

# HOW DO WE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM?

By Alexander Bittelman

(Fourth Article)

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS** the party of Socialism.

Its ultimate program calls for the abolition of existing capitalist system of class exploitation and oppression and for the establishment of Socialism—a system where the means of production are owned and run by the people for the common good instead of by the monopolies for their own enrichment and power, a system without economic crises, unemployment, insecurity and imperialist wars, a system of true democracy for all.

"We Communists believe in and strive to convince the majority of our fellow-workers of the need to seek a fundamental—a socialist—solution of our common economic, political and social problems, that is, to establish the social ownership of the means of production." (Eugene Dennis, *The People Against the Trusts*, page 27, New Century Publishers).

And how do Marxists fight for Socialism? By organizing and leading the daily struggle of the masses against capitalist exploitation in all its forms, against all manifestations of reaction, against imperialism and imperialist wars; and for every improvement in the condition of the masses, for every demand and policy that leads to progress and extension of democracy, for every measure that strengthens the organization and consciousness of labor, economically and politically, and promotes labor's influence and leadership in the progressive movements of the people.

This is how Marxists conceive the historic road to Socialism. This calls for systematic criticism and exposure of all the evils of capitalism, day by day, in the course of the struggle of the masses for partial demands. It calls for the systematic education of the masses in the meaning and advantages of Socialism and on the historic liberating mission of labor—the mission of leading all exploited classes and groups to liberation from capitalism and imperialism.

CONSEQUENTLY, ALL MARXIST policies for the daily and partial struggles of the masses, based upon the concrete conditions of each particular situation, are directed towards the achievement of the foregoing objectives, that is, to promote the strength, influence and leadership for the

fulfilment of its historic mission as leader of the Socialist liberation.

This means that Communist policies always meet two requirements. They must be practical, rising from and based upon the needs and progressive struggles of the masses, calculated to answer these needs and demands of the masses. The other requirement of Communist policies is that the struggles for the partial demands of the masses must be led in such a way as to raise the political consciousness and organized strength of labor and its allies, ideologically equipping and preparing the working class to lead the people to the Socialist transformation of society.

And when the working class and the people reach the stage of maturity required for such transformation — when the working class is ready to lead and the majority of the people are ready to follow; and when the objective conditions, that is, all basic economic and political factors are also mature and favorable, then the Communist Party, as the vanguard party of its class and people, leads the masses in the achievement of the transition from capitalism to Socialism.

In other words, Marxist policies are of such a nature as to serve both the immediate needs of the progressive mass movements of labor and their ultimate needs, the needs of Socialism. Policies which do not serve both of these needs at the same time, serve none, and are not Marxist. This is what we learn from Leninism.

Based upon these principles, the Party projects the Socialist aim at the present time in the following way:

"We advance the socialist solution, not as an immediate task, nor as an arbitrary 'invention' of the American Marxists that proceeds from wishful thinking. We advance it as the scientific recognition of the course of social progress. We understand that the contradictory processes of capitalist development, by their inherent insolubility, will bring ever

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wider masses into motion, to realize ultimately, on the basis of their own experiences in struggle and the vanguard role of the Communist Party, the socialist way forward to the highest stage of democracy and progress." (Ibid).

Naturally, Right and Leftist opportunism both attack the Party's conception of the way of struggle for Socialism in general and at the present time in particular.

**RIGHT OPPORTUNISM**, as demonstrated by Browder revisionism, manifests the following characteristics on this question. It does not make daily policies for immediate needs serve also the ultimate, Socialist needs of the labor movement. It does not consistently make tactics serve the needs and aims of strategy. Consequently, Right opportunist policies serve neither the immediate needs in a really effective way nor the final aims.

For example: in the struggle for the people's anti-monopoly coalition, the requirements of Party policy are two-fold. It is to rally all democratic forces of the American people into one camp of struggle to check and defeat the reactionary and imperialist offensive of the trusts. The other requirement is to promote the political initiative and leadership of labor in the people's coalition.

For Marxists, one cannot go without the other. But Right opportunism always tends to underestimate and overlook the second requirement—the promotion of labor's leading role—which is the central strategic aim of the labor movement, an aim which all policies, at each stage of development, must be made to serve consistently, applying such tactics as are appropriate to the degree of maturity of the working class and of the people's coalition.

In the same way, Right opportunism always tends to underestimate and overlook the promotion and building of the Communist Party as the recognized mass vanguard party of American labor. But how can there be a successful and effective struggle for labor's leadership in the people's progressive movements without a struggle for the leadership of its vanguard party?

There can be no such thing; and our own experiences have amply proven it. Thus we have here another example of Right opportunism failing to make daily policies for the immediate struggle serve the ultimate needs and interests of the movement towards Socialism.

Finally, Right opportunism quite "consistently" neglects the vital task of exposing the evils of capitalist exploitation and of enlightening the masses on the needs of the Socialist solution and doing so in the course of their daily struggles. Such neglect is no accident; it is part of an opportunist tendency to fail to make tactics serve strategy.

On the other hand, Leftist opportunism seeks to bring about

some sort of "general" struggle for Socialism as a substitute for the specific historic stage towards Socialism which the American working class is now passing through. The result must inevitably be a weakening of labor and its allies, a strengthening of reaction, and the rise of a serious fascist menace in the United States. Obviously, such a development would throw the American people backward instead of bringing them nearer to the Socialist transformation.

**WHAT IS THE SPECIFIC** historic stage towards Socialism which the American people and its working class are now passing through? It is the stage which brings forth the rise and eventual victory of the people's anti-monopoly coalition, headed by labor, to check and defeat the reactionary, imperialist and war-inciting offensive of the trusts.

It is the stage which crystallizes the democratic forces of the American people, led by labor, to eliminate the danger of fascism, to uproot and destroy the economic and political sources of the fascist menace, curbing the power of the monopolies and consolidating the power of labor and its democratic allies.

The successful passage through this stage will mark a tremendous advance and will open the transition to Socialism in the United States. But Leftist opportunism does not want to pass through this stage. It proceeds on the assumption that there exists today some shorter cut to Socialism in the United States—an assumption totally baseless and illusory. It claims that the monopolies cannot be curbed without abolishing capitalism and, therefore, the present day struggle to defeat the reactionary offensive of the monopolies must be carried on as a direct fight for the abolition of capitalism.

This is typical Leftist opportunist reasoning. The question of how radically and deeply the powers of the monopolies can be curbed without overstepping the bounds of capitalism—this question will be decided in the United States not by theoretical discussions but in actual struggle between the people and the trusts.

And here the following things are especially important. If the current movements of the American people against the trusts begin to pick up real speed and energy; if these movements begin in a short time to embrace the widest circles of the democratic forces of the American people—labor, the Negro people, the middle classes; and if labor's initiative and influence in these movements, in the people's coalition, is developed in a really rapid tempo, then two things are bound to happen:

One: The people's coalition will become powerful enough to seriously curb the powers of the monopolies without overstepping the bounds of capitalism; and

Two: This will bring the Ameri-

can people and its working class very close to the next stage in the struggle for social progress and democracy—the stage of transition from capitalism to Socialism.

What, therefore, is the immediate basic task of American labor? Is it a general fight for Socialism or is it the building of the people's coalition to check and defeat the offensive of reaction? It is to build and lead the people's coalition, as a democratic and anti-fascist and anti-monopoly coalition. This will serve both the immediate interests of the movement and its ultimate Socialist aims.

**THE RENEGADES OF THE** NCP, patronized by Darcy and Dunne, are deliberately stimulating Leftist opportunism in the labor movement also on the question of Socialism; and the Trotzkyites are supplying the "general" orientation for an "immediate" socialist revolution in the United States. Dunn and Darcy seek to slander and besmirch the Party's major policy for the creation of the people's coalition, and they are doing it in the name of Socialism. Darcy is even glorifying the treasonable and opportunist traditions of the Second International in the United States in an effort to present the old and reformist Socialist Party of America as more truly Socialist than the Communist Party. And here, perhaps, we may be dealing with an attempt of the Darcy renegades to bring together all renegades and anti-party forces, whether Rightist or Leftist.

The practical effect of Leftist opportunism on this question is clear. It plays directly into the hands of the renegades. And these are deliberately seeking to disorient the labor movement on the question of Socialism, to weaken labor's fight for the people's coalition. Thus the renegades render direct aid and comfort to the monopolies and their current offensive. As usual, Leftist opportunism employs "left" phrases to hide reactionary deeds.

That is why the Party combats all tendencies towards Leftist opportunism as well as towards Right opportunism, holding to the Marxist-Leninist conception of how to fight for Socialism in the United States in the present world situation. In advocating socialism as the ultimate solution of all fundamental social ills, we also bring forth—

"the epochal demonstration of the qualitative superiority of the socialist system in its domestic and world relations as achieved in and by the Soviet Union—in peace and in war—to anarchic and reactionary capitalism, with its recurrent crises and mass unemployment, its cutthroat competition, its ravaging imperialism, its world slaughter, and its "solutions" through fascism or near-fascism." (Eugene Dennis, *The People Against the Trusts*, page 28, New Century Publishers).

(The next article will deal with "Our Party and Leadership").