

SPARK

A MARXIST MONTHLY

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TOWARDS A MARXIST PARTY—

A Draft Transitional Program

— INTRODUCTION —

The P.R. Club, Communist Party (Expelled) offers this statement as its approach to the problems of a Marxist party with the intention of stimulating the exchange of more definite opinions. We have called it transitional to indicate the need now for the greatest clarity regarding *immediate* problems—not for a finished, detailed program for a non-existent Communist Party.

Since a "babel tower" of good and bad ideas is inevitable at this stage, and since we are convinced that unity among us will not be achieved by mere decree or resolution, we feel it important for all interested in a Marxist party to contribute open, definite statements of their ideas. Where this has been lacking we have found fictitious unity—and sometimes foul play. What can be more valuable now than open polemic? As for those who dislike committing themselves, we submit that there is no catastrophe in a few little mistakes which will prove later what does not have to be proven—that there is and has been no Lenin in the U.S. *The only catastrophe lies in our failure to get a Marxist Party soon enough.*

Including only what we feel is necessary, we have tried to deal with the immediate problems within the perspective of three main tasks: *the fight for Socialism, the fight against imperialist war and fascism, and the fight for a Marxist party.* All three must be fought for simultaneously or there is no perspective, no meaning and nothing achieved.

1.

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

We believe in the scientific Socialism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In this statement, addressed to Communists, we need not prove the validity of this science. In connection with efforts towards a Marxist party, however, certain responsibilities stemming from a belief in Socialism must at least be summarized.

We must resurrect Socialism from its present American graveyard of opportunism, we must re-study the science of Socialism to avoid a repetition of the fraudulent leadership of the CPUSA, and we must learn to work for Socialism every day. (Note to the National Committee, CPUSA: Please misquote this as the call for immediate Socialism.) We must reveal certain ideas which are currently carefully hidden secrets in the C.P.: Marx's economic doctrine, the character of the state, the class struggle, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must replace the idealist and pragmatic thinking among American Communists with dialectical materialist thinking.

Although the U.S. and world capitalism take great comfort from the atom bomb, *atomic power is itself the herald of Socialism for it exposes capitalism's inability, let alone unwillingness, to use it industrially.* Capitalism's use of atomic power for the benefit of people is inconceivable; its use of atomic power industrially for profit impossible. A week after the first bomb

was dropped on Hiroshima, the "Magazine of the Wall St." had a long-range plan for the prevention of the industrial use of atomic power.

Atomic power has made of capitalism too horrible an anachronism and of Socialism an absolute necessity—in our time. Perhaps this is why we cannot complacently feel that the inevitability of Socialism means that it comes without the help of men. *We must finally start to fight for Socialism.*

II.

THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND FASCISM

Communists should develop their program for any period from an objective estimate of the forces at work in the world. Today four important factors must be recognized in order to understand the desperation of American imperialism and in order to fight imperialist war and fascism.

(1) Socialism emerged from the war stronger than ever and continues to flourish. There is no longer a capitalist encirclement of the S.U.—only the the plans for it, whereas the friendly neighbors of the S.U. have multiplied. The Soviet Union is the world leader for peace, progress and Socialism.

(2) The world has erupted into a new high in national liberation movements: China, Indo-China, India, Greece, Palestine, etc.

(3) The Fascist axis was smashed, but Fascism was not destroyed and is being nursed back to life in Germany, Greece, Japan, China, etc.

(4) Capitalism emerged weaker and more desperate than ever, with

the U.S. its last mainstay, a receivership for its bankrupt empires and tottering regimes. *But what plagues world capitalism, plagues its strongest representative, the United States.* Even the blustering of American imperialism cannot hide its weaknesses. Internally it faces a depression and widening class struggles. Externally it has foolishly adopted the world's pregnant colonial volcano. As the U.S. displaces competing capitalist powers, it creates disunifying rivalries which disarm it in the face of a world united front of the proletarian and national liberation movements. The U.S. has become the new civilizer, the new colonizer, the new oppressor of weak nations. The U.S. has projected a Pax Americana on the basis of junior partner *Churchill's thesis that the temporary atom bomb monopoly gives capitalism a last, short chance to destroy the Soviet Union and Socialism.*

War against the Soviet Union is an insanely difficult task. There are tremendous barriers in the way. American imperialism must first prepare a military encirclement of the S.U. and fascism at home. The focal arcs of the anti-Soviet circle are China in the east, Germany in the west, Greece, Turkey, Iran and Palestine in the south; and Iceland, Alaska, and the U.S.-Canadian Arctic plans in the north. To these lands, the U.S. brings war, subjugation, and fascism as security for anti-Soviet bases. To support this circle, Fascist havens—sanitariums for recuperation—are sprinkled through the world from Spain to Argentina to the U.S., and counter-revolution is painstakingly prepared in the Balkans.

What prevents outright war against the S.U. before the illusion of the atom bomb monopoly is shattered? First the U.S. has acted tough but accomplished little in the matter of browbeating the world. It is obvious that the U.S. has been fighting in China, but so far an all-out war against the Chinese people is impeded by the simple fact that *the American people are tired of war, and only American fascism can force them into a war now.* Furthermore, the imperialists face a calm, formidable, unconquerable enemy in the Chinese Red Army. The Pax Americana is doomed to failure, but if its time table is not cancelled, the price *we* will have to pay will be fascism,—*the worst in history, but the last.*

Even within the movement for a Marxist party there are those who think that fascism as a desperate technique of capitalism has been tried, disproven and disqualified. They say the U.S. will never resort to Fascism because the U.S. has strong bourgeois-democratic traditions. Furthermore, they ask, why does American capitalism need Fascism if it is not threatened by a strong revolutionary force. The *visible* actuality of Fascism's advance carries little weight with these American exceptionalists.

Dimitroff called Fascism the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital." Fascism is used by the capitalist class for three reasons: (1) To throw the burden of crises on the workers; (2) to help solve market problems, enslave nations, oppress colonies, and plan new wars for the redivision of the world, and

(3) for a world struggle against revolution and for the destruction of the S.U. The more capitalism rots, the more its contradictions force the desperate use of fascism. Since capitalism can never recover from these contradictions, fascism is "here to stay" as capitalism's last dragon.

Before fascism is able to take over, bourgeois democracy prepares the preliminary stages. The working class is corrupted by class collaboration and all the other vices of Social Democracy (in the U.S. via the C.P.U.S.A.). The proletariat is separated from its natural allies—the farmers, petty bourgeoisie, etc. Redbaiting replaces unity in labor, veteran, youth, racial and professional organizations.

The prevention of Fascism depends on a real Communist Party; on a militant, united working class; on the correct attitude of the working class to its allies; and on vigilance and a properly-timed offensive. This is the essence of the Popular Front. Without a real C.P. a popular front is impossible. As the Communist Party improved in the U.S. the progressive forces increased, as the C.P. degenerated, the progressives lost all direction, and at present, without any real C.P. there is only a fragmentary progressive movement.

Nevertheless, we must, as we work towards a Marxist party, participate in and lead all manifestations of the fight against imperialist war and fascism, no matter how small and isolated. If there is really so little organization left in the U.S., we had all better start *at rock bottom now.*

We have encountered three main "left" errors in connection with the fight against imperialist war and fascism. The first is the belief that participation in any form of Popular Front is merely disguised support for capitalism,—that the effort had better be expended in party building. We think a real Communist Party should participate in an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist Farmer-Labor party, which—true to its name—could not redbait. Today there exists no real C.P., and therefore, for the present our problem is clearly to build *by being where the workers are*, no matter how bad their leadership. In this process, a real Communist leadership will develop on the basis of leadership within the working class. No longer can a National Committee play the farce of haranguing the American working class into following dark-horse, recordless leaders.

There is never a contradiction between even the most insignificant everyday struggles and the fight for socialism, so long as these struggles are actually used in the fight for socialism. It is idle to place the question: Is the organization in question for or against capitalism? Leninists often support—sometimes with a rope—what they will eventually fight. This has nothing in common with the unprincipled deals of the CPUSA.

A second left concept is the opposition to the UNO. When Communists oppose the UN, they join the company of American imperialism, Trotskyism and Social Democracy, even if their argument is that the UN is an anti-Soviet weapon. Would the S.U. idiotically

belong to an organization whose function was the S.U.'s destruction? While the S.U. is logically very much at home in the halls of collective security—its own idea, the U.S. government has just tried to bury the UN with moves toward war taken outside the body of the UN, such as the war in China, and the proposed invasion of Greece and Turkey. Just as Communists participate under certain conditions in bourgeois parliaments, so a Socialist state participates in an international bourgeois body so long as there is something to be gained. The UN is a platform from which the finest principles of Socialism are broached, a platform upon which the worst contradictions of capitalism are exposed.

The Soviet Union's protection lies in her armed forces, her new Socialist people, her friendly neighbors, and her international support from the proletariat and colonial movements. But the S.U. knows peace is indivisible, and so no effort in the UN is wasted.

The third left error is the misconception of Marxist "inevitability." The great "relaxers" of the inevitability vulgarization answer problems of immediate program—with the complacency: Socialism is our program—inevitably the next stage of society. To the problem of fighting imperialist war, they answer defeatedly: War is inevitable under capitalism. The concept of inevitability, divorced from its constructive role in Marxist science reaches its apotheosis in the belief that there is now a Socialist encirclement of capitalism.

III.

THE FIGHT FOR A MARXIST PARTY

A real C.P. must be a vanguard party—leading not tailing after the working class. It must be an organized detachment of the working class, but also its general staff, armed with revolutionary theory. The C.P. must always work to raise the working class to the high level of its class interests; when the C.P. lowers itself to the momentary level of the proletariat it betrays an essentially snobbish attitude.

A Marxist Party must be courageous and self-sacrificing in the interest of its class. It must never sell principles for the comfort of legality. When illegality threatens it must not bargain or beg for mercy (as the CPUSA does); it must fight all the harder because the eyes of the working class and its allies are on it. A real Marxist Party must be ready for underground "reconversion" when necessary.

A real C.P. is a party of democratic centralism—the principle of the submission of the minority to the majority, inconceivable without unity of will and discipline. But the Communist Party must allow contests of opinion. Democratic centralism does not preclude but presupposes differences of opinion. After democratic discussion, decisions are binding on all, but this is no contradiction to the existence of conflicting opinions, or corrections would be impossible. In an opportunist party there can be no *democratic centralism*, because there is no *democracy*. Opportunism is itself the basic source of factionalism.

Once the CPUSA, despite serious faults, was an improving party. Now the faults have become the party. There is no redeeming feature. It has become revisionist, its basic philosophy reclining in the gossip columns of the capitalist press. It has pickled Socialism and then bartered it for State Socialism. It has become riddled with the ideas of economism, spontaneity, eclecticism and pragmatism. It has become the famous corrupt corpse of the Second International: Opportunism.

The Browder Brotherhood hid the books and liquidated everything from the women's movement to the aliens, national and youth groups, the YCL itself, the C.P. and all vestiges of organization in the South. Offering verbose condolences, it has deserted the Negro people.

During the war it led the American labor movement into a no strike pledge—a pledge to the "enlightened" capitalists. It helped our government delay the second front—the worst crime of the war.

Duclos-day meant only two changes—the removal of the name Earl Browder—*not the idea*, and the substitute of the name Communist Party for CPA—*not the idea*. The CPUSA is a party of fake coalitions all over the place, coalitions which work for its own destruction. It is a party riddled with enemy agents right through to the Nat'l Committee, a party whose leaders redbait their comrades in the unions. It is the spirit of the Second International in the U.S., splitting the unions and all progressive America by its approval of redbaiting resolutions, and its alliances with the imperialists and Trotskyists.

It is a party which refused to help Eisler and actually sabotaged his defense. It is energetic only in expelling hundreds of real Communists and exposing its own membership to the enemy. It is a party that has not yet called one street demonstration in objection to its proposed illegalization. When Truman proclaims a Pax Americana to the whole world and pledges the U.S. to world war and fascism, the D.W. squeaks mildly in the seclusion of its pages, between pinup girls and gossip. It follows logically that such a cowardly party cannot defend itself.

* * *

Obviously then, we need a Marxist party in the U.S. (whatever its name may be). The developing movement for a Marxist party can mature successfully in one of two ways. If the C.P. rank and file awakens soon enough and reacts correctly to the sharp struggles ahead for the working class, there can be a "rescue" of the CPUSA. *This may easily never happen* because degeneracy has a long entrenchment in the CPUSA, and in the last act the command "Stachels pack your satchels!" might not be obeyed. Instead, the National Committee, invoking the bourgeois conception of private property rights, would refuse to give up the party apparatus—from the press to the spittoons. There is also the unfortunate truth that if the C.P. is illegalized in the days to come, it will crumble. It has not the stuff to continue under real pressure. In such a case, the CPUSA would become a dangerous source of stools and agents.

The only alternative is a new Marxist Party. To work with the

attitude of salvaging as much as possible is to prepare for either eventuality. To decide now which of the alternatives we will end with is forming the theory before the fact because the basic data has not yet shown itself. It will show very soon.

If one agrees with the above it is necessary to adopt certain attitudes and discard others. There has been too much of the personal testament followed by divorce from the party. Comrades should remain in the Communist Party as long as possible, fight to change and save it, build ideologically while keeping contact with expelled groups. Once expelled, comrades should go through the ugly farce of appeals because the bureaucracy, itself, will inject the ideological and political into the procedural, call names and raise issues. The C.P. not only creates the basis for a real party by expulsions but in that process extends the discussion within the party. The C.P. membership will learn only through its own experience.

* * *

In our discussion with a local group, the P.R. Club has suggested the following Declaration of Intentions as a minimum for organizational linking:

"Resolved, that the P.R. Club, Communist Party (Expelled), the and the form the *Committee for a Marxist Party*.

"The aim of this committee is to help bring into existence in the U.S. a bona fide Communist Party, guided by the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; dedicated

to the constant struggle for Socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat; militant in its fight against every act and preparation of our government for imperialist war and fascism; outspoken in its defense of the first land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, and of all progressive struggles throughout the world.

"We believe the Communist Party U.S.A. is opportunist—that it has abandoned the theory of the class struggle and the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and that it has betrayed the American working class and its allies.

"Therefore, it becomes the responsibility equally of members of the Communist Party U.S.A., expelled Communist Party members, and non-Party Marxists to work towards a bona fide Communist Party:

1—By extending the current discussion both within and without the Communist Party on the role of a Marxist Party in the United States;

2—By helping the development of varied Marxist circles such as study, contact, publication, and expelled groups;

3—By establishing a publication for the purpose of unifying ideologically and organizationally the forces for a Marxist Party in the United States.

"All decisions in the name of the C.M.P. (Committee for a Marxist Party) must be based on the unanimous agreement of the constituent groups. However, each group reserves the right of independent action in its own name and cooperative action with other groups. This will be amended as needed in the course of the growth of the C.M.P."

We feel that Marxist circles are important for three reasons:

1. Obviously, they would promote the current discussion, prepare for a Marxist publication and all future organization.

2. It would be foolish to delay all preparations for a Marxist Party until all hope for "rescue" of the Communist Party is destroyed. We must begin now. These circles must be the source of a new Marxist leadership for the United States.

3. In the eventuality of an underground situation Marxist Circles will have laid a basis for continued work.

As for the publication, the day we attain a Marxist organ for all the anti-opportunist groups in the United States, we will gladly retire this magazine and turn all our efforts to the more representative organ.

We have found there is more than enough in the United States to start building with. We must make it clear that personal ambition, National Committee ideas of leadership, and the inability to accept criticism are taboo. There can be no deals over the heads of the membership, and no National Committee members allowed in the real C.P. We must be open and frank with each other—the best preventive for cliques. We must develop our own ideas, consider other groups' ideas, admit mistakes and cooperate rapidly on a minimum.

We hope this statement is of use in formulating and discussing your ideas. Your reaction will be of the greatest interest to us, and next month we will publish a consideration of these reactions, reprinting as many as possible.

HARI KARI ON THE NINTH FLOOR

The Communist Party is facing the danger of being outlawed from American political life. It has faced this danger before, but at no time has it found itself in greater isolation. Only a peep of a protest has been heard from the trade unions. From the C.P. there has come only the dignified formality of protest. From the American middle class has come only a few individual statements. In the face of the lessons of Hitler Germany, the apathy of the American people to this danger is amazing, not only because the Party is being outlawed, but also because everybody knows that this is the beginning of fascism in the United States.

When a working-class party finds itself separated from the working class and its allies, it is clear that something is wrong with the tactics and strategy of the party. We find that the present leadership has given fulsome lipservice to the break with Browderism. It tells us that Browder's errors lay in: Class collaboration, denial of the leadership of the working class, desertion of the vanguard role of the Communist Party, and finally the liquidation of the Party.

This analysis has often been made by the C.P. leadership. The question is *to what extent has the Communist Party broken with Browderism in practice.* All party members should have been duly warned when at a recent Town Meeting debate, *Earl Browder declared that he was satisfied with the present line of the Communist Party.* That one came right out of the horse's mouth.

That the Communist Party is today following the policies of Earl Browder can be most clearly demonstrated by examining the party's stand on the issue of redbaiting. The CIO resolution on Communism, and the role the party itself played in the formulation of this resolution is the most full-blown expression of opportunism and its effects. Never in the history of the working class movement in any country was there such a spectacle as occurred at the CIO National Convention on Nov. 30, 1946, when the CIO passed a resolution to the effect that the delegates "resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO." Not only didn't the C.P. fight this resolution, it supported it. More shocking—it helped formulate it via three members of the "left" on the policy committee. One of the members of the committee (Ben Gold) gave official C.P. sanction to this resolution by openly declaring himself a member of the C.P.

The Worker of Dec. 1, 1946 headlined this infamous resolution, "CIO Parley Disappoints Reaction." What was the reasoning behind this resolution? The mental wizards on the Ninth Floor inform us that this was the way to achieve unity. In fact we get the following gem from an article by George Morris entitled "The CIO Resolutions": "*The Communists especially, have always favored a statement telling the world that the CIO isn't Communist . . .*"

What sort of unity did this resolution bring about? Dec. 1, 1946

the New York Times in an article "CIO Pushes Action for Curb on Reds" reported that in Cleveland and Milwaukee elections for new sets of CIO council officers had been directed by Philip Murray because these councils had given donations or sent delegates to "leftist organizations." "In Pittsburgh, home of Mr. Murray's own United Steel Workers, two left-wingers who had been nominated for election . . . decided to withdraw after the actions at Atlantic City. Their declinations assured full right-wing control of the council." Readers of the Daily Worker may learn this for the first time, since these items were never included in its pages. In Massachusetts, the state CIO convention ruled Communists ineligible to hold office. A similar resolution was adopted by the N. J. CIO. The N. Y. State CIO stated no demonstrations to Albany could be called by the Councils without the approval of the state body.

On Jan. 8, 1947 the CIO National office listed 36 organizations which could be sponsored. It instructed Council officers to refrain from sponsoring any organizations not listed, or soliciting membership in unlisted organizations as well as prohibiting gifts or delegations to such groups. The 36 approved organizations were divided between those that would please the Catholic Church and the New Leader. Relief for progressive nations was omitted. The NAACP was favored over the Nat'l Negro and Civil Rights Congress, and scores of other progressive organizations were not included. The past week has brought forth the endorsement by Philip Murray of the Greek War Relief Drive headed

by Skouras who applauded President Truman's call for interference in Greece. Every CIO local is instructed to support this drive which will be used against the democrats in Greece.

Impetus was given to a general redbaiting program in organizations all over the country. J. Edgar Hoover and Rankin might well have pinned medals on the heroes of the Ninth Floor for aid given in redbaiting. In the AVC, the so-called Leftwing which includes Communists, did not even call upon the membership to defeat Bolte's redbaiting resolution. It politely asked the membership to vote one way or the other but "to get it over with", while the Social Democrats and Trotskyites were taking the offensive to obtain passage of this resolution.

Lewis Merrill, with the blessing of Party leaders in the UOPWA, passed the following resolution—the epitome of the CIO resolution: "(The UOPWA) will firmly oppose any efforts to interfere in its affairs by any political party, whether it be the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Republican Party etc. Any effort to impose the viewpoint of outside organizations on the membership of the UOPWA will be met with firmest exercise of union discipline." Then Merrill resigned from the Boards of Jefferson School and the New Masses. Only after PM carried this information, was the D.W. forced to editorialize away the shock these actions caused rank and file party members. Softly criticized, Merrill reaffirmed his position. *At a meeting of functionaries "to explain", I. Amter explained that the Communists responsible could not be expelled or*

disciplined because such action would "expose" them. Undoubtedly, such action would also expose Nat'l Committee members who sanctioned the Merrill resolution.

The resignation of Reid Robinson fills the cup to overflowing. In this case there is the added factor of Robinson's personal corruption in attempting to borrow \$5000 from an employer with whom his union was bargaining. An unbelievable act for a Communist; a normal one for a political Opportunist.

An examination of the thinking behind the CIO and Merrill resolutions reveals two ills within the C.P. The Communist Party does not believe in the political activity of the working class. Therefore the leadership can support resolutions which try to divorce the trade unions from the activity of political parties. This is Economism at its height. The C.P. leadership does not believe in the vanguard role of the Communist Party, so it can support resolutions separating it from the working class.

It is, of course, too much to ask the present leadership of the C.P. to think in terms of a class analysis of the role of the C.P. and the trade unions in the world today. The thinking of the Ninth Floor arm-chair generals is of the eclectic, flea-cracking type so reminiscent of the Second International. If they were not actual betrayers of the working class they would realize where their tactics have led the Party. Among the most advanced workers in the CIO the resolution has caused the most confusion. When workers look to the C.P. for leadership they are taught redbaiting "for the sake of unity."

The C.P.'s part in the CIO reso-

lution is a preparatory step in the liquidation of what remains of the Party. More subtle than Browder's tactics, it leads to the road of the Party's complete annihilation.

The unity the Party prates about does not exist. Unity and redbaiting are diametric opposites. The very term redbaiting means splitting—splitting the C.P. from the working class, splitting the working class itself, splitting the working class from its allies. There cannot be such a thing as mild redbaiting. Redbaiting serves only the purposes of the capitalist class in concealing imperialist and predatory aims at home and abroad. Those who compromise with redbaiting play the Judas role in the trade unions and the working class. This has been the role of the C.P. leadership—a fair day's work for Wall Street.

Had the party fought redbaiting at the CIO Convention, it would have won the support of all honest trade unionists for the fight against redbaiting is the direct protection of the working class. The workers understood this during the war, and they understand it now. But the C.P. whose tailism and snobbishness has led to loss of faith in the proletariat confuses the whole progressive movement. This is not merely the result of stupidity. There is no doubt that the C.P. leadership's role is nothing more than the role of traitors and agents of the capitalist class in the working class movement. Foster and Dennis betray the working class no less than William Green and David Dubinsky.

JOE BARNER

N.Y. C.P. Members Circle

REPORT FROM FRISCO

By the San Francisco Committee
for Correspondence

(The following article dealing with the organizational setup of the anti-opportunist forces in San Francisco is the last third of a report by the S.F.C.C. requested by this magazine. Space and deadline limitations forced us to print this section first for its organizational interest. The rest of the article including valuable information regarding the struggles of the machinist and maritime workers in S. F. will be published in the May Day issue.)

The C.P. leadership whistles to itself once in awhile to keep its courage up. Today's (March 14) People's World has a head: "Communist Party Comes Up Fighting," against the bills to put it out of existence. But it has insulted, betrayed, driven away, the mass force which would guarantee its victory.

Yes, of course, the workers should fight the anti-Communist legislation now before Congress, for their own sakes, but Party misleadership has made it harder to mobilize for this.

Complacency is shown in the C.P. leadership attitude to the disagreement of Communists with its policies. Rudy Lambert head of the C.P. "Security Commission" told comrades recently before him for expulsion: "The leadership has analyzed the situation of those expelled, and we have decided that you have only two roads open: either you can go Trotskyite, or sink into complete apathy."

Not one single member of the

expelled groups has gone Trotskyite, in fact, the Trotskyite press attacks all the expelled comrades, here and elsewhere, as bitterly as it does the official party. We are called "Left Stalinists."

The comrades expelled in San Francisco are doing their best to avoid the other happy solution of Rudy's. We are busy, and will be busier.

As we see it, our main job is wherever we are, inside or outside of the Party, but always among the workers, to draw around us groups for study of Marxian principles, and of present policies, and to bring about action in accord with the principles of class struggle. It is felt that the study groups or classes will help clarify the theory needed for this.

A certain amount of organization has been thought useful, by most of us. There now exist five formal classes in Marxism, some in industrial groups and some more general. More are contemplated.

There are also three industrial or trade groups, not classes, in maritime, pile drivers and machinists.

There are a number of unattached individuals.

Expulsions from the C.P. continue at a slower pace than last year; one comrade was tried and ordered expelled week before last.

Workers who have left the Party in a demonstration against its policies have begun to come around to the classes and groups.

Some workers who never were in the party are being attached.

The groups sent delegates last week to the last of a series of meetings and finally set up the San Francisco Committee for Correspondence, which will continue to meet as a delegate body once a month. It elected a Working Committee of 7, fairly representative of the classes and groups and the unattached individuals. The Working Committee has elected Harry Allinger a lumber and tunnel worker, hero of many strikes and other battles, as Secretary. He will be assisted by members of the committee, work being distributed, and not confined to the Working Committee, either.

This apparatus differs little from the tentative organization already at work for weeks past.

The Committee is not a new political party. Its purpose is to assist groups to form, assist in setting up new classes, aid by circulating any material for discussion that comes along, for instance the statements of position by the New York groups. It mimeographs such material and distributes it to the groups and classes. It also sends out material on the present situation in mimeographed form, either originating with itself or from elsewhere, as for instance, New York, to a wide mailing list all over the state. It keeps in touch with similar movements wherever it can find them, and is now in communication with a number of people in American cities and one country abroad.

Much of the material it circulates so far has consisted of statements issued on expulsion or resignation from the Party by individuals. The

experiment was tried of mimeographing appropriate parts of the Leninist classics and circulating to those engaged in some particular struggle, for instance, for higher pay. We do not know yet whether this was an effective tactic.

It was decided at the last working committee meeting to pay more attention to short, timely articles and analyses, on concrete problems of the workers. The idea of issuing a periodical bulletin is being discussed. Thousands of separate copies of literature have been distributed.

As much as there is of a formal statement of principles is embodied in the note which the Committee has agreed should be attached to all literature sent out:

"This is one of a series, published by a group of workers in San Francisco, guiding themselves by the revolutionary writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The aim of the publishers is to develop a scientific policy for action to solve the problems of the working class.

"The SFCC invites questions, criticism, comments, articles, statements and documents. Requests for additional copies and new names for the mailing list are welcome. No material will be printed without permission of the author.

"The SFCC does not necessarily endorse the content of the material published.

"Publication of SFCC material is made financially possible by voluntary contributions. How about some help?

"Harry Allinger, Secretary,
"P.O. Box 2533, Station B., San Francisco, Calif."

Free Eisler—Defend the Legality of the CPUSA

The case of Gerhart Eisler was the prologue to an American tragedy. The absence of a real fight to free Eisler signaled the U.S. Government that the curtain could rise—the play begin. The first scene was performed at the Senate Labor Committee with Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach in the leading role.

As Eisler sits in jail today he has the bitter knowledge that his prophecy came true all too quickly. The American imperialists and fascists chose for their test case "an alien", a "Communist", an "atom bomb spy", in other words a man so "damned" that righteous Americans blind to his heroism and his significance, could find him too dangerous to defend during the present redbaiting season.

The play isn't over yet, but let's consider the action until now:

Trade union leaders don't defend Eisler!

Communist trade union leaders don't defend Eisler!

Progressive organizations don't defend Eisler!

The Eisler case has been relegated to the Civil Rights Congress, an organization with no mass following which by itself cannot possibly hope to free Eisler. So far it has been able to muster a few intellectuals whose courage is to be admired, but whose influence is limited. At this writing, not one Communist trade union leader who was approached to sign the statement published in PM on March 2nd would do so, *because this issue was "too hot a potato."*

Upon whom does the responsibility

for this general cowardice fall? The Daily Worker editorials on this subject appeal very vaguely to the liberals to defend Eisler! They never appeal to the trade unions at all. The hypocritical justification for the theory of the "hot potato" is the fear of splitting the trade unions, says the "vanguard" CPUSA. The recent CIO resolutions make Eisler's defense impossible, they add. Indeed they do! For that is exactly their mission—to keep every progressive political issue out of the CIO by labeling it Red. There is no unity in the trade unions, only a fictitious unity which allows a few Communist officials to hold their jobs at the price of redbaiting every vital issue out of the CIO. This "unity resolution which frustrated American reactionaries" plays exactly the splitting role it was designed for. And every Communist who avoids an issue in the trade unions on the above grounds is silently redbaiting. These Communists have also red-baited progressives who are courageous enough to raise this issue in their organizations.

Furthermore argue the opportunists of the C.P., the people are not ready to defend Eisler. This is their trump card on every occasion—to blame the people for their own misleadership. The fact is, however, that in spite of the CPUSA, the American people are still not Red-baiters.

The timetable of the American imperialists is not acceptable to the American people. In preparation for the Moscow Conference, a spy scare to arouse anti-Soviet feeling

was planned, but, as Eisler so aptly said—he would not play the hare. And thus he exposed the elaborate fraud that was planned by the Smith-Rankin Committee. He fought back like a real Communist and exposed the purposes of this fascist group. For the next step, the American imperialists timed the call for the illegalization of the Communist Party to accompany Truman's proposed colonization of Greece and Turkey. The majority of Americans oppose both these moves, and yet there is no outcry, no real sign of an anti-war, anti-fascist movement.

Why? Because the C.P.'s corruption has permeated the trade union and progressive movement and destroyed all working class leadership. It no longer leads or speaks for the American people. Although most Americans are fearful of the illegalization of the C.P. because they recognize it as the weapon of fascism, this measure has brought forth only a whispering complaint from the C.P. Were the Party to defend the American people, to call demonstrations vs. the invasion of Greece and Turkey, the American people would defend the party. In fact, were the party to defend itself by any real mass action, the trade union and progressive movement would be irresistibly involved.

But how does the party prepare to defend itself—with a \$250,000 fund drive? Protests, demonstrations, preparations for safeguarding the existence of the party are not determined by an isolated fund drive. Dennis complains that this is an undemocratic move, and fantastically continues the drivel about

the responsibility of the Republican Party. It was the "friend of labor" Schwellenbach and our Democrat President (who could not be compared to Vandenberg, Max Gordon insisted during the election campaign), who have thus far proposed the most drastic step toward fascism and war. The idea of "Republican reaction first and foremost" is sacred to these traitors and idiots!

The Nat'l Committee's betrayal of Eisler has now become the Nat'l Committee's betrayal of the whole American working class as well as the Party membership. Although we know very well the leadership of the C.P. will not defend the party, *it is our task to defend the legality of the Communist Party and to free Eisler, and thus smash the plans of American capitalism. Every progressive, every trade unionist, every Marxist should carry these struggles into his union local, fraternal organization, P.A.C. and A.L.P. chapter, veterans and civic group.*

We know very well that only a real C.P. can carry through such struggles to a successful conclusion, but it is not enough to bemoan the absence of such a party. Even the courageous stand of a few can create the basis for a turning point in the fight against redbaiting, imperialist war and fascism, and simultaneously create out of these experiences the basis for a real Communist Party.

M. SAMUEL

(Note: In our own neighborhood, P. R. Club members took part in a meeting in defense of Eisler and found the courageous response of the people a welcome antidote to the C.P. sellout. The P.R. Club (Communist Party Expelled) will be glad to send you Eisler's statement which was boycotted by the newspapers. Please enclose 5c per pamphlet.)

Excerpt—Declaration by the Editorial Board of Iskra-Lenin

(In each issue, we will reprint from Marxist literature a short excerpt of particular value to us at this stage of our movement.)

In Russia of 1900, when this was written, the Marxists called themselves Social-Democrats. After the complete degeneration of the Second International, Lenin suggested the change of name to Communist.)

* * *

To establish and consolidate the party means to establish and consolidate unity among all Russian Social-Democrats, and, for the reasons indicated above, such unity cannot be brought about by simply giving orders; it cannot be brought about by, let us say, a meeting of representatives passing resolutions. Definite work must be done to bring it about. In the first place, it is necessary to bring about unity of ideas which will remove the differences of opinion and confusion that—we will be frank—reign among Russian Social Democrats at the present time. This unity of ideas must be fortified by a unified party programs. Secondly, an organization must set up especially for the purpose of maintaining contact among all the centres of the movement, for supplying it regularly to the periodical press in all parts of Russia. Only when we have established such an organization, only when we have established a Russian Socialist mailing system, will the party have a chance of permanent existence and only then will it become a real factor

and consequently a mighty political force. To the first half of this task, i.e., establishing a common literature, consistent in principle, and capable of ideologically uniting revolutionary Social-Democracy, we intend to devote our efforts, for we regard this to be one of the pressing tasks of the present-day movement and a necessary preliminary measure towards the resumption of party activity.

As we have said already, the intellectual unity of Russian Social-Democrats has still to be established, and in order to achieve this it is necessary, in our opinion, to have an open and thorough discussion of the fundamental principles and tactical questions raised by the present-day economists, revisionists, and "critics". Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all firmly and definitely draw the lines of demarcation between the various groups. Otherwise, our unity will be merely a fictitious unity, which will conceal the prevailing confusion and prevent its dispersion. Therefore, we do not intend to utilize our publication merely as a storehouse for various views. On the contrary, we shall conduct it along the lines of a strictly defined tendency. This tendency can be expressed by the word Marxism, and there is hardly need to add that we stand for the consistent development of the ideas of Marx and Engels, and utterly reject the half and half, vague and opportunistic emendations which

have now become so fashionable as a result of the legerdemain of Ed. Bernstein, P. Struve and many others. But while discussing all questions from our own definite point of view, we shall give space in our columns to polemics between comrades. Open polemics within the sight and hearing of all Russian Social-Democrats and class-conscious workers are necessary and desirable, in order to explain the profound differences that exist, to obtain a comprehensive discussion of disputed questions, and to combat the extremes into which not only the representatives of various views, but also of various localities or various "crafts" in the revolutionary movement inevitably fall. As has already been stated, we also regard one of the drawbacks of the present-day movement to be the absence of open polemics between avowedly differing views; an effort to conceal the differences that exist over extremely serious questions.

We will not enumerate in detail all the questions and themes included in the programme of our publication, for this programme automatically emerges from our conception of what a political newspaper, published under present conditions, should be.

We shall exert every effort to persuade every Russian comrade to regard our publication as his own, as one to which every group should communicate information concerning the movement, in which to relate their experiences, express their views, their literary requirements, their opinions concerning Social-Democratic publications, in fact to make it the medium through which they can make their contribution to

the movement and receive what the movement can give them. Only in this way will it be possible to establish a genuine All-Russian organ of Social-Democracy. Only such an organ will be capable of leading the movement onto the high road of the political struggle. "Push out the framework and broaden the content of our propaganda, agitational and organizational activity" these words uttered by P. B. Axelrod must serve as our slogan defining the activities of Russian Social-Democrats in the immediate future, and we adopt this slogan in the programme of our organ.

We appeal not only to Socialists and class-conscious workers; we also call upon those who are oppressed by the present political system. We place the columns of our publication at their disposal in order that they may expose all the abominations of the Russian autocracy.

Those who regard Social-Democracy as an organization serving exclusively the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat may remain satisfied with merely local agitation and "pure and simple" labour literature. We do not regard Social-Democracy in this way; we regard it as a revolutionary party, inseparably linked up with the labour movement and directed against absolutism. Only when organized in such a party will the proletariat—the most revolutionary class in modern Russia—be in a position to fulfill the historical task that confronts it, namely, to unite under its banner all the democratic elements in the country and to crown the stubborn fight conducted by fallen generations with the final triumph over the hated regime.

Our S. O. S. Answered

Aware of our impending mass expulsion, we issued the "S.O.S. TO ALL COMMUNISTS FROM THE P.R. CLUB, C.P.," and distributed it for the first time at a Bronx County C.P. rally on October 24, 1946. We were expelled without hearings and our appeals were refused hearings—but our S.O.S. was answered. Letters came from all over the U.S., offering us encouragement, suggestions, documents, mailing lists, money and stamps. We learned for the first time of the existence of similar groups in various cities. Many Party clubs have discussed our S.O.S. formally. We believe the last five months have proven it to be correct. Visitors—both welcome and unwelcome came. We would like to warn all our comrades that infiltration into the anti-opportunist movement is top priority on the Trotskyite agenda. But they expose themselves easily.

The real answer to our S.O.S. and to the appeals of similar groups has been that there are *now* in the U.S. forces enough to start building towards a Marxist Party, enough to produce a Marxist publication representing all groups nationally. We are publishing *SPARK* to help the groundwork for such a publica-

tion. We hope our readers will help us develop our draft program and our magazine. Although *SPARK* has a definite line and attitude, we will publish letters and articles with which we do not agree.

The P.R. Club, C.P. (Expelled) continues its work as a neighborhood branch. It meets weekly and holds a class weekly. We work with a C.P. members circle and with C.P. members out of town. We try to fight where the C.P. deserts. In later issues we will attempt to discuss problems of our work and our study.

Let us be frank. *SPARK* is published on a financial limb. We milked the rock to print the first issue; we have only audacity left in the bank for No. 2. If this magazine is of value to you, please help us. This is not a blurb. We cannot publish this without you. Somehow *SPARK* will come out every month and *improve*.

We will not apologize for using such a venerable name as *SPARK* (*ISKRA*). *Iskra* is symbolic and a source of important lessons for us at this time. We hope to be one of the innumerable sparks in the United States which can soon unite and *ignite*.

SPARK

A MARXIST MONTHLY

In the May Day Issue

1. May Day 1947—Old vs. the New World
2. Criticisms of our Draft Transitional Program
3. Factors in the American Depression
4. Barnard Rubin For General Secretary
(A Reaction to the Daily Worker)
5. Veterans Betrayed
6. Reprint from Marxist-Leninist Literature.
7. Report from Frisco.

* * *

Only you can keep this *SPARK* alive. We have started *SPARK* because we have something to say and we believe you have something to say too. Here is the place to bring it. Help us by writing to and for us.

We are not offering regular subscription rates because the existence of this magazine depends on you. If you want to see it issued month after month, send us as large a contribution as you can and as soon as possible. We will accept quantity orders as well as mailing lists.

SPARK will be glad to obtain for you any Marxist literature or other information on current problems (such as the Eisler case) that is unavailable in your community. Just send us a list and the money to cover the cost.

Please make all checks or money orders payable as follows:

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April, 1947

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