be impeccable from the standpoint of sheer scholarship as such; he must not take shortcuts, and he must strive for complete technical mastery.

COMMUNISTS AND TRUTH

The Communist, because he is a Communist, will ask questions and pose problems that will never occur to the bourgeois scholar; the Communist, because he is a Communist, will not fear truth and will follow his evidence where it takes him. All this poses special responsibilities which come down to the old formula: "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

I have had students complain to me of "reactionary facts!" Absurd? Yes, of course, when put this way. But the point is the need for frankness and fearlessness and confidence. Darwin kept two sets of notebooks: one for those data that supported his thesis, and the other for those which seemed to conflict with the thesis. He kept each with equal care. To blink or obscure the truth, whatever the "motives," is reprehensible scholarly practice in any case; it is inexcusable for the Communist scholar.

Partially, of course, this requires an atmosphere where a "mistake" is not a calamity, and certainly not something imperiling the political life of the one in error. Obviously, none is without error, except he who does and says nothing.

ARROGANCE

As for the second, arrogance: This often displays itself in an ignorance of the work of the bourgeois scholars, as though "from them we have nothing to

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.

We print in this issue the second 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

learn." It displays itself also, in a tone or style of work, where the writing or speaking is not persuasive but rather assertive. It appears, too, in a note of finality that often pervades Communist ideological work. Things are not stated tentatively, or questioningly as they almost always should be stated in scholarly work. For surely, the essence of scholarship is correction and revision, and if this has been true of scholarly work in the past it is likely to be true of scholarly work in the present, including the work of Communists! Nor is it impermissible for a Communist to say: "I don't know," or "I never thought of that."

Arrogance, while often present, ill becomes us, especially in this country. Confining myself to the field of history,

ranks 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-est participation in this discussion.

DISCUSSION COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY



APTHEKER

American Communists are but at the beginning and we have a

world to learn from the study of W. L. Westermann, E. B. Greene, Charles M. Andrews, V. L. Parrington, C. Vann Woodward, John Hope Franklin, Rayford W. Logan, Edward Channing, C. P. Nettles, Howard K. Beale, Charles and Mary Beard, Merrill Jensen, W. E. B. Dubois, and dozens more.

A greater concern, on all levels of the Party, with ideological problems and currents in our own country would be helpful. More organized collective comradesly discussion and criticism of mutual projects and works are badly needed. More active participation in the actual scholarly life of our country—conventions, publications, meetings—would be most useful for ourselves, and we might possibly be able to contribute a little to that life.

Skilled vs. Unskilled Worker, Key Question

By A. L., Chicago, Ill.

ONE OF THE greatest weaknesses in the National Committee reports is their lack of real insight into trade union and industrial problems. Our newspapers and leaders' discussions of trade union affairs show a pre-occupation with top level trends and a lack of knowledge of the currents among the rank and file.

One of the key questions of labor unity that doesn't make the headlines is the relation between skilled and unskilled workers—the revival of the craft vs. industrial union feud. We will never have a real labor unity until this is solved.

The problem has arisen again because the skilled workers have had real problems. Until these problems are solved, no amount of condemnation of craft unionism will bring about unity. Unskilled as well as skilled will suffer because of the division.

The problem will become greater as automation raises the proportion of skilled, maintenance workers.

What is the problem? First of all it must be accepted that, according to Marxist theory, the value of the labor power of skilled workers is greater than that of unskilled workers—that skilled workers should be paid more than unskilled.

CHANGE TAKING PLACE

What has happened? In the post World War I days, it may have been understandable to call the skilled workers "bribed" aristocrats, because their wages were so much higher relatively than the unskilled.

With the CIO drive of the 30s things began to change. Year after year—across the board increases reduced the differential

between skilled and unskilled. Piece work and incentive pay plans in many cases brought the weekly pay of some production workers above that of the plant craftsmen.

During the initial periods of organization, the industrial unions were able to pay little or no attention to the problems of special organizational forms for skilled workers. This grew into a bad habit.

Following World War II the situation erupted into a renaissance of craft unionism and a holiday for raiders.

Why the great success of craft raids? Because, like it or not, it is a cold fact that the craft unions appeared to answer the problems of the craftsmen better than the industrial unions.

The magnet for craftsmen was the idea of single area-wide pay scale, bringing the pay of the plant craftsmen up to that of his brother working for the outside contractor or job shop. In many cases it worked for a while.

The other attraction was, as the craftsman puts it, "In an industrial union, we have no say. We are always outvoted. We need a union of our own, so we can run our own affairs. Industrial unions are wonderful for production workers—but we need our own union. All our trade should be united in one union."

The big companies were willing, for a short time, to pay big increases to a small number of craftsmen, in order to get the foot of disunity into the door of their plants. The policies of the Eisenhower Labor Board helped by encouraging carving out craft units.

IN A DILEMMA

After a few years, the bubble burst. The companies soon turned on both craft and industrial

unions. In some important cases, the craft unions in big plants were smashed after long strikes.

Now the craftsman is in a dilemma. He has seen his union smashed in big plants. He senses that a small craft union standing alone against a big monopoly is powerless.

However, he cannot see going back to an industrial union. He has been through the experience of being outvoted and having his real wage problems ignored.

What is the answer? The craftsman must have control over his own union affairs—but that need not be in opposition to the production workers—it can only be successful in cooperation with production workers.

Cooperation will help both. The craft workers cannot live without the help of the unskilled. And higher wages for the skilled can serve as a lever to jack up the standards of the unskilled.

For the present there are practical, intermediate steps:

1.—In large plants where several unions exist—working to set up shop councils of craft and industrial unions, pledged to mutual support—working toward joint negotiations, common contract dates, etc.

The example of the old Maritime Federation of the Pacific can be recalled profitably. This was a federation of autonomous craft unions, each deciding its own contract demands, and each pledged not to sign till all were satisfied.

2.—Area-wide craft conferences cutting across union lines to work toward a uniform scale, based on the highest prevailing wage which will usually be that of the old line craft unions

(Continued on Page 7)

The American Road to Socialism

'Only Danger We Can Never Afford to Forget'

By JIM WEST

IN APRIL, 1929, Joseph Stalin stated:

"... As a matter of fact capitalist stabilization is being undermined and shaken month after month and day after day. The intensification of the struggle for markets and raw materials, the increase of armaments, the growing antagonism between America and Great Britain, the growth of Socialism in the USSR, the swing to the Left of the working class in the capitalist countries, the wave of strikes and class conflicts in the European countries, the growing revolutionary movement in the colonies, including India, the growth of Communism in all countries of the world all these are facts which indicate beyond a doubt that the elements of a new revolutionary upsurge are accumulating in the capitalist countries.

"Hence the task of intensifying the fight against Social Democracy, and primarily against its 'Left' wing, which is the social prop of capitalism. Hence the task of intensifying the fight in the Communist Parties against the Right elements who are the agents of Social-Democratic influence. Hence the task of intensifying the fight against the tendency of conciliation with the Right deviation, which is the refuge of opportunism in the Communist Parties. Hence the slogan of purging the Communist Parties of Social-Democratic traditions."

("The Right Deviation in the CPSU (B)"—my emphasis, J.W.)

In this way did Stalin link up the fight of the Soviet Communists against the right deviation (necessitated by the internal needs of the offensive against the remaining capitalist elements in the USSR with the tasks facing the Communist Parties in all other countries, including ours.

In this way, too, were specific national features and national historic problems obliterated for the various national Communist Parties. The task before the Parties of all countries, flowing from the general analysis of the world as a whole, was set as struggle against the right deviation. This, irrespective of special features in any given country, of the situation among the masses in that country, of its history, traditions, etc.

MAIN TASK NOT CORRECT

It is clear that it was necessary to struggle against illusions in capitalist "stability" and "everlasting" prosperity. But does it follow from this that, with a perspective of sharpening class and mass struggles, the main task was to combat Social Democracy, and its left wing at that?

With a perspective of mass struggles unfolding, where was the delineation of such tasks as the uniting of the rank of the working class, of breaking down all sectarian barriers to unity and towards alliances and coalitions—including the Social Democrats (and their illusions) and especially the Left Social Democrats (and not only the Left)? To what degree was this the problem of Germany?

But the object of this piece is not to dig up a particular situation more than a quarter century old. The situation referred to is but illustrative of the problem we seek to raise: the inadequacy of the "main" danger approach in development of mass line, policies and tactics, no matter how effective a weapon it might be in inner-party struggle.

In a more recent time, Comrade Foster wrote a PA article in which he correctly polemicized against the estimate that our country was in the first phase of

fascism. He pointed out that such an estimate was being used to justify advocating the immediate formation of a new party and other leftist proposals.

But does it follow that a new, third Party would be justified or feasible by virtue of the existence of a situation described as the first phase of fascism? In all likelihood, would not the very condition of an imminent fascist danger call for work inside the two old parties (if they existed that way at the time) or wherever the masses happened to be—for the formation of the widest possible anti-fascist coalition? Yet, isn't it a fact that the estimate of imminence or growing danger of war and fascism in much of the post-war period was used, repeatedly, as justification for a number of leftist policies and



tactics, including the formation of left centers?

SITUATION AMONG PEOPLE

The big element lacking in the foregoing estimates, among other things, was an assessment of the actual state of affairs among the people in the specific country at the specific time—that's all!

From the foregoing, this writer doubts the validity of approaching and developing projections, perspectives toward the future from the viewpoint of combating dangers—be they right or left. The only danger we can never afford to forget is the continuing dangers from the monopolist enemy.

In saying this, we do not say that right and left dangers do not exist. But experience—the best teacher—has been such that I seriously doubt the merits of placing matters within such a frame at all times and in all conditions. What was historically necessary and justified in one country under certain special conditions is not automatically justified for all countries under any conditions.

Invariably, the fight against one "main" danger has thrown us into the arms of the other danger; whereupon, we have a new "main" danger, the fight against which then throws us back into the "lesser" danger, and which, in its turn, becomes the "main" danger again! For the very placing of the question of "main" danger justifies fighting one-sidedness with other-sided-

ness—and thus we are always off-balance!

Not infrequently, confusion and needless disunity result over what is the main danger among people who have no real differences between them, and who often have at least one thing in common between them: a common isolation from the masses! (from which we all suffer to one degree or another).

I know of a few things within our movement which have caused more subjectivity, bitterness, frustration, misunderstanding and disunity than the operation of the "two-dangers" approach in our ranks.

MEMBERS LABELED

Comrades have been labeled and typed one or the other simply because, reflecting their own particular experiences, they feel strongly about one or another thing that should be done. Instead of hearing them out, incorporating their experiences into our Party and helping them round out and mature their thinking and concepts, we approach them with a "left" yardstick and/or a "right" yardstick, measure them, catalogue, type, label, and repel or embrace them (depending on what we consider the "main" danger at the time), and before you know it, we have two camps, and the "irreconcilable conflict" is on! Is there a better way to divide brothers and sisters loyal and devoted to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism?

What is the essence of our problem? A correct, Leninist combination of Marxist principles with mass tactics.

When we fail to combine these two ideas, we deviate. If we omit principle and depend on tactics alone, we deviate to the right; if we omit tactics and depend on principle alone, we deviate to the left. Is there ever a prolonged period of time when we can "afford" to neglect either of these two sides?

And instead of an "irreconcilable" struggle between comrades who are strong on tactics (or desire to be) and comrades who are strong on principles (or desire to be)—a struggle to the mutual detriment of both comrades and the Party—should we not seek to emphasize the strength each has to offer and to harmonize and unite the two?

There are few, in either category, who will deny that the traditional weakness of American Marxists, from Engels' time down to today, is sectarian isolation from the masses. To end this historic isolation, it will take the best that principle, theory, has to offer, and the best that mass tactics has to offer. This is compelling reason enough for uniting all comrades to make the maximum contributions toward overcoming the traditional weakness.

OBSCURES GOAL

Often the "fight" (frequently meaningless but harmful squabbles) against this or that "main" danger obscures the goals we

stand for, obscures the real enemy we have to fight, and becomes the substitute for real analysis and projection of a mass line. The very fight against the "main" danger reflects our isolation!

Clearly, the line of our Party must be a mass line—a line towards mass and class, to mass work. The fight against this or that "main" danger can never take the place of a mass line, and must never be allowed to divert us from a line to the masses.

It is not fortuitous that the fight against this or that "main" danger has tended to strengthen tendencies toward turning the sharp edge of our weapon inward, upon ourselves, or upon potential allies.

Examine the history of how the struggle against this or that "main" danger has operated, and it will be found that in too many instances it turned our attention inward and away from the traditional enemy.

Another product of this approach to the "main" danger is that it has increased and fed tendencies towards abuse of one another among comrades. An atmosphere is created in which labels and charges of this or that danger take the place of political polemics and reasoning debate; in which heat supersedes light; in which callous disregard of comrades is fed by invective, abuse, even insult and political "annihilation" of fellow-fighters for socialism. Who in our Party has not experienced or witnessed such abuse and uncomradely conduct at some time or another—and who among is entirely free from its influence—something alien to our principles and ideals! (And is this not an atmosphere suitable for the work of enemy agents?)

REEVALUATION NEEDED

For these, and other reasons, it is time to reevaluate the right and left danger approach to problems. This writer believes that if it ever had merit in our movement—that day is past and long gone.

With respect to the problem of avoidance of right and left errors before they are made (or at least minimize the chances of making such errors) it seems to me that we must give far more thought to how we work out our perspectives.

There are three essentials, as I see it, necessary to correctly working out the road ahead: the problem of winning allies of the working class; the problem of how to bring about the political leadership of the working class; the problem of how to realize the vanguard role of the Party of Socialism. (For the sake of brevity, we might refer to this trinity as Mass, Class, Party).

But the working out of these three problems, I mean the coming to grips with all the ideological, tactical, programmatic and organizational questions inherent in each, as well as the working out of the inter-relationships of the three of them. All three problems need working out. Otherwise, we will deviate and fail.

In this sense, these problems are like a three-legged stool: two legs alone are useless; all three are indispensable; there is not a one that we can dispense with. It is when we try to get along without one or two of these three legs that we fall to right or to left. In the effort to solve all three problems, in their inter-relation, do we have the best assurance for minimizing the right and left dangers.

With respect to mass: the aim of building a People's Anti-Mon-

(Continued on Page 11)

Letters from Readers

(Continued from Page 6) the traditional neglect of specific Southern questions, and doubtless this fault will be analyzed fully during the current reevaluation. We who live and work in the South will contribute to this discussion and deal with both our local as well as national weaknesses on this question.

But do we have to wait until the last word is said before we begin to make corrections? Your excellent speech on your return from prison, dealing with the South, raised the hopes of many a Southern reader. But the DW's treatment of the South since then has been most disappointing... and particularly as regards the Southern Smith Act victims.



I refer specifically to Dr. Jackson, Junius Scales and Ed Strong.

Although we get some news about James Jackson in the reports on the current Foley Square trial, there should be feature stories concerning his Virginia background, his leadership of mass struggles in the South, etc.

Regarding the Scales case, so little has been published in your columns that readers do not know the status of the case, what kind of help is needed, what the individual reader can do.

About the case of Ed Strong, a native Texan who has contributed several outstanding articles recently to Political Affairs on the Till Case and on the Texas elections, there has been not a word except the announcement of his arrest along with a group of people from Boston.

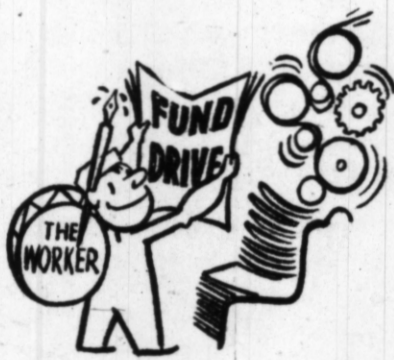
Sincerely yours,
SOUTHERN READER.

Aptheker-Carter Debate Recalled

Editor, Daily Worker:

Any thoughtful socialist must say "amen" to Herbert Aptheker's call for "expertness" in studying the USSR (and other things). Unfortunately the problem that is not simply one of finding or training experts. For example:

Some of your readers may remember a discussion on Soviet



agriculture in the National Guardian a couple of years back. Participants were Dyson Carter, well-known Canadian Marxist writer, and William Mandel, then as now one of the outstanding American Marxist experts on the USSR.

Mr. Carter claimed that Soviet agriculture was the most mechanized in the world. In support of this he offered no figures—merely his own vague impressions acquired during a trip to the USSR. Mr. Mandel, on the other hand, while conceding that Soviet agriculture had made enormous progress since the 1920s, claimed that it was technically still behind the U. S. A.

(Continued on Page 10)

Skilled vs. Unskilled Worker

(Continued from Page 6)

mang contractors and jobbing shops. This provides the only acceptable alternative to raiding. Raiding is justified before the membership of the craft unions by arguing "industrial union contract providing for work below our scale hurt us. In self-protection we must bring those plants up to scale by establishing one united union for our craft."

The ultimate answer in the big shops will be the return of the craftsmen to the industrial unions with real guarantees that

they will be the masters of their own fate. But no amount of propaganda alone will bring this about. Only concrete action will provide skilled and unskilled with the experience to heal the breach.

Here is a real problem of labor unity that industrial workers live with every day. So far no force in the labor movement has offered a program to deal with it in a way that will contribute to class unity. Here is a real contribution the Communists can make.

Letters from Readers

(Continued from Page 7)

He quoted figures on tractors, trucks and other machines in use in both countries.

Which Marxist expert to believe? Obviously, one would think, the one who gave facts and figures. Unfortunately many people (including, I am sorry to say, Dr. Aptheker) preferred to believe Carter—not because he had proved his case (he hadn't) but (presumably) because they found his undocumented conclusions easier to believe than Mandel's documented ones.

Expertness is a useful commodity—provided people are willing to listen to what the expert has to say.

It would be a fine thing if Dr. Aptheker, who has thrown so much useful light on the suppressed history of the American Negro, could be asked to turn his abilities as a historian to unraveling some of the suppressed history of the USSR.

ALEX LESLIE.

Words Nobody Can Understand

ST. LOUIS.

Dear Editor:

I am interested in the proposal by "J. B." in the July 15 edition of *The Worker*. He suggests that he does "not quite understand some of the articles especially those in the discussion pages." He should not feel disappointed, because nobody else understands what they are writing about.

Some 15 years ago a New York wiseacre told me that "being a lawyer you should write in four-



syllable words." Of course this has its advantages for nobody knows just what the writer is driving at. For instance, nobody on earth knows what each writer means when he uses the expression "left sectarianism." Another puzzler is "we must re-evaluate," for just what had been "evaluated" is anybody's guess. But it does give the writer a chance to write a lot without saying anything. Words, words, words.

Sincerely, R. W.

Praise and Brickbats For Ben Levine

Dear Editor:

"Of" it is the evil that men do that is interred with their bones, and the good that they do that has to wait to live after them. I am sure that Shakespeare would agree—and has so indicated in other contexts.

Ben Levine has been criticized off and on, and in my opinion justly. But it ought also to be said, and I would like to be one to say it, as one of his more frequent critics, that our press is fortunate in having a writer so exceptionally versed in, and ably communicative of our critical heritage from pre-Socialist society. And that personally I generally read him with much enjoyment and inspiration.

I think that he was way off the base of humanism again, though, in suggesting (7-1-56) that "perhaps" we should thank the father of Emily Dickinson as well as censure him for having intimidated her from the marriage which was within her ardent young reach.

We cannot know that her un-
(Continued on Page 11)

The American Road to Socialism

The Ideas That Need Discussion Now

By FRED BLAIR

THE REPORTS of Dennis, Weiss, and Lightfoot, and the columns of William Z. Foster, are serious, if not entirely successful, attempts to give us some central thoughts for our discussion. We need them. A certain aimlessness characterizes much of the discussion to date. We need some direction that will ensure us some success in formulating strategy and tactics to help Labor, the poorest farmers, and the Negro people move unitedly forward, and ourselves along with them.

It seems that many of us fail to see this. Many seem to be getting lost in matters of style of presentation, definitions of words—etc. I personally feel that Dennis' style is somewhat tedious, and involved. But what we need now is considerations of ideas rather than arguments over style—ideas that correctly picture reality in our country, the things we are concerned about.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY

Among the many things we need to study and find agreement on, I consider the following to be important:

1) What are the classes in the farm population of the U.S.A.? I think we need to define these classes clearly, find their relative weight in agriculture and in the nation at large, and their relative regional dispersal. We need to examine where, if at all, the special problems of Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Indians, Puerto Ricans and foreign farm workers, modify the class structure. We need to find and work out systematically the specific demands for each class grouping in agriculture that is, or will be, an ally of the proletariat; and those demands of agricultural classes which can be neutralized now, either to be won over or fought against later on. Further, we need to work out those demands which will

unite industrial labor and its city allies with the masses of agricultural workers, semi-proletarian, and small farmers in a common struggle against the monopolies.



2) I think we need to examine our organizational structure to decide whether or not we should have shop and industrial Party branches or clubs. In this connection, I would pose the following questions:

a) Is there anything our shop or industrial clubs do, or can do that cannot be done as well (or better) by committees or meetings of members in the respective shops or unions?

b) Would not the disbanding of special shop and industrial clubs take a source of irritation out of our relations with non-Communist unionists?

c) Are not our shop and trade union clubs a form of organization alien to American experience, copies from Russian experience, alien to U. S. trade union tradition, and contrary to U.S. trade union democracy?

In general, I believe we would do well to study the way that our U. S. trade unions and people's organizations function, to see if we cannot institute meetings and agendas governed by an agreed-upon constitution and by-laws, under Roberts Rules of Order, with officers whose titles are the kind American people are accustomed to seeing.

MOVE CENTER TO MIDWEST

3) I believe that, with a minimum of delay, the National Committee of our Party and its National Office should be mov-

ed out of New York to the Midwest, preferably to Chicago. A powerful impetus to general sectarianism and isolation from the masses of the U.S.A. comes from the present geographical location of our National Committee and N.O. There are a lot of people in New York and a lot in California—but neither of these is fully representative of the whole U.S.A.—as the Midwest is.

It may be argued that legal restrictions prevent many of our present National Committee members from leaving New York. That is bad. But the Party will gain in the long run by moving the Committee as soon as possible closer to the heart of basic industry, basic agriculture, and the gateway to the South. Even if many new N.O. members need to be elected and many present ones left till they



are able to leave New York. The wisdom of those unable to leave New York can be drawn upon even if they can't legally transport themselves physically elsewhere.

4) We should examine the problem of proletarian leadership of the progressive classes and movements, especially our Party, in a new way. This leadership cannot be automatically guaranteed or won by organizational gimmicks, such as shop branches, etc. In fact, our long-established practice of separating shop and union people from others prevents the non-shop members from getting the benefit of the experience and knowledge of our basic proletarian

cadres.

Secondly, in each city and area of our country, the leadership of our Party ought to be made up primarily of people who are either native, or are of the same industrial and national composition as the masses of the workers in that area. In Milwaukee, this means we ought to aim for a leadership drawn from among machine-building, auto, farm equipment, packing and railroad workers—a leadership most of whom stem from Polish, German, Italian or Negro families. It may be hard to do this. But when our membership and leadership is made up of the same kind of people that make up the bulk of the workers in a city or area, they will have close family, factory and social ties with the masses of the people that will be a powerful deterrent against sectarianism.

DON'T IDEALIZE WORKERS

Thirdly, we should stop idealizing the U.S. working class and stop considering that those we have in our movement are typical of the working class, or fully understand everything about the working class as a whole, or even where they are working. Because we have made both types of errors, we have fallen into policies and tactics that cut us off from the bulk of the workers.

5) Finally, I think we need a completely new look at the way our members are assigned, and what they are doing. We need what we used to call a "cadre policy"—We have innumerable square pegs in round holes, placed and kept there by main strength and awkwardness.

And while we are at it, we should get completely out of the business of sticking our noses into the family and private affairs of one another. If we have any sense or experience, we soon get, through working together, to know everything essential for political purposes about one another. We don't need gossip or nosiness.

No 'Magic Formulas' for Winning Socialism

By a Chicago Union Member

MANY OF the letters to the *Daily Worker* and at least one of the discussion articles printed in the Supplement show that some Party members have temporarily lost their moorings and are drifting, buffeted by the many crosswinds stirred up by the 20th Congress.

It is true that over the last 15 years the Party has lost membership and influence among the trade unions and mass organizations. This is usually referred to by using the term "isolation." It is true that even those non-Communists who take the most advanced position on defending the Bill of Rights and the Constitution are not willing to defend the Communists because they have accepted the bosses' lie that Communists are agents of a foreign power.

Because of the virtual illegality of Communists who are union members, or who are members of other workers' organizations; because of the many mistakes which are made inevitably by any movement which is breaking new ground; because of the effect of these revelations regarding Stalin; for these and many other reasons, some Party members have come to the conclusion that the Party has no future and that it will never be able to lead a victorious movement for socialism.

We see also in some letters the

expression: "I have wasted 20 years of my life, accomplishing nothing but to make a big scrapheap of mistakes."

Is the present low point of the Party due to endless errors in theory, tactics, and approach, which have caused the people to lose confidence in us? Or are there other things to be considered?

OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS MAIN REASON

It is my opinion that one of the main reasons for the present weakness of the Party is to be found in objective conditions. We have had in the United States a period of 15 years of good times, beginning in 1941 and stretching unbroken until today.



During this period it has been possible for the people to find answers to their main problems without the need for the more basic answers which Socialism would supply.

During this period, capitalism has not been forced to expose itself as a society which cannot in the long run satisfy the physical needs of the great majority of the people. The lack of a tradition or history of a labor party, which would help guide workers toward more advanced thinking, helps conceal from the people the true nature and direction of capitalist society. Many very militant workers and rank and file union leaders have concluded that through trade unionism the people can get what they need.

People who see no future for the Communist Party should remember a similar period just before the depression of the '30's. The Party was half its present size. The leadership had just emerged from a series of ideological struggles which split the Party. We were just about as illegal and "isolated" then as we are now. Yet within a few short years, because conditions changed sharply, because there was a severe economic crisis which exposed the ruling class in all its nakedness, within a few years the Party was leading mass struggles which resulted in the lasting gains of Social Security, Unemployment Compensation, the organization of the unorganized, and a tremendous surge

forward in the struggle for Negro rights.

ALL SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS ISOLATED

Some people talk and write as if the isolation of the C. P. at the present time were something beyond understanding. But what pro-Socialist movement or Party in the U.S.A. today is not isolated? There is none. Of all the pro-Socialist groupings the C. P. has the widest influence among the working class, and the most solid reputation for honest workingclass principles.

The American people do not see at this moment a real need of any pro-Socialist party. They will not see it until some sharp political or economic crisis shakes up the country. Such a shake-up need not be only at a time of economic crisis. For example, a mass people's surge to oust the anti-labor, anti-Negro Dixiecrats from the Democratic Party could create a real political crisis in this country. Or a concerted, sweeping drive by labor to organize the unorganized could likewise shake-up the whole country.

It is certainly true that many of the mistakes in theory and tactics made by the Party over the years have caused our road to be more difficult than necessary. The fact that we cried "depression" every time there was a little slump hurt us in many ways. And yet we cannot forget that during all these years of
(Continued on Page 11)

Letters from Readers

(Continued from Page 10)
 surpassed genius could not have flowered except in anguish. We cannot say in what forms the tremendous love of life which she displayed as a teen-ager, uniquely rebellious in her generation, might not have expressed itself with the marital fulfillment which was her right. We do know that the anguish in many of her poems is heart-rending.

Would also like to repeat what I wrote of the term "Hiroshima Maidens" when Joseph R. North first coined it, that it is a chauvinistic term: When the D. W. and The Worker refer to American young women as "maidens," then and not before will it cease to smack of "quaintness" and Occidental Paternalism in the Gilbert-and-Sullivan tradition to speak of Japanese young women as "maidens." If there is "affection" in the term, it smacks of the "affection" of calling Negro men "boys"—but not white men "boys."
 —W. R.

Want More Articles On Negroes, Women

CHICAGO.

Dear Editor:

We of the Douglass-Lincoln Club who go out every Sunday to sell The Worker find that we miss Abner Berry's column. Many readers ask why it does not appear every Sunday. We find that while there are several articles each week on labor, there is usually only one or two on the problems of the Negro people. We want more articles on the Negro people.

We also want articles on women in EVERY issue as we usually find more women at home when we canvass.

J. R. and J. N.

Wants More News, Less Discussion

HARLEM, N. Y.

Dear Editor:

With all respect to the importance of the discussion going on in the Communist Party, I object to the space being given week after week to the discussion. I sell The Worker in my neighborhood and I am losing readers—new readers that I got during our reporting of the Montgomery struggle and the Till case. There are victories to report, like the hundreds of Negro students admitted to Southern colleges since the Lucy case. But instead of this kind of news, The Worker prints page after page of discussion articles.
 G. H.

The American Road to Socialism

There Are No 'Magic Formulas' Only Danger We Can't Forget

(Continued from Page 10)
 good times, there has been and still is a deep anxiety about the future which goes through and through the workingclass. It comes out every time workers start talking together about high prices, high taxes, layoffs in auto, etc.

The errors which have hurt us most seem to me to have been in the field of labor unity as discussed in Dennis' report to the National Committee, and in the bureaucracy and lack of questioning from below in the Party. But even if we had done everything right for the past fifteen years, we would still not be a mass Party because conditions have not been right.

Why is it so important to see this? Because unless we see our Party and its tasks against the broad backdrop of the times we live in, we will wander off onto all kinds of side trails, and will make even more mistakes. If we are on the defensive for a certain period, let's say so to ourselves and to the workingclass. There are ways to fight when you are on the defensive, which can win or hold ground. But you have to know what you are doing, where you are starting from, and above all, when to end the skirmish.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PARTY

As a result of the fights it has put up over the past ten years, the Party has been able to make some very good contributions. We have not been isolated from such mass struggles as the Till case and the rapidly unfolding Negro liberation movement, the fight against McCarthyism, the upsurge of feeling in America which ended the Korean war, the many strike struggles of the workers, etc., etc.

If we want to speak of how to end the isolation of the Party, we need first to remember who we are, and what we want. We want socialism. We know it will not come by itself, but only through

a fight on immediate demands which sooner or later will bring the workingclass to an understanding of the need for Socialism because we will add our scientific Marxist theory to their experiences gained in daily struggles.

Ending the isolation of the Party means jumping in with both feet to help carry out the program put forth by the labor movement. The thirty-hour week, organization of unorganized, organizations of the South, political action—a host of economic demands. Our job is to help win these demands, and in doing so to increase the class understanding of the workers engaged in these struggles.

There has been put forth, in very general terms, a perspective of uniting all the pro-Socialist parties into a mass party of Socialism. Such an organization would certainly be a welcome development, but it would be neither a cure-all for isolation of any pro-Socialist ideology, nor would it be a successor to the C. P. The rocky, difficult road to Socialism has had to be illuminated, in every country so far, by a Party which added disciplined organization to scientific knowledge of Marxism. The "Party of a New Type," as outlined by Lenin, still is needed. So far, in all the discussion of this new Socialism, organization, one thing has been left out—its relation to the workingclass.

Let's end our isolation. Conditions world-wide are favorable to us. Conditions in the U.S.A. are becoming more favorable. But let's not think it can be done by any magic formulas. It will be done by day-to-day hard work, and it is to be expected that many new mistakes will be made on the way. But these need not be catastrophic if we test our line and our work in genuine collective appraisal in the Party and with the good sense and mass experiences of the American people.

(Continued from Page 7)
 nopoly coalition is the concrete expression of this. But, aside from repeating this aim in slogan-like fashion, how much have we done to go into the programmatic, ideological, tactical, political and organizational problems involved? Wouldn't our perspectives become clearer if we came to grips with some of these questions?

our past and the big role we have yet to play; and that, as we delineate and pursue the task of who and where are the socialist trends with which we seek rapport, we devote a good deal of our time towards overcoming serious defects of bureaucracy and undemocratic practices in our own ranks.

RIGHT TO TRAVEL

I would urge that a real fight be waged for the right of our national leadership to travel; they must be freed from the encumbrances of confinement to New York City and enabled to stride freely across the reaches of this vast and complex country to meet the people. In this spirit, too, isn't it time to give favorable consideration to an old proposal: that the national directing center be located in the mid-West?

None of the foregoing, of course, can be built-in guarantees against the commission of right or left errors. I doubt if such a guarantee exists or can be invented. But I do believe that they are among the requirements for minimizing the danger of making such errors, as well as contributory towards making a better frame from within which to project our tasks ahead.



With respect to class: isn't it time that we placed the emergence of the American working class as an independent political force in our country's life as the next big historic step forward which our class must take? Wouldn't the clear-cut, explicit placing of such a strategic aim facilitate the solution of such problems as role of the working class in relation to the anti-monopoly coalition; relationship of our Party to the labor movement and its role in relation to labor's struggles, economic and otherwise, etc.?

With respect to Party: on this, as on the above matters, there is more to say than space allows. For the moment, I would stress that in seeking out paths to a new, mass Party of Socialism, we guard against tendencies to minimize ourselves or to negate



Union Seeks Labor Martyr's Relatives for Okay to Move Grave to a New Shrine

BUTTE, Mont.—The grave in which 25,000 indignant Butte workers laid the body of Frank Little in August of 1917 has become overgrown with weeds. Old-timers in Butte Miners Union No. 1 want to keep alive the memory of the labor martyr. They want to remove his remains to a place where perpetual care can be arranged. As things stand now, vis-

itors to Butte have found it extremely difficult to locate the grave.

In order to remove Little's remains, the consent of any living relatives is required. President Ernest Sjoman of Local 1 requests any possible information leading to the location of Little's relatives. It is believed that a sister resided in the Los Angeles area a decade ago. Any reader who can provide any information is requested to communicate with Brother Sjoman, care of Butte Miners Union No. 1, Butte, Mont.

If no relatives can be located, it will be necessary to secure a court

order to remove Little's remains.

Little was lynched by a gang of hoodlums, hanged from the Milwaukee Railroad trestle, during a strike of the miners that took place during an organizational upsurge which had followed the infamous Speculator Mine fire. On June 8, 1917, 164 miners were killed in a fire at the mine and their death revived the demand for a return to unionism. Little was lynched in an attempt to terrify the workers, but his death only strengthened their solidarity. Little's funeral was the largest Butte had ever seen and was joined by all the unions in the city—from The Mine-Mill Union, journal of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Westinghouse

(Continued from Page 3)
 ing steel workers have to look out for themselves.

Good prospects for defeating the wage cuts still lie ahead, however. Westinghouse can't get its steam turbines anywhere else. And the company has made two revised wage offers recently.

Offer one would shave the wage cut somewhat.

And offer two would make cash payments to a minority of the men when they go back. The cash payments are offered to incentive workers, who would go on hourly rates at a substantial cut. Sums of several hundred to more than one thousand dollars are promised such men. But the cash would barely pay the first year's wage cuts. And the wage-cutting contract would run for five years.

Both offers have been unanimously rejected.

THE COMPANY has also offered to "arbitrate" the cases of 14 good union men, whom it wants to fire when the strike ends. But the strikers unanimously rejected this at a mass meeting of 3,500 men and women. The 14 must be taken back, the resolution said.

And the lines at Lester are holding tight as we go to press.

And now we face the prospect that the weakening building and auto-making props (plus the already very weakened farm and farm equipment props) will weaken some other props (especially steel which has its unemployment in the form of current "inventory lockout"). Those are serious economic signs that should be watched.

Twilight of Building Boom

(Continued from Page 3)
 widespread practice of one person holding two jobs.

CONSEQUENTLY, we have another set of figures released by the Commerce Department recently of a survey of family incomes which shows a considerable increase in the number of families in the brackets which in the not too distant past were classed as middle-income brackets. Twenty-six percent of the families are in the \$5,000 to \$7,500 a year category. A large percentage of this group includes working class families with two or more working. Then there is also the 14 percent with incomes of \$4,000 to \$5,000 that includes many with more than one working.

Until now the purchasers of many low-cost homes were drawn from this 40 percent. The 19 percent in the over \$7,500

category provide the main base for homes that may run above \$12,000. But we have apparently come to a point now where even the great bulk of those in the 40 percent can no longer reach for what the builders class as lowest priced homes. What should be said of the 41 percent of America's families with incomes (before taxes) below \$4,000 a year?

Yes, six percent of the 52 million families have incomes below \$1,000; 10 percent \$1,000 to \$2,000; 12 percent \$2,000 to \$3,000 and 13 percent from \$3,000 to \$4,000.

THIS is why some builders are still doing good working the crowd above \$7,500, while those who built the lowest-priced homes are finding a terrific fall in their business. The auto manufacturers seem to have come up against the same "dead end."



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