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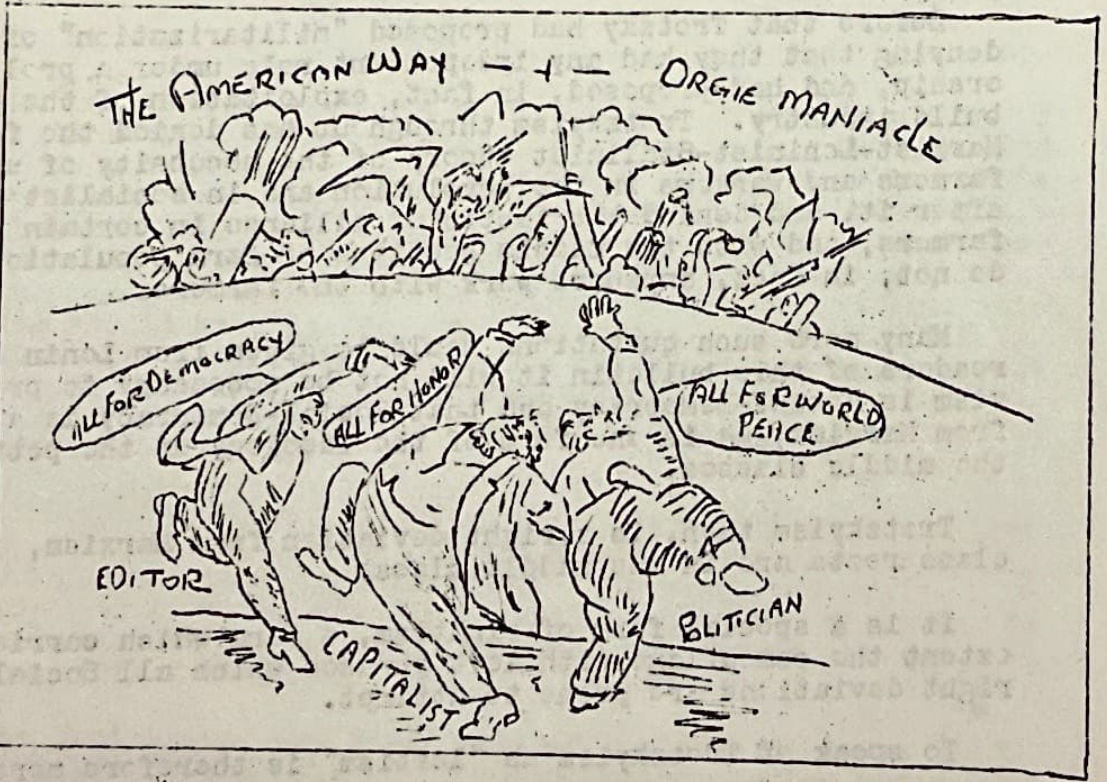
THE ARREST OF CPUSA LEADERS

The indictment and arrest of the top leadership of the Communist Party of the United States should rouse all workers to their defense. These leaders are not being persecuted by the capitalist government because of any of their faults such as we of the SFCC have criticised. They are being attacked because capitalism wishes to deny to the workers any vanguard party of their own, and wishes to terrorise everybody who advocates Communist theory. Their arrest is part of the preparation for imperialist war, and of attack on the Soviet Union.

DANGER OF TROTZKYISM by SFCC

There is no doubt that the Trotskyites are increasing in numbers and influence in the trade union movement, just as are the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and other anti-Communist elements. As the CPUSA discredits itself by its wrong and anti-working class policies in one union after another, and is deserted by the union rank and file supporters

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it formerly led, all sorts of adventurers, opportunists with a good demagogic line, any kind of disciplined and organized group like the ACLU or the Trotzkyites, can and does step in and fill the vacuum left by the collapse of the CPUSA. There is not yet any sufficiently organized and conscious left wing, not yet any real Communist Party, to prevent such things.

Trotzkyism properly is classified as a right opportunist, and therefore anti-working class grouping.

Lenin as long ago as 1912 was calling Trotzky "Judas" (History CPSU, p. 136) for his organization of Mensheviks in the "August Bloc" against the Bolsheviks, and that was not the beginning of their differences. As the leader of the Mezhrayontsi, a special sect of Mensheviks, Trotzky was admitted along with his whole group to the Bolshevik party at its Sixth Congress, just before the 1917 revolution. The Mezhrayontsi had declared they accepted the Bolshevik program and would abandon Menshevism.

But in 1927, at the Fifteenth Congress of the CPSU, a resolution had to be adopted:

"The denial of the possibility of a victorious building of Socialism in the USSR and consequently the denial of the Socialist character of our revolution; the denial of the Socialist character of State industry; the denial of the Socialist roads of development in the village under conditions of the proletarian dictatorship and of the policy of union of the proletariat with the fundamental masses of the peasantry on the basis of Socialist construction; finally, the actual denial of the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR ('Thermidor') and the attitude of capitulation and defeatism connected with it, all this ideological orientation has transformed the Trotzky opposition into an instrument of petty-bourgeois democracy within the USSR and into an auxiliary troop of international Social-Democracy outside of its frontiers."

Before that Trotzky had proposed "militarization" of trade unions, denying that they had any independent role under a proletarian dictatorship, and had proposed, in fact, exploitation of the peasants to build industry. Trotzkyism throughout has denied the fundamental Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory of the necessity of union of poor farmers and workers in the revolution and in socialist construction after it, and denied the tactic of alliance in certain stages with all farmers, and with the middle sections of farm population. Trotzkyists do not, in fact, anywhere work with the farmers.

Many more such quotations could be given from Lenin and Stalin. To readers of this bulletin it will not be necessary to prove that Menshevism is Social-Democracy and that Social-Democracy is a right deviation from Marxism, and is one form of the ideology of the petty-bourgeois, the middle classes.

Trotzkyism then, is a right deviation from Marxism, its ideology's class roots are in the middle class.

It is a special form of rightism, a form which carries to a great extent the camouflage with left phrases which all Social-Democracy and right deviations are prone to attempt.

To speak of Trotzkyism as "leftism" is therefore merely not to see

through the camouflago. It is a mistake which has caused much confusion. It is a mistake made by the authors of the otherwise excellent documentary of counter-revolutionary activities, "The Great Conspiracy".

The authors of that book probably merely reflected the interpretation of the CPUSA leadership (who do not even follow Olgin's correct characterization of Trotzkyism on that point, in his pamphlet written in 1935).

How could a correct and successful fight against Trotzkyism be made by those trained during the past ten years in CPUSA schools when the whole situation was so basically falsified? The average CPUSA member, and many of the expelled members, therefore, have as a shield against organized Trotzkyite propoganda only a set of weird misunderstandings of what Trotzkyites really are.

Trotzkyites in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, Spain for example, when crowded to the wall, made outright alliance with the worst Fascists, and with the secret services of the most ruthless imperialists. (Reports of the Moscow Trials.)

But whoever here expects to settle their hash by merely referring to this data is not going to get far, because Trotzkyites deny it, and in their operations in America, for instance, they carefully do nothing to prove their international leaders were ever on Hitler's payroll.

Whoever expects to find them wildly calling for all kinds of impossible strikes that would only smash the unions is again going to be surprised. Their fault, in fact, is quite as often the opposite, as in the days when they stymied the perfectly possible Minneapolis general strike in 1934.

In the days when the CP had a correct position against the Farmer-Laborite Minnesota Governor Olson, the Trotzkyites there supported him. Afterwards, when the CPUSA supported him, the Trotzkyites didn't.

Lately the Trotzkyites' task has been made easier by the errors of the CPUSA, particularly in the unions. By merely taking the opposite to the class collaboration, usually "no-strike" position of the CPUSA spokesmen, they are often able to put themselves in very strong positions, where they can confuse the class conscious rank and file of the unions who formerly looked to the Communists for leadership. The Trotzkyites are allowed to defend the fundamentally correct line which the Communists should have had from the beginning. It is not likely the Trotzkyites will actually carry out to the limit any such correct policy, after all they are a petty-bourgeois movement, using left camouflago. But for the time being they can certainly defeat the Communist fractions that way.

The CPUSA "fight" against Trotzkyism has not in fact been a fight against it at all; it has been an attempt to use Trotzkyism as a bogey man in a fight against the Communist Party left wing, and real Communists expelled from the CP. To do this it has been necessary to smear the accusation of "Trotzkyism" all over the proclamations expelling real Communists from the CP.

To thus use Trotzkyism, the California CP leadership issued that strange document, a "Study Bulletin" on Trotzkyism, in the midst of the San Francisco machinists' strike in 1945-56. In it all the usual

CP leadership errors about Trotzkyism being "leftism" were repeated, plus the original discovery that the only Trotzkyites in California we have to fight - at least the only ones named - are Hook and Dillon, leaders of the San Francisco machinists' strike! Though there were many Trotzkyites in San Francisco even then, Hook and Dillon were not among them.

Even the policy of playing down the news from the Soviet Union, which the CPUSA has followed so long to avoid embarrassing the opportunist alliances it has made with Democrats, "centerist" union bureaucrats, etc., leaves comrades with no answer to Trotzkyite arguments that the Soviet Union or its Communist Party have "degenerated."

The double-entry bookkeeping which by militant words seeks to keep the European Communists deluded into belief in the soundness of the CPUSA, and leave it free to carry out opportunist deeds in America, provides American Trotzkyites with one of their sharpest entering wedges into the minds of real militants. It is the argument: "There must be something rotten abroad, even in the Soviet Union, or how could the European Parties, especially the Bolsheviks, remain silent or even approve of the American CP? Does not this all show world-wide degeneration in the Communist Parties, as foretold by Trotzky? And all flow from the delusion that Socialism can be built in one country?"

One answer to that is that Socialism is being built in one country-- but the CPUSA has given us little information on that point for quite a while. It would be proper to defend socialism in that one country, even at the expense of some retreats elsewhere, should it really be true that there have been such retreats.

Another answer is that the European Communist parties have such serious problems of their own that it is not likely (though not impossible) that they will take the CPUSA as one of their major problems right now. The investigations required to be sure in any condemnation of the CPUSA leadership may not be considered worth while, remembering how small and futile the American Communist Party is at present. And also considering how futile have been several previous interventions -- the Duclos letter, and before that the Lovestone case, and others.

How can the SFCC or any other of the small groups of real Communists in America think they are important enough yet to attract much attention in Moscow or Bucharest? The European comrades are engaged in a furious world wide struggle in which all that counts are real forces. We will get attention when we are strong enough to deserve it. Meanwhile it will not be surprising that when European Communists mention the Communist movement of America at all, they merely generally accept the CPUSA leadership at face value. (There are minor exceptions: as when somebody like James Allen writes a book and falsifies conditions in Europe.)

Naturally none of these things will be admitted by the CPUSA leadership. In fact, the tactics of the CPUSA leadership more than anything else have been responsible for the present growth of Trotzkyism.

American Trotzkyists are all called stool pigeons and strike breakers -- whereas most of them are not; working class militancy is labeled Trotzkyism as in the S.F. machinists' strike; the treacheries of the CP leadership politically and on the industrial field gives argu-

ments to the Trotzkyites; the CPUSA follows in fact the Trotzkyite program of not working with the farmers. All this, plus the often-repeated declaration that all the expelled comrades either are now or soon will be Trotzkyites -- makes it look as though the CPUSA leaders actually are trying to build Trotzkyism!

May we toy with an idea for a moment? Suppose Schneiderman who was once expelled from the Communist movement in California for Trotzkyism, actually never ceased to be one? Is there anything he could do, that he has not done, that would wreck the Communist Party more and build the Trotzkyite movement more?

Our expelled comrades have a certain duty. It is to be vigilantly on guard against falling into a trap. A correct fight against Trotzkyism in America (where it has not showed its real face the way the Moscow trials showed it in Europe) means a fight against its basic theory, rather than a fight against individual members.

In such a struggle, we have to be sure of our own theory. One of our comrades who likes to call himself "left" said recently to one he likes to call "centerist": "Well, you centerists don't have one of the troubles we leftists do have. When Pravda came out endorsing the Wallace campaign, it knocked us in a heap; of course it doesn't affect you centerists that way so much because you see some good in the Third Party."

And, of course, if you start with the assumption that the CPUSA is, rank and file as well as leaders, obviously petty bourgeois, you must be worried a bit over the Cominform paper apparently recognizing it as still a Communist Party.

Into such doubts comes the Trotzkyist, with the glib explanation: "Degeneration of the world Communist movement -- can't build socialism in one country."

Without question, there have been comrades affected by such doubts, and not rejecting such an explanation.

These comrades we must urge: When you have entered on a train of logic which leads you to Trotzky, it is time to go back and consider whether its original premise, or prejudice, is correct. When you left Schneiderman and Dennis, you left a petty bourgeois leadership -- you don't have to take on another in the form of Trotzky, Cannon or Shachtman!

We have to remember that whatever the faults of the CPUSA in the trade union and political fields domestically, which play into the hands of the Trotzkyites and give them good positions in America from which to appeal to the working class, Trotzkyism is on a world scale (and therefore ultimately in America) the cunning ally of every vicious Fascist and imperialist and every plan for military overthrow of the Soviet Union. (Moscow trial evidence.)

The SFCC repeats now the declaration it made at its first organization back in 1946; and announced in unity with comrades from four western states at Reno, July, 1947: "We have no connection with Trotzkyism; we are strongly opposed to Trotzkyism and will fight it every inch of the way in theory and practice."

TITO AND THE CPUSA
by Vern Smith

European Communists don't like to intervene in the affairs of brother parties in other countries. They much prefer to see the Communists in those other parties wash their own dirty linen. They come in only when things get so bad that there is a health hazard to world Communism, and, also, when they think a bit of advice or criticism will do some good.

Invariably, in the past, they have picked one example, either the worst example, the one they know best, or the one where criticism will accomplish most, or where the danger to world Communism is greatest.

We know this policy, if we stop and recollect events of three years ago. Browder wrote class collaboration into books, a whole series of them, and sent them to every corner of the globe. More than that, he sent agents to all nearby Communist parties to win their leadership to his point of view. And he certainly had success in Latin America and Canada. His was a clear cut case in which his words were as bad as his deeds, and moreover, a case of great menace to the health of Communism everywhere.

The Duclos letter was directed to Browder, and the CPUSA. It did not wander over the world, calling down Communist parties which had succumbed to Browderism, more or less. It left it to those parties to take the hint and get rid of Browderism, by their own efforts. And some of them did it better than the CPUSA did.

There is nothing mysterious about all this, world Communism during Comintern days also operated in this way; how much more so then should one expect tact, and diffidence about assailing the policies of Communist Parties who do not even belong to the much less rigid Cominform? Do not expect that the Cominform will investigate the cases of, and come forward with solutions to cure the evils in, all the little Communist parties like that of America.

But what the Communists of Europe do expect, is that when they expose deviations in one important party, all the others which have the same troubles will take note.

The Cominform's denunciation of the right opportunism in the Yugoslav CP is a bugle call to real Communists everywhere to get busy and clean out opportunism in their parties.

Let us look at the Cominform charges made in June against Tito and the situation in the Communist Party of the United States.

The first charge is a general one of "retreat from Marxism-Leninism." This charge is made specific in the following points.

Charge number two is that of hostility to the Soviet Union. Since the Yugoslav CP leaders are in state power, they are capable of actions the CPUSA is not. But the CPUSA, in order not to "paint red" its propaganda organs formerly devoted to the Democratic Party and now devoted to the Wallace movement, has systematically played down news from the Soviet Union and defense of the Soviet system. It has made only formal gestures, in general terms, "for the record," and in an unconvincing manner. Its main point has been exactly Wallace's point, that it would not be advisable to rush into war with the USSR. And Wallace does not

pretend to endorse, explain or defend, socialism, either as proposed here or existing in the Soviet Union.

The CPUSA is the only organized force outside of such small groups as ourselves, which had any duty to defend and explain and win friends for the Soviet system. It failed in that duty, even though a veritable hurricane of anti-Soviet propaganda blows higher and higher day by day.

So, in its own special form, suited to its own capabilities, the CPUSA is also guilty of the second charge against Tito.

Charge Three is that the Yugoslav CP leaders have failed to create a proper alliance with the poor and middle peasants, led by the proletariat, in class war against the rich farmers and landlords. CPUSA publicists have rushed forward to describe especially how wrong Tito is on the peasant question, because the situation in Yugoslavia has advanced so far from that in America that the two problems do not seem to resemble each other. But in fact, in this case, too, the American party has provided its own special version of Tito's fault. Tito let the rich peasants alone, left them in power. The CPUSA has for years except for a brief period in the 1930's, left the American farmers alone, and in their misery. Tito is wrong on the agricultural front, the CPUSA simply never really approaches the agricultural front. In their attitude toward the farmers, the CPUSA leaders in fact, not in words of course, follow exactly the Trotzkyite line.

This is particularly true in California where agriculture is the largest industry in the state. During the past ten years Schneiderman's machine, despite occasional resolutions, etc. at conventions, not only has not gone to the countryside to organize, but has actually liquidated what agencies for agricultural work existed, and politically liquidated everyone who actively fought for it. For example, the Simon Lubin fact finding and propaganda society has been smashed, and Party support swung instead to a liberal organization "active" only on the legislative field. The outstanding agricultural expert in the United States, commissioned by the Comintern to make reports on agriculture, was Harrison George, and he was expelled from the Party. Every attempt by Harrison George, supported by myself, to get farm news into the Peoples World when we were on its staff ended in the news being clipped, crowded, shoved around, and the writers of it generally scorned, ridiculed and disgusted. None of the "farm columns" lasted long.

Charge Four is that the Yugoslav CP leadership has merged the CP in another party. Well! Do we need to go much into this? We have many times explained in detail -- and anyway it is no secret -- that the single political activity of the CP, the only thing the rank and file are allowed to do, is to push door bells for the candidacy of Henry Wallace, and distribute leaflets and go to meetings for the IPP, or its counterpart in other states. This has reached a point where Wallace himself complained to the capitalist press that he is embarrassed by the close hug he gets from the CP, and wishes it would run its own candidates instead of running him. He will go on from this point to more active red baiting, but that is another story, and is due to the fact that in spite of its best intentions, the CP has become so weakened that it does not really support Wallace much while it rides his coat tails.

What makes it even worse is that the Wallace movement is an unabashed bourgeois party, it doesn't pretend to be anything else. Whereas the Peoples Front Tito merged with is at least somewhat better: the Cominform charge describes it as containing: "various elements of all classes, workers, land workers and individual farmers, kulaks, merchants, small factory owners, bourgeois intellectuals, as well as diverse political groups, including various bourgeois parties." Defin-

itely to the left, in composition and program, as compared with the Third party in USA. And yet, the Cominform blasts Tito for allowing this Peoples Front to appear openly, "while the (Communist) Party and its organizations do not appear openly under their own name before the people." Ask the CP members working in the Wallace apparatus how much they "appear openly" in their work!

As the Cominform Bureau declares:

"The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party repeat the mistakes of the Russian Mensheviks which lie in the dilution of the Marxist Party into non-party mass organizations...The Bureau is of the opinion that such a policy...threatens the very existence of the Communist Party and finally carries within itself the danger of degeneration of the Yugoslav Peoples Republic."

Charge Five should be particularly interesting to American Communists. It says, in part:

"The Bureau (Information Bureau of European Communist Parties, or "Cominform") is of the opinion that the bureaucratic regime created by the leaders within the Party is disastrous for the life and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party. There is no democracy within the party -- principles of election are not adhered to. Criticism or self-criticism is non-existent."

"It is not to be tolerated that in the Yugoslav Communist Party the most fundamental rights of party members are being denied when, to the least bit of criticism on incorrect proceedings, in the Party, the answer is cruel repression."

Coupled with this, but in more general terms directed to all Communist Parties, a leading editorial in the Cominform's paper "For a Lasting Peace, for a Peoples Democracy," June 1, 1948, expands on the subject of Communist criticism and self criticism within a Communist Party. It says, in part:

"Criticism should be frank and honest and not veiled and hypocritical. Criticism and self-criticism affect all, regardless of the individual -- such is the law of development of Marxist parties. Criticism and self-criticism are a sign of the strength and not of the weakness of the Party, and are an important means of strengthening the Party."

"Stalin wrote that a party which conceals the truth from the people, which fears the light of day and criticism, is not a party but a clique of imposters doomed to disaster."

Well, just look at the present CPUSA discussion! Any fundamental criticism of the leadership results in the criticism being declared "anti-party" and ordered not published in the Party discussion. Furthermore, the person making the criticism will almost surely be placed on trial, and charged not only with what he said but with factionalism, consorting with enemies of the working class, reading forbidden literature such as this bulletin, Trotzkyism, white chauvinism, careerism, visiting FBI agents, and quarreling with his wife! Anything and everything they can think of. In one case in Oakland, orders were issued to find some grounds for expulsion of a comrade, because it didn't look good just to expel him for raising the question of socialism in his club.

As a result of this terror campaign, members who have criticism -- far from expressing it "frankly and honestly, not veiled and hypocritically" -- have not dared to express it at all, or, so veiled as to be almost no criticism. In most branch meetings in California when the discussion came up, there was a perfunctory statement by the County or State representative present, who tried to hit all the bells -- and then nothing. Since the resolution itself is so sterile, even the machine members, the wives of Party or union functionaries, could think

of nothing to say -- and the others didn't dare say anything. Clubs were forbidden even to discuss without a representative of the higher authorities present to "direct" and to listen and report who needed expelling, or at least needed a good scaring by some security commission.

When a club did venture something, it was wonderful how democratic centralism was thrown overboard.

One of the leaders of Alameda County CP began to criticize the opportunism of the rest of the leadership. He was thrown out of leadership. But he went on a Tuesday to his club meeting and after a full discussion of his position, was elected by the club to a section convention. He was suspended from the Party Thursday so he couldn't attend the convention, meeting Saturday. (He has since been expelled.)

The Building Trades Club of San Diego not only criticized the opportunist line of the leadership, but elected delegates frowned upon by the county leadership, and persuaded several other clubs to do likewise. So the county leadership postponed the convention on a flimsy excuse and didn't hold it until it could be packed with supporters of the leadership. Of course, the Building Trades Club was dissolved. And a special firing squad was sent down even from San Francisco to politically execute the people who dared to criticize.

The "discussion" has taken place as far as printed articles are concerned, almost entirely by paid officials, parts of the leadership machine. Usually the "party member's" official title is not announced, so that his approval, with mild corrective suggestions, of the draft resolution will appear abroad as part of the rank and file opinion. Never has there been such a dearth of rank and file opinion, and the reason for that is dreadfully simple, and after a few expulsions in each neighborhood, understood by all -- over here.

In no party in the world, we dare to say, has the principle of inner party democracy and democratic centralism and the right to criticism taken such a beating. The tactics have been successful, to the point, apparently, where the top conventions will be pretty well controlled by the machine. Only, such actions change, Stalin warns us, a Communist Party into a "clique of imposters doomed to disaster," and there have been already a considerable number of disasters!

Charge Six is that the right opportunist leadership of the Yugoslav Party sought to cover its real course by sudden, fake, and impossible (because never prepared for) leftist decrees. The particular examples cited in the charge against Tito's leadership do not apply in America, of course, for the CPUSA does not have state power. But our CP leaders well understand this strategy, and are not above, once in awhile, when some visiting European Communist is over here, ordering a brief, unprepared, abortive picket line against imperialism in some manifestation, or issuing some radical sounding declaration.

Charge Seven tells of the boycotting of recent meetings of the Cominform by the Yugoslav Party. But the CPUSA boycotted it from the beginning!

Charge Eight is that of nationalism, instead of internationalism.

Does anybody doubt that Browder's "Communism is 20th Century Americanism," is still the vogue? Never repudiated. Has the American party done any single thing for the workers of any other country? Did they do one practical thing to stop shipments of arms to China, Indonesia? In Canada and Australia Communists stopped ships, not here. Did they go beyond purely legalistic and useless defense of Indonesians slated for deportation? No, they never even sent a committee to tell them good bye. In all such cases, the comfort and reputation of CP trade union bureaucrats and the sacredness of their contracts prevented picket lines to save the lives of workers abroad. After a brief publi-

city campaign, all work by committees "For a Democratic Far Eastern Policy", etc., ended, and the organizations were in fact disbanded. Today none operate.

Those are the charges against Tito, and against the CPUSA leaders. Do not be fooled for a minute because the CPUSA leadership rushed to endorse the Cominform charges. "Band-wagon jumping" is an old trick which the political acrobats that run the American Communist Party have practised for many, many years. It goes back to Lovestone's days, when he, with his ear to the ground in Europe, fired his chief theoretician, John Pepper, and expelled him, as soon as the tide began to turn against those theories. For years the then Party leadership in America had gone around chanting "Bucharin is my leader," during Bucharin's fight for power, but the moment their leader lost, none was quicker than the American Party top officialdom to denounce Bucharin, and propose his expulsion.

But what are you going to do about it, Comrades still inside the CPUSA?

Communists -- the Cominform and Stalin, advise you to practise real criticism, from which no official of the party should be immune. The officials of the party trample this right under foot. They form a faction, seizing and controlling and ruling your party. If you are going to effectively criticize, you must follow the same tactics, as was advised to the members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia by the Cominform, and organize and overthrow that leadership. The Communist objection to factions was based on the theory that democratic centralism would prevail. When a ruling faction has abolished democratic centralism, it abolishes the restriction on your forming factions. Go ahead, organize, examine the opportunism practised by CP bureaucrats in your union or other mass organization, politically criticize that leadership. Never mind if they expel you -- they will expel you sooner or later anyway unless you eat dirt and betray your own convictions and the working class. You will not lose permanently, there will be organization both within and outside of the official CPUSA. The American Communist Party will be a real Communist Party -- and when it becomes that, it will grow and be a power in the world, like the Communist Parties of Europe and Asia.

THE ROAD TO THE MARSH by H.A.

(A review of "Tito and the Cominform" in No. 1 issue of the "Road Ahead", mimeographed by some expelled comrades, P.O.Box 1684, Durham, North Carolina.)

Astonishing rapidity is displayed by the publishers of the pamphlet under review. They show alacrity in arriving at a "sure" judgment in favor of Tito and the Yugoslav CP, based on what is admittedly a garbled report of the Cominform decision, Tito's answer, and a two weeks' stay in Yugoslavia by "one of us." This was "a couple of years ago" and he "was very impressed by the work of the Yugoslav Communists and also got the impression of unusual freedom of discussion and criticism inside the party." (Underlined by H.A.)

All the above would be commendable in a more worthy cause. We cannot accept "impressions" as evidence. Facts are our only consideration.

In studying the decision of the Cominform in the matter under discussion, did these authors ask themselves: Why did the parties forming the Cominform condemn Tito in the perilous state of the world at this

time, when the capitalist nations, desperate in the face of their inevitable doom, are preparing a war of unprecedented fury to crush if possible the greatest slave revolt in history? This revolt would be the rise of the industrial proletariat. The war by the capitalist nations would be motivated with a desire to wreak vengeance on the Socialist sixth of the world, from which the slaves have driven their own limbs and taken into their own hands and for their own use the land and resources of their own country. Workers of the Soviet Union by their example and led by their Bolshevik party, are aiding the surrounding nations to set their feet on the road to socialism.

Faced with the menace of war why did the parties forming the Cominform condemn one of their component members, put him outside their brotherhood and thus apparently weaken their unity? Why, except for the most compelling reasons would they risk antagonizing a nation of such strategic importance as Yugoslavia?

The article under review passes gaily over these crucial considerations and tells the reader on the sole basis of Tito's answer, that the charges are false.

What alibi do these authors suppose the CPUSA will give, when it is finally brought to judgment before the Communist movement of the world, for its opportunist petty bourgeois sins?

The majority of the people expelled from the CPUSA in the past two years were driven out for criticising their leadership for precisely the same practices as Tito is condemned for by the Cominform.

No wonder then, that the basic Socialist question: the dictatorship of the proletariat, should be lost in both the American and Yugoslav Communist parties. There is no room for Socialist consideration in such a mess.

Since this is what the "Road Ahead" approves, its editors should confess their errors and seek readmission into the CPUSA.

The crowning piece of arrogance in the article is when its authors accuse the CPSU (Bolshevik) of "playing the leading role in the spreading of opportunism." They state:

"It seems to have been a basic and serious mistake that most Communists including ourselves proceeded on the theory that it was practically inevitable that the leaders of a socialist country would be sound Marxists

The reader pauses in consternation. Here are the graduates of the most corrupt Communist Party on earth, a Party that abandoned the idea of social revolution years ago, giving the leadership of the Bolsheviks, which includes Stalin, lectures on Marxism -- a group of fleas teaching the theory of flight to eagles.

These comrades were able to arrive at and publish their decision in less than two weeks after the first news of the defection in the Cominform reached America, whereas it required the most painstaking scrutiny by a conference of the leaders of the eight foremost CP's, deliberating on what could have been nothing less than a vast mass of evidence against the accused Tito, before they reluctantly published their decision of condemnation. Who says that Americans are not exceptional people?

The pamphlet reviewed here would not be worth the time and paper required to refute its arguments except that it displays the rotten state of mind, the result of being exposed for a long period to the teachings of the "theoreticians" of the CPUSA. Party members obliged to close their minds, forbidden to question any decision, compelled to swallow any opportunist explanations spoon-fed to them by ignorant leaders, and, when they finally gag at such answers -- thrown out of the organization, necessarily are left in a confused mental condition and rebel against whatever ideas, whether correct or false, they have derived from Party teachings.

The apathy shown by many of the expelled comrades, can be traced to the above conditions, while a small number have actually turned to the pollution of the teachings of Trotzky, as one lost in the desert will slake his thirst at a poison well.

ROLE OF THEORY

Lack of interest in Marxist theory and neglect of propaganda work may lead to degeneration and to the appearance of bourgeois views. Petty-bourgeois complacency and conceit inevitably come to the surface in such organisations and those Communists who ignore theory fail to see the sharpening of the class struggle, the differentiation within the class forces and the manoeuvres of the enemy; they begin to let matters slide and harbor opportunist illusions that everything will turn out alright and that one way or another Socialism will be victorious.

Party organisations whose leaders are luke-warm propagandists of Marxist theory inevitably lose all sense of perspective, and one can expect the most extravagant and pseudo-Marxist "ideas" and "theories." Moreover, in these instances pseudo-Marxism is usually camouflaged by left phrase-mongering.

It is obvious that if there is no taste for Marxist theory, if theory is neglected, is not elaborated and popularised, criticism and self-criticism are relegated to the background, for the very essence of Marxism calls for open, mass Party criticism and self-criticism, regardless of individuals and not for criticism behind the scenes.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), created and educated by the great geniuses of revolutionary theory, Lenin and Stalin, serves as an example to all fraternal Communist Parties of how to approach the development of Marxist theory and its propaganda among the broad masses of the people.....

The success of the CPSU(B) in building Socialism would have been impossible had not the Party attached cardinal importance to the development of Marxism and the Marxist-Leninist education of its cadres.

(From an editorial in Issue #11, April 15, 1948, "For A Lasting Peace, for A People's Democracy!", organ of the Communist Information Bureau of Europe.)

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