

16th NATIONAL CONVENTION Discussion Bulletin

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UNDERLYING CONCEPTS FOR DRAFT CONSTITUTION

By FRED M. FINE

Bureaucratic concepts of Party organization, systems of leadership and relations between the Party and the masses have been a prime factor in contributing to our errors. They hindered the early and timely correction of these errors. Wrong concepts of leadership discouraged full and free participation of the membership of the discussion of policy and tactics. They stood as insurmountable obstacles to the efforts of comrades in mass organizations to challenge sectarian policies and tactics. They contributed to the weakening of inner-party democracy. In many cases they resulted in departure from the



FRED FINE

very procedures established by our own constitution. They resulted in disciplinary actions which further inhibited expressions of disagreement. They made the life of the Party largely routine, devoted, at least between pre-convention discussion periods, to the organization of a multitude of campaigns without adequate examination and testing of our policies and tactics in actual life by our members in the shops and organizations.

These bureaucratic methods of work, system of leadership and organization have been accentuated in part by the mechanical application of certain principles of organization adopted by other Communist parties that functioned under different historical conditions. (Draft Resolution.)

WIDE AREA OF QUESTIONS

Today, whatever other questions divide our Party, there is almost universal agreement that bureaucracy and lack of internal democracy has plagued us over the years and has done us much harm. Exasperation with bureaucratic methods of work has virtually exploded within our Party. Not a few comrades attribute most of our problems and weaknesses to the deplorable lack of democracy in the Party and many insist that if nothing else happens, basic and lasting changes must be made that will end the chronic and stubborn bureaucratic system and methods of the past. This exasperation has been heightened in our ranks against bureaucracy in 1945 which brought little if any improvement. It was further provoked by the fact that in the difficult spring and summer of this year, the National Committee gave many the impression that it did not trust the membership and balked at giving a full picture of its thinking and discussions.

The angered determination to rid our organization of bureaucracy is resulting in a much-needed basic re-examination of the internal struc-

ture of our Party, its methods of leadership, the rights and the duties of membership, and many other similar questions. The impact of the disclosures of the last years of the Stalin era had a profound effect on our whole Party and reinforced the determination to review our democratic processes and style of work.

As a consequence, the very concept of democratic centralism itself has come into question and is being vigorously debated.

Another large area of basic questions that relate to and will find expression in any constitution we prepare is the very purpose and role of our organization and how we can improve our relationship with other socialist-minded workers and the labor and people's movement as a whole.

The unfolding discussion has been re-examining traditional concepts of our vanguard role and the monolithic character of our Party and many proposals have come forward to either modify or entirely abandon these "classic and time-honored" concepts of a Leninist-type organization. At the very least there is a widespread feeling that we must achieve a more realistic and skillful application of these concepts. Comrades are also thinking of these problems in connection with our legal status and what can be done to help cope with the problems we face in this regard.

The discussion of this group of questions, taken together with the total review of many theoretical and political questions of a more general nature, has brought many comrades to the point of advocating not only sweeping changes in our constitution but also changes in our very name and form of organization, i.e., from a Party to some type of association or league.

We are in a certain dilemma with respect to the task of drafting a constitution. To the extent that change in name and form is really an open question and that a strong possibility exists that such proposals will be entertained at the Convention, to that extent is the drafting of a constitution at this time complicated. Some comrades in this committee feel that the dilemma is not so great, that all that is necessary is to leave the name blank. I think they will find that they are mistaken. Any talk of a change in name and form means formally speaking, legally speaking, and in terms of a constitution, that we are speaking about a new organization to supersede the CPUSA. Surely this presents certain important constitutional problems that shouldn't be lightly ignored. But I propose we explore them separately and later in the discussion. And that for the present we proceed first to discuss the underlying concepts of ANY constitution of an American Marxist organization—whether it's a Party or Association or League—and furthermore that we proceed for the purpose of the coming convention

(Continued on Page 5)

Statement of Labor Sub-Committee

After extensive consultations, the Labor sub-committee of the National Committee is publishing this material in preparation for a Trade Union Resolution at our coming National Convention.

This material is a product of a number of meetings of the Labor sub-committee which included representatives from this field in most of the major Districts in the country.

Questionnaires were circulated among trade unionists and workers requesting suggestions for inclusion. Minutes of all meetings were circulated. Finally 350 copies of this material were distributed among those familiar with problems in the labor movement and their opinions solicited.

However, time is pressing. Although a number of suggested amendments, inclusions and modifications have been received, it was felt that this material should be now published without further delay.

We have taken this step because there has been a generally favorable response to the material. To reconstruct it on the basis of even a partial response would have meant an additional delay.

However, we do wish to take note of

some of the critical reactions already received.

They include the following: Dissatisfaction with the section on non-interference; inadequate critical treatment of the trade union leadership; insufficient material on the Negro-labor alliance; unclarity on the question of Social-Democracy; failure to deal with the question of how to rebuild the Left or with the role of the independent progressive-led unions.

The committee will review and amend this material on the basis of all suggestions prior to our national convention.

One last word. It should be understood that the Trade Union Resolution will in fact be an enlargement and an extension of the Draft Resolution in this particular field. Therefore it will not attempt to deal with many questions that are discussed in the main resolution. This, of course, also places some limits on the trade union resolution and tends to endow it with both the strengths and weaknesses of the overall Draft. This should also be borne in mind in any assessment of the material here presented.

LABOR SUB-COMMITTEE
OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Materials for Trade Union Resolution

From its very inception the Communist Party of the U. S. A. has held that the labor movement of our country was the most decisive force in American life. Reaffirming that view today, the Draft Resolution for the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party states:

"Inevitably Labor as the basic antagonist of Big Business

About This Bulletin

This bulletin will appear every two weeks until the national convention in February. We urge members of the Communist Party to write articles and letters giving their views in the Party discussion. It should be borne in mind that this phase of the pre-convention discussion is based on the draft resolution issued by the National Committee.

The deadline for articles for each issue is two weeks before publication date. If at all possible, manuscripts should be typed (double space).

MAXIMUM LENGTH FOR ARTICLES WILL BE 2,500 WORDS, though the shorter the better. Every effort will be made to have each issue present varying points of view, cover a variety of topics and represent different parts of the country.

Articles must receive some identification. They must be sent through district offices with an accompanying note from the district (or from the section in cases where the sections are far from the district headquarters).

Copies of resolutions adopted by clubs, sections, districts, etc. should be sent in the same way as articles. Many of these will be printed. Suggested amendments to the draft resolution should likewise be sent to the Discussion Committee. These too will be printed when of general interest.

Address all mail and material to Discussion Committee, 101 W. 16th St., New York 11, N.Y.

in modern America, will prove to be the giant force around which all other anti-monopoly elements will gravitate and to which they will look for leadership."

AFL-CIO is big, 16 million "big." It is united, strong and getting stronger. Our country has never had anything like it. Whoever did not know it before knows now, it can play the decisive role in America. Not just for the bread-and-butter of working Americans. Not just to make labor's voice ring louder in politicians' ears. But also to see that our children get a decent education and our youth a decent chance at life. To see that our aged live on decent deserved pensions and not in shadowed poverty. To guarantee that the atom serves man in peace and not to destroy him in war. To assure that automation means long week-ends and not long layoffs.

Labor's role is maturing and expanding to the size of our great country and all its problems. And labor is more and more appreciating the fact. One of the best proofs is the way in which the labor movement is joining with the Negro people in the fight to rid our land forever of the scourge of Jimcrow.

If American labor is drawing deeper breath into its powerful chest it is because the air is easier to breathe. Some of the cold-war smog has been dispelled. International tensions have eased. The possibility for peaceful co-existence is real. Large sections of workers, and many leaders, feel less restrained in countering the offensive which big business has waged against them, especially since the elections of 1952.

There is a new quality in the American labor movement; it lives and works in a world that has significantly changed.

LABOR'S PROGRAM AND THE ANTI-MONOPOLY COALITION
Labor greets this era with

new found strength—with greater potential.

This new era is marked by the historic merger between the AFL and the CIO. Once and for all, the trade union movement is out of its knee-pants. The AFL-CIO is the greatest organized people's force in our country. Labor is displaying new vigor in economic struggles. Its growing maturity is expressed in its increased concern for developing alliances with other sections of the population. There is a new quality in its political and legislative activity. It is seeking solutions for the great challenges of this period, atomic energy and automation.

At the same time the problems facing the labor movement have not diminished. The labor movement faces the greatest concentration of economic wealth and political power that has ever been amassed by the monopolies in the history of our country. Nevertheless these monopolies cannot treat this labor movement in the way that they have attempted to deal with it in the past. It has become a permanent feature of American life. If this maturing and expanding labor movement can overcome hang-back ideas and reactionary attitudes in its own ranks, then it will act more and more as the dynamic center for the struggles of all the people, and it cannot be destroyed. Hence, while there still remain important die-hard sections, the monopolies follow new tactics.

They try to cripple labor's economic and political activity through anti-labor legislation (the Taft-Hartley Law, "right to work" laws), through monopoly-dominated government agencies, and legislation restricting labor's political rights. They carry on a battle of ideas directed toward "brainwashing" the class feelings out of the workers on the one hand, while on the other attempting to arouse the hostility

(Continued on Page 4)

On the Party's Name and Form

By MAX WEISS

THE DRAFT Resolution now before the Party for discussion is, in my opinion, an extremely sound basis for making those fundamental changes in theory, policy, and organization which are necessary to help the Party break out of its present isolation.

As I see it, the most fundamental change proposed by the Draft Resolution is in respect to our relations with, and attitude towards, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Resolution reasserts our basic attitude of warm fraternal relations and international solidarity with this great Communist Party which was the first to lead the people of any country out of the bondage of capitalism onto the path of a new socialist life. At the same time, it puts an end to the extremely unscientific and harmful tradition in our party of accepting everything done or said by the Soviet Communist Party as automatically correct whether it be in the field of theory or politics or organization. The Resolution affirms the duty and necessity of our Party to adopt a friendly but scientifically critical approach to the policies and actions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as these are understood and interpreted by our Party. It is my opinion that this is the most important contribution of our Draft Resolution, that the whole next period of our Party's life will revolve around our attempts to fight through this approach against the resistances of a contrary heritage and opposing pressures which are extremely powerful and stubbornly entrenched in our Party.

I am most of all inclined to discuss the implications of this new course which is proposed for our Party by the Draft Resolution. But the direction of discussion in this latter stage seems to indicate that an opinion is growing in some sectors of the Party that the test of our Party's ability to change is its readiness to change its name and form of organization at this coming convention. Some few comrades go even further and say that unless this convention does change the name and form of our organization they will leave the Party.

I write this article in the hope of convincing these comrades that this coming convention should not change the name or form of our organization. I write it further with a plea for the unity of our Party regardless of the decision of our convention on the question of name or form of organization.

Not all who propose a change in name or form do so for the same reasons. But I want to express my opinion on every type of argument which has been advanced regardless of differences in the political nature of the various arguments.

PRINCIPLE AND NAME CHANGE

Proponents of a change in name argue as follows:

1) "A change in name is not a matter of principle."

Agreed. Many parties have changed their names when there were good reasons for doing so. The Communist Party of Canada changed its name to the Labor-Progressive Party because this enabled it to resume a legal status despite maintenance of the infamous Padlock Law on the statute books. The Communist Party of Cuba changed its name to the Popular Socialist Party when it merged with the party led by Juan Marinello to form a new united socialist party.

If there is a good reason for changing the name of our party, we should do so. But there should be a good reason. For while a change of name is not a matter of principle, it is nevertheless an important matter of politics.

2) "A change in name would correspond to the many important changes we intend making at the convention in respect to our approach to Marxist-Leninist theory, our attitude to the Marxists of other

countries, the principles of our organization, etc."

This does not follow at all. A party should change its name because there is a specific reason for changing its name—not because there is a specific reason for changing something else about itself.

The Chinese Communist Party many years ago made important, far-reaching and fundamental changes in basic theory, program, strategy, principles of organization and relationship with other Marxist parties without changing its name. On the other hand, some parties have changed their names without any important changes in the content of their program. This was the case when the Communist Party of Germany merged with the Socialists on the basis of the program of the original Communist Party.

There is no automatic connection between content and name which would make a change in one mandatory upon a change in the other. For each specific change there should be a specific reason.

There is only one case in which changes in content would make a change of name mandatory: if changes in content were such as to transform the very character of the organization. This would be the case if our party repudiated the principles of Marxism-Leninism or if it denounced its fraternal relations with the Communist Parties of other countries. Then, indeed, a new name would be mandatory.

I hope that our Party will reject any proposal for such political changes or for a change in name which flows from such political considerations.

3) "A change in name would dramatize the many important changes in content which we propose to make at our convention."

There might have been need for dramatization were our changes being made under a bushel, outside of any public focus of attention. But our proposed changes are so dramatic in themselves that even our preliminary discussion of them, in the context of the present international situation, has already fixed unprecedented public interest in them. When we actually adopt these changes at our convention, as I hope we do, they will command an overwhelming national audience without the need for dramatic devices.

4) "A change in name would be an evidence of good faith to many people that we are really breaking with bad practices of the past."

Those who are skeptical of our good faith will not be reassured by any change in name. It is not our name which repelled them. Their skepticism is based on their personal experience of actual membership in, or relationship with, our Party. It will be dissolved only in the course of a different experience as the Party begins to put its changed program, policies and methods into practice.

5) "It will help in the fight for legality."

Under existing conditions, a change of name will not advance the Party's fight for legality either before the law or in the trade unions. The anti-Communist laws on the statute books will still be applicable to us regardless of change of name. The fight for the Party's legality before the law is one to change the political climate so that the enforcement of these laws is halted and the laws themselves eventually repealed.

As to our status in the trade unions, a change of name will not nullify the Taft-Hartley Act. Neither will it, under present conditions, increase the readiness of the trade unions to defend our members against employer discrimination and sanctions. The only change which will facilitate either is the rebirth of a new political relationship with friendly masses in the unions. And that will be achieved by changes in the content of our work not in our name.

6) "We should change our name in order to disassociate ourselves from shameful repressions for which Communists were respon-



WEISS

sible in the Soviet Union under Stalin, in Hungary under Rakosi, etc."

We should certainly disassociate ourselves from such shameful actions. We have already done so and we are determined to be critical of anything that is done by any Communist Party which in our opinion violates the principles of socialism.

But, in my opinion we should not disassociate ourselves from the Communist Parties of the world. If we criticize what one or another Communist Party does, it is because such criticism is an integral part of a fraternal relationship between Communist Parties and not the symbol of a rupture in these fraternal relations, still less a repudiation of them.

"POLITICAL ACTION ASSOCIATION"

Some comrades propose that we transform ourselves at this convention from a political party into a non-party political action association.

The proponents of this view argue as follows:

1) "Since the Communist Party has not regularly run candidates in all elections for the past two decades, we are not actually a political party in the accepted American sense of the term. We have been functioning as a political action organization. Let us call ourselves what we are in practice, a political association, instead of a party."

In the accepted American sense, the Communist Party is a minority political party. Minority parties are a traditional part of the American political scene. For many reasons, minority parties do not regularly run candidates in all elections. Even in the case of minority parties that are not subject to open persecution, candidates are run only in proportion to the strength of these parties in various periods. This is an accepted part of the American tradition of minority political parties.

The American tradition of minority political parties does not reveal a single instance in which, even under conditions of relative political freedom, a minority party ran full tickets regularly in all elections. In most cases this was a limitation imposed by weakness. The Communist Party, in addition to reasons of weakness, has also abstained from running candidates for coalition reasons as in 1948 and 1952 in relation to the Progressive Party. But such a coalition approach does not eliminate the Communist Party from the American tradition of minority political parties. The American Labor Party was deliberately organized as a minority coalition party. The Liberal Party follows such a coalition approach also—although motivated by a different program and outlook.

If the Communist Party has not run candidates regularly in all elections, this is not the outcome of a voluntary decision on our part. Our coalition approach does not preclude the regular running of candidates in all elections at appropriate levels. If a climate of political freedom existed in our country, our coalition approach to elections would be accomplished by the widespread running of candidates for various offices throughout

the country where this was consistent with a coalition policy.

We should not reconcile ourselves to our exclusion from electoral contests. Rather we should exert all our energies to help bring about a situation in which the Communist Party will have complete freedom to accompany its coalition approach with the running of its own candidates.

It is not true that we are and have been simply a political association instead of an electoral party. We have been and are a minority political party which has been undemocratically denied its constitutional electoral rights. What needs to be changed at this time is not our status as a minority political party but the denial of our constitutional electoral rights.

PARTY FORM NO OBSTACLE

2) "The party form of organization is an obstacle to developing a proper relation with the developing anti-monopoly coalition. We should bring the form of our organization into keeping with our coalition outlook."

But it is not true that the particular form of organization—electoral or non-electoral—constitutes in itself an obstacle to a proper relationship at the present time with the developing anti-monopoly coalition.

Both the Liberal Party and ADA have close and intimate relations with the developing anti-monopoly coalition. One is a political party, the other is a political action association. The electoral form of the Liberal Party does not impede its coalition relations with either the Democratic or Republican Party in New York State. On the other hand, neither does the non-electoral form of the ADA particularly facilitate its coalition relationships in contrast with the Liberal Party.

In the early period of the American Labor Party, when it was a united party which included the Dubinsky and Potofsky forces as well as the left-led trade unions, its relations with the developing coalition were not inhibited by the electoral form of its organization.

What about the relationship of individual members of the Communist Party with the developing coalition? Is it the "party" form of our organization which inhibits them from membership and enrollment in other parties where this is the policy of the labor movement? Of course not.

In the late thirties and early forties, hundreds of members of the Communist Party in the coal fields and steel towns were registered voters of one or another major party—mainly the Democratic Party. During that same period, thousands of members of the Communist Party in New York were members or registered voters of the original united American Labor

Party. The Party form of our organization did not bar them from participation in labor's chosen field of political action because the political relationship between our party and the coalition forces was a friendly one. For the same reason, I have no doubt that hundreds of members of the Socialist Party are members of the Liberal Party in New York or the Democratic Party in Detroit.

The barrier to coalition relationships between our Party as such, or its individual members, is not the "party" form of our organization. It is essentially political and programmatic. It reflects the influence of anti-Communist prejudice rather than the niceties of organizational form. Only as that prejudice is reduced and finally eliminated in major sections of the trade unions will a proper relationship become possible between our organization and the growing coalition.

Because of the specific electoral form of the anti-monopoly coalition, it might become advisable at some future time to change from a party form of organization to a political association. Suppose the Democratic Party should be transformed into the electoral vehicle of the anti-monopoly coalition as a result of the ouster of the Dixiecrats and the breaking of Big Business influence upon it. The leadership of such a party might place as a condition for our full participation within it the sacrifice of our independent electoral role as manifested in our party form of organization. In such a situation a change would certainly become advisable. The change would be understood and welcomed by the labor movement and our progressive allies. It would be supported as a contribution to anti-monopoly unity. But to make such a change today, under present political conditions, would precipitate a wholesale condemnation of our Party for engaging in a maneuver to "infiltrate" the Democratic Party.

Similarly, if labor failed in its efforts to transform the Democratic Party and organized an independent Labor-Farmer Party, we should at all times be prepared to change from a party to an association if this were required for affiliation to such a party or even for close collaboration with it. But in either case, we would take such a step only if viewed positively by our coalition allies as a contribution to unity, not a maneuver to "infiltrate" or "capture."

ON VANGUARD ROLE

3) "We should abandon our concept of playing a vanguard role. The change from a party to an association would reflect such a change in the character of our organization."

In my opinion, the abandonment (Continued on Page 10)



"SINCE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SUPPORT A WIFE ON YOUR PAY LET ME INTRODUCE YOU TO ONE OF OUR FINEST DIVORCE LAWYERS"

Kind of Party Needed Now

By M. KANTOR, N.J.

It was a historic necessity for the Left socialists, led by Lenin, to break with the opportunist policies of Social Democracy and to form a new type of working class party guided by consistent Marxist principles. The Right wing leaders were sowing illusions about capitalism, collaborating with the ruling class, diluting and dissipating the people's struggles and supporting their own imperialists in World War I. The kind of revolutionary tasks that faced the working class in Europe required a party that was militant, monolithic, strictly disciplined, subordinating parliamentary action to total involvement in the workers' mass struggles including the struggle for class power.

The theoretical and practical genius, the heroic and herculean accomplishments of Lenin's party in blazing the trail to Socialism in our time, understandably brought tremendous prestige and authority to the CPSU. The new-type party made incalculable contributions within each country and to all mankind. Our own CPUSA played its part in these achievements and made lasting contributions to the American working class.

Yet the class relations, the conditions and the tasks facing the American workers after World War I were quite different from those confronting the European workers. The history and traditions of our country, the history and level of development of our labor movement were very much different. The American workers, too, needed a party differentiated from Social Democracy, but not one so closely modelled after the CPSU. Today, looking back over our decades of experience the conclusion is inescapable that our aping the CPSU contributed much to our difficulties in winning acceptance among the American people. Thousands of workers who did join our party left it because they were unable or unwilling to adapt themselves to many of our policies, practices and standards.

LEFT SECTARIAN POLICIES

Without doubt a major reason for heavy losses in membership over the years, and most sharply in the last decade, was the ability of the ruling class to discredit the Party in the eyes of the masses, coupled with the fierce repressive and punitive measures against Communists in every sphere of life. But it is more important to search beyond this factor for those weak spots in our own armor that made us so vulnerable. The biggest of these, I believe, was our Left sectarian policies and practices.

In the period when no other trade union or political organization gave adequate leadership to meet the most burning problems—privatization and unemployment during the depression, organizing the unorganized in basic industry, equality for the Negro people, the struggle against war and fascism—workers were attracted to the CPUSA as a party of action, militant, united, pioneering on many questions.

Yet in those very days when millions fought for immediate demands raised by Communists and hundreds of thousands directly supported the Communist Party, our Left sectarian policies and practices deterred thousands from joining and other thousands to drop out of the Party after they came in.

In the last ten years currently under review our Left estimates and tactics forced our members into unnecessarily sharp conflict and resultant isolation in the trade unions and people's organizations. Not only some opportunists, but many sincere people refused to follow our policy, left the Party and remained in position to continue to influence these mass movements for peace and progress.

We must soberly recognize that our doctrinaire understanding and application of Marxism-Leninism, our unfamiliar imported jargon, our lack of independence from Soviet policies, all gave substantial ammunition to the enemy to convince most workers that the CPUSA

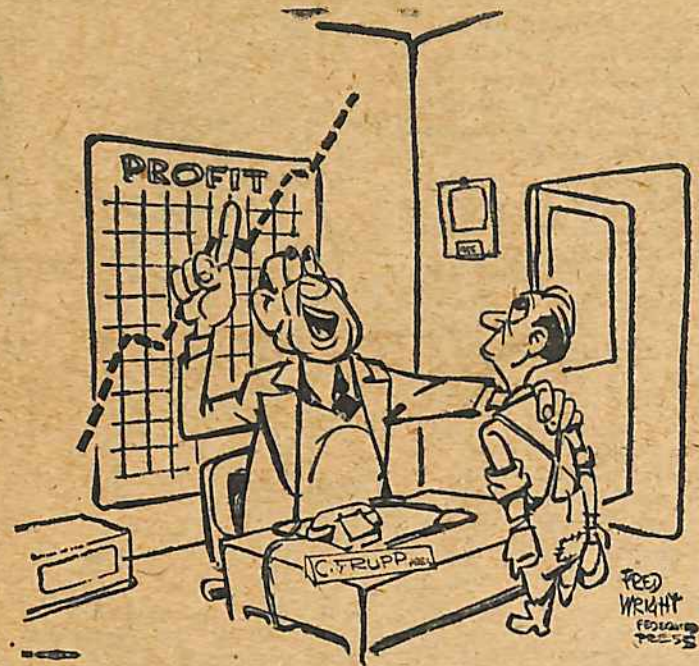
was not truly American. As we debate what stand the American CP should take in regard to recent events in Poland and Hungary let us not forget the disastrous negative consequences for our Party, for Socialism and for the Soviet Union, for our overnight switch on the character of the war when the Soviet Union, to meet its needs, entered into a pact with Nazi Germany!

A major cause of membership losses was the way the Party functioned. The present set of Party leaders, nationally and in districts, in office for a long time, have made their own "contribution" to reinforce bureaucracy. But bureaucracy has existed in essentially the same form and degree throughout our history. Bureaucracy is not a personal trait but the product of a system of work which in turn grew out of certain concepts of Party organization. Our concepts of democratic centralism and monolithic unity inevitably fostered harmful overemphasis on the authority and infallibility of leaders and leading committees. They led to the distortion of the correct struggle for unity on policy into impermissible pressures for unanimity and conformity. They served to limit the creative initiative of the membership and their fullest involvement to test policies and practices. They imposed an approach to discipline and to the duties and responsibilities of membership which thousands of honest workers found excessive and just could not accept.

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES NEEDED

The above conclusions about our whole past experience by themselves bring us to the urgent need for fundamental changes in the policies, form and functioning of our Party if it is to best serve the needs of the American workers.

On top of this are compelling new world factors which can only be listed—the decisive shift in world relations in favor of the system of Socialist nations, the irresistible surge of colonial peoples to national independence and So-



"OUR WAY OF LIFE IS A SACRED TRUST AND YOU SHOULD BE THANKFUL TO ACCEPT A WAGE CUT TO PRESERVE IT!"

cialism, the ability of the world's peoples today to impose peace even though imperialism retains considerable strength, the bright prospects for an era of peaceful co-existence and competition between Socialism and Capitalism, the possibilities for nations to take varied paths to Socialism by peaceful parliamentary means. These factors, together with the corrections of serious violations of democracy in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, opens up new possibilities for re-uniting Socialist-thinking people worldwide and within each country. There is undoubtedly opening up a new era in the people's long battle for peace, freedom and a decent life.

Recent events in Poland and Hungary show how sharp and bitter is the struggle to correct errors. They show the tragic consequences when Communist parties and leaders fail to face up to realities in the world and in their own countries, and refuse, or are too late

with too little in making the changes which these realities make imperative.

Communist parties throughout the world are studying and evaluating all the developments above. It is plain enough, and natural, that there are sharp differences within all parties as to what new conclusions Marxists must draw from these developments. I am deeply convinced this struggle within our movement must be resolved in the direction of big changes in the Communist parties to meet the new times and the new tasks.

For us in the U. S. there are additional weighty local factors that compel basic changes in our role and functioning. There have grown up a powerful, united trade union movement and great mass organizations which offer forward-looking programs of struggle for many of the people's immediate needs.

In the light of all these factors, (Continued on Page 10)

— The Youth Question —

By M., Milwaukee, Wis.

There has been a great void in our present Party discussion as related to the youth field. This is not accidental. Aside from brief periods of discussion, such as the most recent in 1948-9, our youth cadre has been largely isolated from the rest of the Party. Over the past two years, though I considered it of vital importance, I found it impossible to get a Party discussion on youth work.

Much talk is now bandied about concerning the vanguard role of the Party. If we claim to be Marxists we adhere to the philosophical principles of dialectical materialism. We hold, among other things, that there is a material, objective reality, and corresponding to it, a science of human society. Lenin, whom some among us seem anxious to forget, drew a sharp line between the theory of knowledge and the actual level of human knowledge of objective reality at any given moment. This important distinction is being obscured by our present day advocates of an American nihilism. Are we now the vanguard of the working class? No. Must we try to become that vanguard? If we recognize that there is a science of society that incorporates the experiences of all previous societies, that it was first systematized by Marx and Engels, and that we fight for the mastery and constant enriching of this science, that it is a partisan science, the science of the working class, then our answer must be a firm and resounding—YES!

There is little in the Draft Resolution or most of the dis-

ussion to date to indicate that the outlook of our Party and movements must be based on the working class. Those who think otherwise should state their views clearly and positively. What I have stated above is my starting point.

LABOR-YOUTH ALLIANCE

Some years ago the concept of a labor-youth alliance was raised in the Left youth movement. Starting with a general delineation of youth as having something in common that distinguishes them from the rest of the population, we declared ourselves in favor of developments that would bring to the youth an appreciation for the trade union movement. We viewed any development of trade union support of youth issues and youth support of trade union struggles as steps in the right direction. We cited the fascination of German youth as an indispensable condition for the rise of Hitler, etc., and drew the conclusion that youth would have to be a part of any successful democratic peace camp in this country. While many mistakes were made in the implementation of this line, it was, and still remains basically correct today.

For many years the Left has led in the struggle to develop trade union political action. This fight against Comperism has had many ups and downs, but today the political arena has become an inseparable part of the labor movement. The next stage in this struggle will be for a national labor party. Just as we have been fighting for this objective we must look forward to a broadening of trade union

activities encompassing the youth field. The highest level of such a development would be a labor sponsored national youth organization.

The heritage of the Left in such unions as the UAW, with large recreation programs, provides new and unprecedented opportunities in view of the new AFL-CIO. In areas where local unions have well-equipped union halls and are developing recreation programs, etc., the labor movement is already moving on this question. Such things as free Sunday movies for workers' children, Christmas parties, actions on preventing rises in student bus fares, father and son bowling leagues, union-sponsored sandlot ball, and many others can be cited. Union supervision of apprenticeship programs in basic industries, industrial organization of apprentices, participation in high school and vocational school job training and counselling (such as industry is doing today), shortening of probation periods, etc., are closely connected to a future emerging of a labor program for youth. Numerous experiences have shown that where raised correctly and indicating the unions' self-interest, they will participate in and initiate actions in the interest of young workers and the children of workers.

The most diversified and flexible approaches will have to be taken in different areas among different sections of the labor movement and different groupings of youth. There must be this unifying thread running throughout and giving a long-range perspective to the entire

party, not just the youth cadre. Work among youth must not remain the private province and responsibility of a small number of cadre. An outlook for a labor-youth alliance is neither a one-way street, with initiative only from the youth, nor is it an easily accomplished one-month drive. It must become a long-range perspective of the Party as a whole for many years to come, an integral part of our future program. This must be the cornerstone upon which we build our work among teen-age and student youth. It is not a left sectarian approach, although through mistakes in application it can of course be made to appear so. This is a class approach, however, and I feel that everything we do, in whatever field, must ultimately be measured by its class content, by its final relation to the class struggle.

YOUTH AND ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS

Over the years the Party has relied upon an organizational approach to youth work. The assignment of cadre to the YCL, AYD or LYL has all too often been the end of Party responsibility to youth work, where it actually should have been only the beginning. As a result of this void of leadership in the youth field we have been guilty repeatedly of fostering youth vanguardism in the Left youth organizations. This is the root cause of some of the worst, and entirely avoidable, left-sectarian errors of the youth movement. All this has usually been justified by the mechanical use of a single overworked quotation from Lenin to the effect that

youth come to Socialism in different ways.

Youth organization in this country is at a low ebb generally, but the critical situation in the LYL heightens the danger of again keeping discussion of the youth question within narrow organizational confines: pro and con LYL, Socialist or non-Socialist youth organization, etc. There is a legitimate concern that we do not lose cadre and friends through demoralization or organizational changes. This has its history in the slow and tortured demise of AYD on the one hand and the blitz dissolution of student and youth Party clubs in 1949 on the other. Both experiences lost good people to the progressive movement unnecessarily. Recent and current negativism (as distinct from correct criticism) concerning LYL has done a disservice to our movement. There is an indecent haste in some quarters to perform a mercy killing. While organizational forms can be wrong or outdated let us not have any naive illusions that there is salvation in the mere juggling of forms. Without proper organization we have nothing, but without a correct line we can not have correct organization. We must immediately begin discussing and debating the youth question in its broadest sense, and arrive at a common outlook before we can hope to really solve the question of Left forms. The situation is very much akin to that of the emperor in the "Emperor's New Clothes." Let us not be so hasty to shed our present inferior garments, lest we be arrested for indecent exposure.

Materials for Trade Union Resolution

(Continued from Page 1)

of non-labor sections of the public against trade unions. The monopolies want to force labor, powerful as it is, to stagnate. For stagnation would mean impotence and death.

Progress is the law of labor's life. The fight for a higher standard of living is at the heart of the everyday existence of the trade unions. The big negotiations and the struggles around them are the high-points of thousands of daily skirmishes organized and led by rank and file workers on speed-up, wage rates, working conditions, discrimination and the like. No matter how successful a contract victory, it is always the basis for continuing struggles; it must be defended, it must be improved.

It is widely recognized that amidst the present "prosperity," the workers of our country are affected by a gnawing fear of insecurity. Their instinct is correct. They see what is happening. They are loaded down with installment and mortgage debts; to have more than one "breadwinner" in a family has become a matter of providing necessities, not of enjoying luxuries. They know of industries so chronically "sick" that even today's "good times" have not cured them at all. They know that despite a Full Employment Law on the books since 1946, between two and three millions of workers are totally unemployed, millions more cannot get a full week's work, and there are "pockets of unemployment," areas where joblessness has become critical and lasting. The steady decline in farm income is another cause for worry. Compounding all this is the fear that the advance of automation will cost the jobs of millions more.

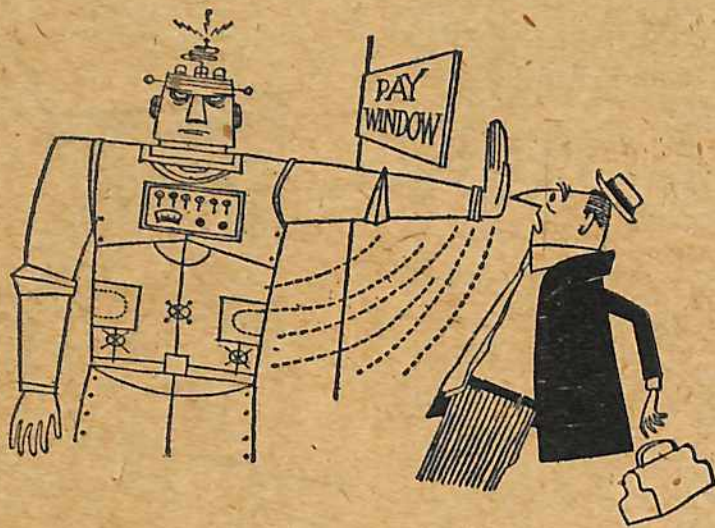
The workers are not just sitting back and worrying. They are determined to meet this problem of economic instability and lack of job security. They are more aggressively advancing new demands such as annual wages, supplementary unemployment benefits and the shorter work week. They are also giving new dimensions to their demands on health and welfare, pensions and severance pay. All of these form part of labor's total answer to the problem of insecurity.

The search by labor for more lasting answers to these problems is giving shape to a long-range program. It is a program whose objectives are not the creation of any single individual or groups of individuals. In fact there are those among the leadership who oppose important sections of such a program. Yet it is being imposed by the new times, the new facts of life, as they make themselves felt among the masses. We of the Communist Party consider that some of the main elements going to make up this program are the following:

1) FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNION UNITY.

Trade unionists cherish the unity already achieved. They grasp that its further development is the first guarantee that they will be able to plow ahead. The advances toward eliminating jurisdictional quarrels and craft-industrial differences, the merger of a few international unions, important progress in state mergers, examples of joint organizing and negotiating activity—these meet with hearty approval by the workers. They feel that unresolved problems must not be permitted to harden into an obstacle to united activity.

There is a growing consciousness that Negro-white unity is the bedrock for the advance of the whole labor movement. Every needed blow at discrimination strengthens unity. The



fight for jobs and upgrading for Negro workers, the end to jimcrow bars and practices which deny equal participation in membership and leadership, remain on unity's unfinished order of business.

All-embracing unity requires tackling in a similar spirit the special problems of skilled workers.

The racketeering, gangsterism and undemocratic practices plaguing some sections of labor stand astride the path of unity. Doing injury to labor's reputation with the general public, they retard the formation of a coalition of labor and its allies. These criminal and rotten practices represent the importation of the "norms of life" of the big-business jungle into the daily life of the unions. Communists who have always fought, and sacrificed lives in the fight against labor gangsters and racketeers, greet the new determination on the part of the labor movement to cut out this malignancy as shown in proceedings initiated by the Ethical Practices Committee of AFL-CIO.

Completing the task is labor's own job, not that of governmental intervention seeking to exploit the problem for the purpose of weakening the trade unions.

Basically it is the job of the rank and file workers to take this matter in hand. Their wages and working conditions suffer from racketeers, gangsters and internal "dictatorship." Consequently the uprooting of these elements is not only in the immediate interest of the workers, but also furthers the cause of trade union unity.

In addition to all of the foregoing there are a number of practical details regarding work under way which can aid in furthering unity. For example, common programs can be worked out among competing unions for organization of the unorganized, particularly in the South. Joint conference board meetings can be held of unions organized in the same chain. Joint negotiations can take place where more than one union has a contract with a single employer. Such steps, for which there is already some experience, would in a practical way contribute to solidifying trade union unity.

2) ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED.

The determination to complete this job was set by the newly merged labor movement at its Convention. Millions of workers are in open shops. The non-union low-paying shops of the South stand as a threat to the wage standards won by organized workers in the entire country. The South is also the source of much of the anti-labor legislation, the so-called "right to work" laws. The role of the political and social conditions of the South, with its jimcrow system, in riveting reactionary monopoly domination upon the whole country, is well known

and need not be elaborated on here. What must be stressed is that an understanding of this has spread widely enough in the labor movement to inspire a demand that the South be organized. However slow and painful the progress towards this goal—as yet leaving much to be desired—there is no obscuring the fact that reaching it remains a burning necessity for the labor movement. For bound up with it all are the questions of labor's economic progress, its bedrock alliance with the Negro people, its political aspirations. Although since the Convention the leaders of the AFL-CIO have made known their plans for the organization of the unorganized, large numbers of militant trade unionists in shops all over the country have not as yet been called upon to help in this epic task. Organizing the unorganized, especially in the South, which would bring in its train a whole fresh democratic upsurge in the country, remains to be accomplished by the merged labor movement.

3) THE DEMAND FOR THE SHORTER WORK WEEK.

President Meany of the AFL-CIO recently declared that the history of the American labor movement is the history of progress towards the shorter work week. His statement is a reflection of the gathering speed and power with which this demand is moving to the center of labor's economic program. More and more unions are placing this demand for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay as their chief answer to the problems of insecurity and of advancing automation. Big Business with its false propaganda that automation will increase the number of jobs, and that the country faces a "labor shortage" in the period ahead, is preparing to do battle against this demand. The duplicity of the Big Business propagandists is being daily exposed in the eyes of the workers wherever automation has been introduced. This is why the demand is growing. Conscious of the fundamental nature of this demand especially in a period of economic instability and the rise of a radically new technology, Communists give their wholehearted support to its realization through economic and political action.

4) EXTENSION OF ALLIANCES BETWEEN LABOR AND ITS ALLIES.

The unions no longer concern themselves solely with important economic questions. As they play an increasing role in the life of the Nation, they more and more participate in the struggles of the Negro people and the farmers. For there is an increasing recognition that their ability to achieve trade union objectives is bound up with the struggle of all democratic forces in the country. The workers, farmers, Negro people, and small businessmen, who constitute a majority of the population, have a common enemy—the monopo-

lies. The expansion of cooperation between labor and these groups, the increased activity of the unions on Education, Health, Civil Rights and other questions, will bring closer the realization of a people's coalition. Such a coalition can brake the anti-democratic drive of the monopolies; it can with a firm hand open the throttle of progress in America.

5) GREATER INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

The unification of labor has given permanence to a new quality in its political activity. Labor isn't just bigger, it acts differently. During the last couple of years we have seen a succession of powerful mass lobbies and legislative conferences in Washington and at State capitols from a whole variety of unions. Formerly separate political arms of organized labor are getting together. In a few Congressional districts, labor has really begun to whip its own political machinery together—a modest but significant beginning. As a result of these and other activities, which helped produce a more independent and outspokenly critical attitude, labor has increased its influence in the Democratic Party. A minor but noteworthy fact, too, is that a few prominent labor leaders have recently made reference to the possibility of a new party to be led by labor. As labor more consciously shoulders such political tasks, it will become the great magnet attracting every person, every part of our people desirous of fighting the corporations and the trusts. It will more rapidly move in the direction of finally creating its own political instrument, regardless of divergent views on matters of form. For the labor movement has repeatedly reached out for this goal throughout its history from the days of Sylvius and the early trade union pioneers. Although for a recent period this was tabled, the new times are pressing this objective upon the workers. American labor is moving to fulfill the role dictated by our history: to lead a new great political coalition in our country.

6) TOWARDS PEACE IN THE WORLD AND A PEACE-TIME ECONOMY.

There is a wholesome debate in the labor movement on foreign policy. It is a debate that cannot be halted. It reflects the pressure of the workers' desire for lasting peace and secure peace-time jobs as against those in the labor leadership who go along with Dulles to the "brink." Proposals and actions from various international unions around an "Atoms for Peace" program, economic aid (without strings) to under-developed countries, for peaceful competitive co-existence, banning of A- and H-bomb tests, and an end to the threat of atomic war—these represent a response to the workers' sentiments. However, this is not the dominant trend. What is

dominant in the AFL-CIO leadership is a trend so bitterly hostile to the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries that it infects their attitude on all aspects of foreign policy and runs contrary to the developing line of thought of their own members and the public at large. It is this dominant trend which equates negotiations with "appeasement," which keeps an iron curtain between workers of our country and workers of Socialist lands and rejects the possibility of peaceful co-existence.

Under the hammering of the debate and under the impact of membership sentiment, this cold war outlook has been compelled to give some ground. This explains the contradictory nature and patchwork character of the AFL-CIO merger convention resolution on foreign policy as well as subsequent statements. This position retards the ability of the trade union movement to play its leading role in an emerging anti-monopoly coalition. The tide of events is running against cold war proponents. The tide of peace sentiment continues to rise among the American people including the members of the AFL-CIO.

More active participation by the rank and file in the debate on foreign policy, greater consistency and firmness on the part of those in the leadership who favor peaceful co-existence can transform the foreign policy position of the Federation into a mighty influence for peace more strongly attracting those sections of the American people who are drawing closer to labor.

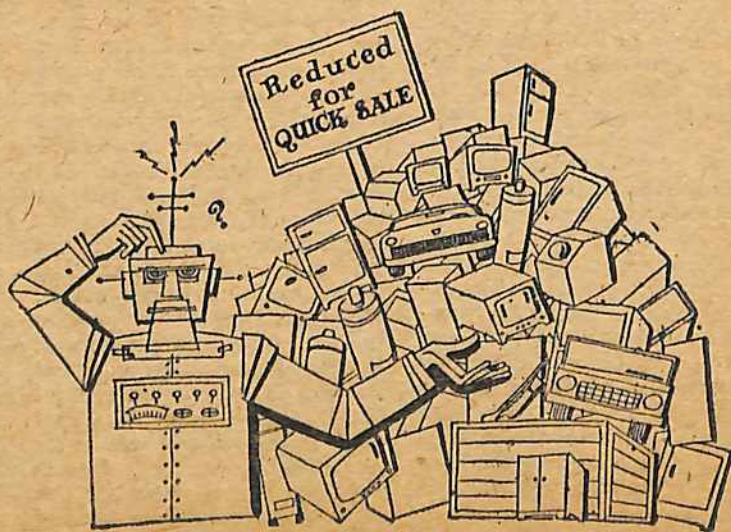
Such is the general outline of a long-range program shaping up out of the economic and political facts of life pressing upon the labor movement. In various ways and with varying degrees of clarity, the members and leaders of the unions are coming to grips with aspects of this program. One cannot say, however, that there exists any wide recognition that the acceptance of this program and its implementation would make the trade union movement the leading component of a people's anti-monopoly coalition. This important ingredient of understanding has as yet not developed.

We of the Communist Party will do our best to contribute to the clearest grasp of these questions. We will do our utmost, side by side with the workers, to help achieve the successful outcome of these new undertakings by our participation in struggles and by helping to give them a conscious direction and purpose.

PAST RELATIONS OF COMMUNISTS TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

This labor movement not only has something new; it also has a history of decades of struggle. The contribution of the Communist Party has made are part of that history. Communists pioneered for industrial unionism

(Continued on Page 8)



Underlying Concepts for Draft Constitution

(Continued from Page 1)

to draft a constitution for the CPUSA.

The Draft Constitution is anxiously awaited and very much needed in the pre-convention discussion. It must be submitted to the Party at least 60 days before the National Convention.

Many of the questions that have been dominating the debate within the Party can be finally resolved only in the vote on the constitution and its various articles. When the Draft Resolution appeared there was considerable disappointment. The membership generally feel that the draft of the Main Political Resolution leaves much to be desired. The fact is that the Draft Constitution side-steps an explicit and direct discussion of democratic centralism, our vanguard role and the monolithic character of our Party.

The National Committee, when it adopted the Draft Resolution felt that it had not as yet given sufficient study or consideration to these matters and therefore avoided direct reference to these issues. Instead we addressed ourselves to some of the specific aspects of Party democracy, for example the right to dissent, and so on.

It is my feeling that we are again trailing the discussion in the Party and that we must, as a result of the discussion at this N. C. meeting, spell out more clearly our views and recommendations on all these questions, and that it can best be done in connection with our Draft Constitution. In this way we can give some much needed muscle and bone to our Draft Resolution.

ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

At this point, I wish to discuss some of the underlying concepts and theory of Party organization which I believe should govern the drafting of the articles for our constitution.

There is widespread agreement that as our Party has functioned since its formation, it has failed to insure a fully democratic atmosphere and internal life, and that especially in the determination of policy and in our style of work internal democracy has often been lacking.

Few contend that our Party is less democratic than many other organizations. The contrary is true. Most of our people have learned from participation in the life of their trade union and other people's organizations that there is much to be wished for in the democratic processes of all other organizations. But this is cold comfort. We all want and expect that our Party shall in essence and in practice be the most democratic of all organizations, in which the views and will of the membership continue to operate at all times as the decisive force. This has not been true hitherto.

No one can deny that there has been a notorious stifling of initiative, a top-heavy emphasis on full-time leadership, and little or no room for dissent and that we have paid a heavy price for this. As a result of a system of work marred by many undemocratic practices and bureaucratic methods of leadership we have suffered heavy losses of militant, honest and capable comrades, we have lost prestige in the labor and people's movement, and we have lessened the effective power of our present organization.

Today it is generally recognized that the most harmful feature of Party practices has been the absence of the right of dissent, without which independent and creative thinking ceases to exist, and the ability to quickly discover and correct mistakes is greatly impaired. Lack of democracy never helps Party unity very much either. The seeds of disunity flower in the soil of bureaucracy and inevitably lead to internal explosions, harmful division and finally to splits and expulsions.

Many participating in discussion of these problems have felt that it is not a matter of correcting certain disconnected practices, but

that we must seek out what is fundamentally wrong and see whether democratic centralism as such is not the root cause for our lapses from democratic procedures. The common complaint is that there has been "too much centralism and not enough democracy." Some feel that this results not from the concept of democratic centralism which they feel is correct and necessary, but that we have departed from or distorted democratic centralism. Others take the view that democratic centralism is a contradiction in terms and that in practice there is an inherent contradiction between centralism and democracy and that we must abandon the concept as our guiding principle of organization.

Whatever one's view, everybody agrees that the form and content of democratic centralism as WE have PRACTICED it over the years, regardless of well-intentioned and oft-reiterated resolves has limited and thwarted our internal democracy and permitted bureaucratism to flourish. I might add it is not without significance that this has been true not only in the CPUSA—if we are to judge by the discussions taking place in the journals of other Marxist parties. The comrades must have noted that the British Party's Executive Committee named a special sub-committee to study the problems of internal party democracy.

We cannot undertake to abandon or modify democratic centralism without calling certain general facts to our attention.

Any serious and thoughtful discussion of these questions requires that we not only study the experiences of our own Socialist and Communist movement since its inception but the experiences of other Marxist parties as well as refresh our study of the teachings of the foremost world Marxists.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM DEFINED

We have always defined democratic centralism as meaning centralism on the basis of democracy—a wedding or synthesis of concepts that sought "a flexible system of Party organization which guarantees all the conditions for combining the conscious and active participation of the whole Party membership in Party life together with the best forms of centralized leadership in the activity and struggles of the Party and the working class." So spoke our literature describing the Communist Party.

Other oft-repeated definitions of democratic centralism that appear in much of our literature put it as follows: "The Communist Party is organized in such a way as to guarantee, firstly, complete inner unity of outlook; secondly, the combination of the strictest working class discipline with the widest initiative and activity of the Party membership. Both these conditions are achieved because the Party is organized on the basis of democratic centralism."

Certainly, it's hard to argue with these objectives. Where there is room for argument is whether in fact democratic centralism has "guaranteed" any of the above; certainly it hasn't guaranteed widest initiative, just to name one instance.

Democratic centralism is further described as "the system according to which all the organs of the Party are elected and have to report on their activity to the electors, whilst this elective character and reporting are combined with the strictest discipline and obedience—of the lower organs of the Party to the higher organs." (The emphasis came with the definition in the aforementioned pamphlets and outlines.)

I think we all recognize that no principle on paper, no matter how lofty and good, comes to life simply when written down, and that even the most careful implementation of good principles in the articles of a constitution is only as good as the determination of the officers and membership of an organization to give them meaning and expression.

Nevertheless, it is well known that in practice the elected bodies did not only fail to report on their activity to the electors, except partially and on infrequent occasions, but that the same laxness never existed with respect to enforcing "the strictest discipline and obedience." This may have something to do with the very structure and method called for by democratic centralism even though the overall objectives sought are not only laudable but necessary for any Marxist organization which hopes to be more than a discussion circle.

When one studies Lenin's writings on democratic centralism from the eve of the 1905 revolution in Russia down through the next 20 years, one finds a creative, flexible and realistic approach. The emphasis on iron discipline varies with the objective situation and with the changing circumstances within the Marxist movement.

Generally speaking, however, it was developed under conditions in which the Russian Bolsheviks were fighting against Tsarist autocracy, and in conformity with existing conditions and traditions.

Stalin further emphasized the iron character of the discipline and concentrated even greater power in the hands of the leading committees, finally grotesquely distorting democratic centralism into the cult of the individual.

In our own Party, too, as we study reports of our leading comrades over the years, and especially review our practices, it is inescapable that the concept of "iron discipline" was often elevated over all other considerations.

In determining what organizational principles should guide us in drafting a constitution today we suggest that we extract those features and positive experiences that have been identified with the concept of democratic centralism to the extent that we deem them valid and desirable for our organization today. However, we should also formulate proposals which have not been part of our established practices in the past whether they are in full harmony or not with the definition and application of democratic centralism as we have previously understood it.

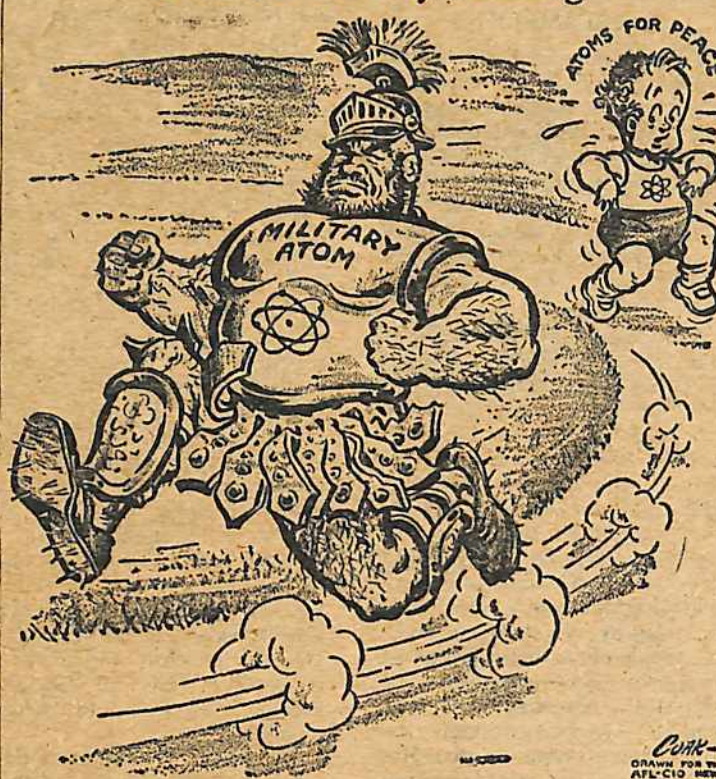
NATURE OF ORGANIZATIONAL PROPOSALS

We should develop proposals on the basis of their intrinsic validity and whether they succeed in giving our organization a maximum of internal democracy combined with the necessary unity in action. We should develop proposals that will bring our organization into harmony with the traditions and experiences of American working class organizations and potentially acceptable to large numbers of American workers and socialist-minded militants as the kind of organization they would want to be identified with. We should seek to combine the basic organizational features of a Marxist organization with the traditional organizational concepts and experiences of American working class organizations to the extent possible.

Our concept of Party democracy is composed of two parts and seeks their synthesis. The first is that major decisions on policy, election of officers, etc., are based on membership will. The second requires the subordination of the minority to the majority, of the lower bodies to the higher bodies. In the past the right to dissent was severely circumscribed and confined exclusively to the discussions preceding policy votes.

The right to dissent subsequent to decisions being taken was prohibited except in stated pre-convention discussion periods. And even then it was often curtailed or discouraged. I will name one of many possible examples: An article by a Chicago comrade submitted for pre-convention discussion in 1948 was suppressed, but the author was publicly attacked for his views by a prominent Party leader. Between pre-convention discussion periods, the situation has been far worse and chronically so. I have in mind one such example: An article by H.H. on the Negro question was

Let's Get the Boy Running



submitted for publication. It was suppressed. But then the "substance" of the article was attacked in articles and in meetings by Party leaders.

In the initiation of original policy, not to speak of the reconsideration of policy the great mass of the Party membership has been ignored and excluded and given only the end result. Severe penalties have been levied against those who insisted on voicing their opinions outside of the rigidly prescribed limits and traditional practices, including a great abuse of the right of expulsion.

Few of our members wish a loose, undisciplined organization in which neither individual members nor individual Party organizations assume any responsibility for a common ideology, unity in action or a mutual discipline.

Democracy is vital to a Communist Party. It is the method by which the rich experiences of the members of the Party and the masses of people become available to the leadership of the Party and the Party as a whole. It is this experience and democratic participation together with the power of Marxist analysis which enables the Party to keep Marxism from being a dogma, and instead makes it a living, growing, developing science with which we can serve our class and nation more effectively.

Any organization seeking to accomplish anything besides affording their membership opportunities for idle discussion must have some centralism and discipline. We also know that many trade unions without the centralization that comes with democratic centralism suffer very much from bureaucracy and inner democracy is abused constantly. The problem is not to abandon all forms of centralization but to find the correct limits.

Our people have no objection to the membership delegating certain authority to the leadership. The objection is to the leadership becoming a power unto itself and substituting for and depriving the membership of its democratic rights and functions. Nor is there objection in our ranks to a collective leadership pursuing a common policy as against a situation of conflicting centers, warring groups of leadership and conflicting policies.

In developing more effective democratic processes we must also guard against federationism where in various Party organizations or Party committees and organs can pursue conflicting programs and policies.

But in the final analysis discipline will be voluntary, based on ideological conviction and a mutual desire to advance the purpose of the Party.

Therefore, in the light of this we propose to modify the concept of democratic centralism and discard the term. In its place we propose

in effect majority rule with specific provision for the right of dissent after decision but guarding our common ideology and our ability to act in a unified way.

It is not possible to choose any specific clauses in the new draft constitution which standing alone embody this total concept. However, let me indicate some clauses which illustrate what this draft seeks to achieve.

I wish to direct the attention of the Committee to several sections of the constitution which in certain new ways attempt to spell out this overall approach.

In addition to many other provisions for greater organizational democracy, Article IV and Article V provide a new and different method of electing leadership providing for more direct representation and strengthening the power of recall. Party clubs and sections will be directly represented on State Committees and State organizations will be directly represented on the National Committee.

These articles, together with Article VI—Rights and Duties of Members—also provide for a far greater participation of the entire membership in initiating and reviewing policy, and make several important guarantees of the right to dissent while guarding our unity of action.

MONOLITHIC UNITY

This is a term which in our opinion ought to be discarded. It inevitably suggests a rigid conformity and a total absence of the right to dissent. It has not only been used effectively by the bourgeois ideologists and government prosecutors against our Party as denoting military discipline enforcing strait-jacket thinking, but has become a term which many of our members react against and reject.

In rejecting the term we must not lose sight of the original essence and purpose of the monolithic concept, i.e., that a Marxist organization is not an eclectic combination of ideologies, but is based on a single, a working class, a Marxist ideology and the members adhere to and function on the basis of this common ideology.

There are other organizations of workers and progressives that function with all kinds of ideologies which co-exist among the membership but which are compatible with their purpose. For example, labor unions today, the NAACP, ADA, etc.

Our concern to maintain a common ideology arises not from any desire for rigid and undemocratic conformity but from the historic role of a Marxist Party which is based in the first place on its advanced theory of scientific socialism and its ultimate goal of influencing and finally leading the working class towards its historic objective of socialism.

The unhealthy and unnecessary (Continued on Page 9)

DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF

DRAFT CONSTITUTION PREAMBLE

The Communist Party of the United States is an American working class political organization which bases itself upon the principles of scientific socialism. It champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the workers, farmers and all others who labor by hand and brain, against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The Communist Party believes that the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, of poverty, war, racism and ignorance will be finally achieved by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class. The Communist Party holds that there are various roads to socialism and that the working people of our nation will find their own road to socialism. We advocate a peaceful, democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the American people within the developing constitutional process.

The Communist Party seeks to advance the understanding of the working class in its day-to-day struggles for its historic mission, the establishment of socialism. Socialism, through the achievement of a vastly widened democracy, will fulfill the promise of an atomic age and guarantee the realization of the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," turning the epic achievements of American labor, science and culture to the use and enjoyment of all men and women.

The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against those who would destroy democracy. It fights uncompromisingly against imperialism and colonial oppression, for curbing and breaking the power of monopoly, against racial, national and religious discrimination, anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism. It regards the struggle to wipe out the system of Jim Crowism and to win immediate and full citizenship and unconditional equality for the Negro people basic to the fight for democracy.

The Communist Party holds as a cardinal principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands. It holds further that the true national interest of our country and the cause of peace and progress require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples, peaceful co-existence of all nations, and the strengthening of the United Nations as a universal instrument of peace. It recognizes that this common bond is strengthened when working class movements operate in an atmosphere of independence and equality and

exercise the right of fraternal and constructive criticism.

The Communist Party bases its theory generally on the cultural heritage of mankind and particularly on the teachings of the giants of scientific socialism, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V. I. Lenin, as interpreted by the Party and creatively applied and developed in accordance with the conditions of the American class struggle, traditions and customs. In the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress, the Communist Party carries forward the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and the great working class and socialist traditions of William Sylvis, Eugene V. Debs and Charles E. Ruthenberg. In the struggle for socialism the Communist Party seeks no narrow partisan monopoly. It fights side by side with all who struggle for socialism and seeks to cooperate with all socialist-minded Americans to achieve socialism.

For the advancement of these principles, the Communist Party of the United States establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution:

ARTICLE I NAME.

Section 1. The name of the organization shall be the Communist Party of the United States of America.

ARTICLE II PURPOSES

Section 1. The purposes of this organization are: through the exercise of constitutional rights including the nomination of candidates for public office and other forms of participation in the electoral process, to help promote the welfare of the working people of the United States; defend and extend their democratic rights; unite them against monopoly control of the political and economic life of our nation; and organize to eliminate the scourge of economic crises, unemployment, poverty, racism and war through the establishment of socialism by the free and democratic choice of a majority of the people.

ARTICLE III MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex or religious belief, who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party, shall be eligible for membership.

Section 2. An applicant for membership shall be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party. Such application shall be approved by a majority vote of the club to which the new member will belong.

Section 3. A Party member shall accept the Party program as determined by the Constitution and conventions of the Party, belong to a Party club, pay dues, read and circulate the Party press and literature.

Section 4. Party members six months in arrears in payment of dues, cease to be members in good standing and shall be so informed. Members who are 12 months in arrears shall be dropped from Party membership.

ARTICLE IV STRUCTURE

Section 1. The Communist Party shall be organized on the basis of clubs. Clubs may be constituted on an electoral subdivision, neighborhood, town, shop or industry basis.

The officers and executive committees of the clubs shall be elected by the membership by secret ballot annually. Nominations shall take place at one meeting, and elections at the following meeting.

All clubs shall have as a minimum the following officers: club chairman and financial secretary.

The Constitution Committee is presenting here a first draft of the proposed new Constitution to be considered by the coming National Convention of our Party.

It represents the effort of the Committee to embody in the Constitution the new organizational concepts and democratic safeguards arising out of the discussion.

This new Draft Constitution is being submitted in accordance with the requirement of our present Constitution, that all Constitutional changes must be placed before the membership 60 days prior to the National Convention.

All members and organizations of the Party are asked to discuss this Draft Constitution and send in their proposals for Amendments to the National Constitution Committee.

The publication of this Constitution does not pre-determine one way or the other the question of whether the National Convention should consider or make any changes in the name and form of the organization.

Additional officers and committees shall be determined by the size and needs of the club.

Any officer or executive committee member may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the club.

Regular financial reports shall be submitted to the club membership.

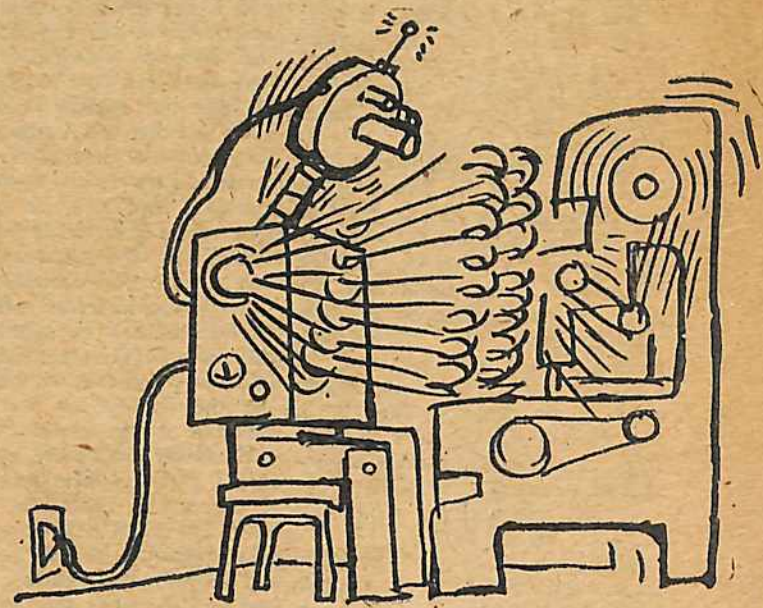
Section 2. The State organization shall comprise all clubs in one State and shall have the power and duty to establish all necessary sub-divisions such as county, city, regional or section organizations.

The highest body of the state organization is the state convention which shall meet at least once every two years. Each subdivision or club in the state shall elect delegates to the convention in such number as the state committee may determine, provided that the number of delegates to which each sub-division or club is entitled shall be in proportion to its membership. To be eligible for election as a delegate, a member shall have been in good standing for at least one year preceding the date of the convention.

The state convention shall elect a state committee, in the following manner: Caucuses of the delegates representing a club or group of clubs or a subdivision shall elect members of the state committee by majority vote and secret ballot in such number as the convention may determine, provided that the number to be elected by each caucus shall be in approximate proportion to the membership it represents. In addition, members-at-large of the state committee, in such number as the convention may determine but not in excess of the total number of members elected by caucus, shall be elected by secret ballot and majority vote of the convention.

The state convention shall elect by secret ballot and majority vote a state chairman and such other officers as it may determine. Officers so elected shall be members of the state committee by virtue of their offices, shall be responsible to the state committee, and shall be subject to recall for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the state committee.

A vacancy among the officers or members-at-large of the state committee may be filled, until the next convention, by secret ballot and majority vote of the members of the state committee. A vacancy among members of



the state committee elected by caucus may be filled, until the next convention, by majority vote and secret ballot of the leading committee or committees of the sub-division or subdivision with respect to which the vacancy occurred.

To be eligible for election as an officer or member of the state committee, a member shall have been in good standing for at least two years preceding the date of the election.

Special state conventions may be called by majority vote of the state committee or upon the written request of clubs representing one-third of the membership of the state.

The state committee shall name a committee to administer the finances of the organization and such other officers and committees as it deems necessary, all of which shall be responsible to the state committee.

State committees shall meet at least four times a year. Policy questions shall be reviewed and new policies may be submitted for adoption on the initiative of one-third of the members of the state committee.

Section 3. District organizations may be established by the National Committee. District organizations may cover part of one state, or two or more states. Where these cover two or more states, the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committee. The rules for convening the District conventions and the election of officers and leading committees shall be the same as those provided for the State organization.

Section 4. In matters of local, state or district nature, clubs and section, county, state and district committees have the right to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and Constitution of the Party and its Convention.

Section 5. Committees and officers must report regularly on their activities to the body which

elected them, or the body to which they are responsible.

Section 6. Decisions of the District and State Committees shall regularly be made available to the membership in a manner to be determined by each State and District Committee.

ARTICLE V NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

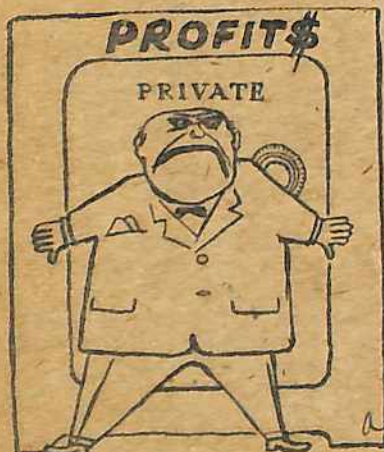
Section 1. The highest authority of the Party is the National Convention which is authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years within the first six months of the year.

Section 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by each state or district convention by secret ballot and majority vote in such number, in approximate proportion to the membership it represents, as the National Committee may determine. To be eligible for election as a delegate, the member shall have been in good standing for at least two years prior to the date of the convention.

Section 3. Special National Conventions may be called either by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee or by majority vote of two-thirds of all State and District Committees. The time and place of such special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee. The basis for representation shall be determined in the same way as that of regular conventions.

Section 4. Prior to regular National Conventions, at least 60 days shall be provided for discussion in all Party clubs and leading committees on the main resolution and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right to adopt resolutions and propose amendments to the draft resolutions and the Constitution for consideration by the Convention.

Section 5. The National Convention shall elect a National Committee in the following manner: Caucuses of the delegates representing each state or district or, where the convention shall so determine in the case of small organizations, group of states shall elect their members of the National Committee in a number determined in accordance with a scale of representation to be adopted by the convention. The members so elected shall be subject to approval by the convention. After such approval has been given, the convention shall proceed to elect members of the National Committee at-large in such number as the convention may deter-



THE COMMUNIST PARTY

mine. All elections in caucus and by the convention shall be by secret ballot and majority vote.

State and district conventions may recommend to their national convention delegations the names of persons for nomination to membership on the National Committee, and the National Convention may make similar recommendations to district and state caucuses. No such recommendations shall be binding.

Section 6. Members of the National Committee from District or State organizations shall be subject to recall for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the District or State committee or committees or by two-thirds vote of the District or State convention or conventions of the organization or organizations they represent. Vacancies shall be filled by the same body or bodies by majority vote. Members-at-large may be recalled for cause by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the National Committee, and vacancies in the post of member-at-large shall be filled by a majority vote of the National Committee. The National Committee has the right to recommend the recall for cause of National Committee members elected by District or State Committees.

Section 7. The National Convention shall elect by secret ballot and majority vote such officers as it decides upon, all of whom shall be members of the National Committee by virtue of their offices. The National Committee shall name an executive committee and any other officers and committees as it deems necessary. The officers and committees named by the convention and the National Committee shall be responsible to the National Committee, and may be removed for cause by two-thirds majority vote of the National Committee. Vacancies may be filled by majority vote of the National Committee.

Section 8. To be eligible for election as a national officer or member of the National Committee, the member shall have been in good standing for at least five years preceding the election.

Section 9. The National Committee is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and the execution of the general policies adopted by the National Convention.

Between National Conventions, the National Committee is the highest authority of the Party, representing the Party as a whole, and as such has the authority to make decisions and take actions necessary and incidental to the good and welfare of the entire Party, and to act upon all problems and developments occurring between Conventions. In connection with its duties, and in the exercise of its responsibilities therefor, the National Committee shall guide and direct all the political and organizational work of the Party; organize and supervise its various departments and committees; elect or remove editors of its publications who shall work under its leadership and guidance; organize and direct all undertakings of importance to the entire Party; and administer the national treasury. The National Committee shall submit a certified audited financial report to each National Convention.

Except in the event of an emergency found to exist by the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the National Committee, the National Committee shall not make any major policy change until it has submitted the proposed change in draft form to either the District or State Committees or the membership as a whole for debate for specified periods and for recommendations thereon. Con-



flicting views within the National Committee on all major policy questions, and arguments advanced for and against the proposed policy shall be made known to the membership.

When in the judgment of the National Committee, the best interests of the organization require it, major policy changes shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership or to special enlarged, delegated conferences on a National or Regional basis.

Section 10. The National Committee shall meet at least four times a year and as often as necessary at the call of the officers or at the request of one-third of the members of the National Committee.

Section 11. Summaries and reports of National Committee meetings shall be made available to District and State committees and shall appear in digest form in some Party publication available to the Party membership.

All departments and leading committees shall submit reports regularly in writing to the National Committee which may be released after approval and by direction of the National Committee to appear in a Party publication.

Section 12. Policy questions shall be reviewed, or new policies submitted for adoption, upon the initiative of one-third of the members of the National Committee.

Every officer and member shall have the right to hold and express a dissenting opinion on any matter of Party policy with respect to which a decision has been made by majority vote of the appropriate Party committee or convention, provided that such dissenting officer or member acts to carry out such policy so long as it remains in effect and does not engage in factional or other activity which hinders or impedes the execution of such policy or endangers the unity and



solidarity of the Party. The guarantee of the right of dissent provided by this section shall be implemented by providing for the expression and discussion of dissenting views in Party publications, including the publication provided for in the next section, and in authorized Party meetings arranged for that purpose.

Section 13. The National Committee shall issue a special publication on a regular basis to facilitate reporting by the National Committee to the Party membership and the discussion of Party policies by the membership.

ARTICLE VI RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

Section 1. Every member of the Party who is in good standing has the right to participate in the making of its policies and in the election of its leading committees, officers and delegates.

Members have the right and duty, within the Party organization, to discuss any and all Party policies and tactics, the right to criticize the work and composition of all leading committees, the right to participate fully in the discussion in the Party press or any other authorized Party publications, and the right of dissent after decisions are taken, in the manner provided for in this constitution.

Section 2. All decisions of any club, committee or convention are made by a majority vote after thorough discussion, unless otherwise specified in this Constitution, and all members are to abide by such decisions.

Section 3. Party members disagreeing with any decision of a club, section, county, state or district committee have the right to appeal such decision to the next higher body until they reach the National Committee and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, members shall not act contrary to the decision already rendered. All appeals should be heard by the respective committee within 90 days.

Section 4. At regular intervals, in the period between conventions, the various Party organizations from Section to National Committees should organize delegated conferences to re-evaluate policy or develop a position on new issues which arise. At these conferences all dissenting opinions and minority viewpoints are to be examined and acted upon.

Section 5. Decisions of higher bodies shall be reported to lower bodies with the positions of individual members on major questions indicated. The lower bodies shall have the right to examine the decisions of higher bodies, and if they find them incorrect or inadequate, to request their review and amendment.

Section 6. In matters of state or local nature, the Party organizations have the right to exercise full initiative and to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party.

Section 7. It shall be the obligation of all Party members to struggle against all forms of national oppression, national chauvinism, discrimination and segregation, against all ideological influences and practices of "racial" theories, such as white chauvinism and anti-Semitism. It shall be the duty of all Party members to fight for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people and promote the unity of the Negro and white people as essential for the advancement of their common interests.

Section 8. All Party members who are eligible shall be required

to belong to their respective trade unions.

Section 9. All Party members in mass organizations (trade unions, farm and fraternal organizations, etc.) shall cooperate to promote and strengthen the given organization and shall abide by the democratic decisions of these organizations.

Section 10. All members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for public office.

Section 11. The Party shall give full aid in the acquisition of U. S. citizenship to those of its members who, because of unjust and undemocratic laws and practices, are deprived of this right.

ARTICLE VII DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURE AND APPEALS

Section 1. Party members whose actions are found to be detrimental to the Party and the working class shall be dismissed from positions of responsibility, and may be expelled from the Party. But no member may be deprived of his membership, or in any way disciplined unless he is proved guilty. The burden of proof rests with the accuser.

Section 2. Any member shall be expelled from the Party who is found to be a strike-breaker, provocateur, engaged in espionage, or who advocates force and violence or terrorism, or who adheres to or participates in the activities of any group or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy through which the majority of the American people can maintain their right to determine their destinies.

Section 3. Charges against individual members or committees may be made by any member to the club of which the accused is a member or to the appropriate higher committee having jurisdiction. Clubs shall act upon charges directed against anyone holding membership in that club. All such charges shall be handled expeditiously by an elected trial committee. The trial committee should hear charges, make recommendations for action to the body which elected them, and then disband.

Section 4. All persons concerned in disciplinary cases shall have the right to appear, to bring witnesses and testify.

Section 5. After hearing the report of the trial committee, the club or leading committee having jurisdiction shall have the right to decide by majority vote upon any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Disciplinary measures taken by leading committees are subject to approval by the body to which they are



responsible.

Section 6. Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body up to the National Convention, whose decision shall be final. All decisions on appeal shall be made within 90 days after the appeal is taken, except that appeals to the National Convention or conventions of subordinate organizations shall be made by the convention which follows the taking of such appeal.

ARTICLE VIII INITIATION FEES, DUES AND ASSESSMENTS

Section 1. Initiation fees and dues shall be paid according to rates fixed by the National Convention.

Section 2. The income from dues and initiation fees shall be distributed to the various subdivisions of the Party as determined by the National Convention.

Section 3. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or by a two-thirds vote of the National Committee. All local or district assessments are prohibited except by special permission of the National Committee.

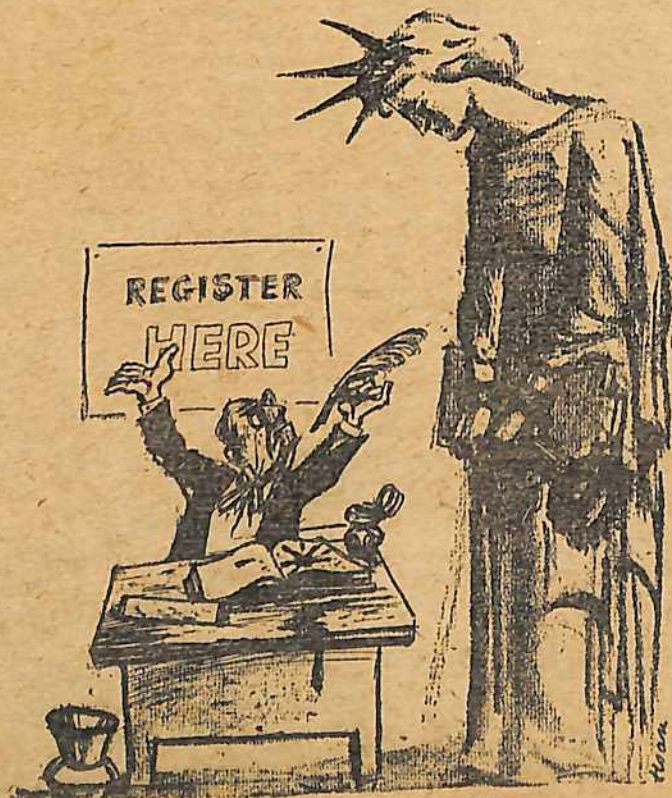
ARTICLE IX AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote of any regular or special National Convention.

State and District organizations or their subdivisions may adopt By-Laws provided they are in accord with the National Constitution.

ARTICLE X

Section 1. The Communist Party is not responsible for any political document, policy, book, article, or any other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by authority of this and subsequent national conventions and its regularly constituted leadership.



Materials for Trade Union Resolution

(Continued from Page 4)

and organization of the unorganized in basic industry. Unemployment insurance was once called a "red" proposition because Communists first fought for it. To many hard-fought strikes, the Communists contributed support and leadership. At all times we helped to make clear to the workers that they faced in the capitalists never a "partner" but always an opponent. Long before the labor movement achieved its present stature, Communists were urging the importance of independent political action, unity of labor, unity of Negro and white. We have always stressed the common interests of the workers of all countries and the need to unite for their common goals.

In all these pioneering efforts, the Communist Party served the workers well. Many of its proposals and ideas became part of the program of large sections of the labor movement. These ideas and proposals played a part in the formation and growth of the CIO, and in the forward movement of the AFL. Testing everything by their own thought and experience, millions of workers by their action brought to reality many of the ideas and slogans first advanced by the Communists. This has been a recognized contribution of the Communist Party to the unions.

This added strength brought to the labor movement was an important factor in the victory of our country and its allies in the war against fascism.

At the close of World War II American Big Business thought it had its golden opportunity; to drive to become boss of the world, and to beat down the workers at home. The American workers had a few scores of their own to settle with the war billionaires. They fought back in a tremendous wave of successful post-war strikes.

But Big Business achieved some sinister successes. They were able to plant the idea of imminent "Soviet aggression" as a cover-up for their own aggressive schemes. They pushed across the idea of the danger of "internal subversion." With the hysteria-mills working full blast, they began to weaken labor militancy and unity by stimulating and encouraging attacks on, and isolation of, Communists and left-progressive workers. This made it easier for them to put across their anti-labor legislation.

It was a service to the labor movement and the American people that we Communists exposed and gave warning of the real objectives of Big Business. Yet we recognize that in exposing these real aims, in trying to help the labor movement to fight back, we Communists made some serious and harmful mistakes. These mistakes have a source which did not develop overnight.

We have the responsibility to face frankly up to them and to get to their root. For similar errors have marred and limited even our best activity of the past. In the complex situation of the post-war period new errors prevented us from making the best possible contributions towards solution of the new problems facing labor, and thus in most instances contributed to our isolation.

The overall Draft Resolution points out:

1. At certain times our Party underestimated the possibility of really defeating the war plans of big business.
2. At times we tended to misinterpret the repeated blows against labor and democratic rights by reaction in our country as already instituting fascism.
3. As for the economic situation, we misjudged the various downturns that hit the workers after the war and estimated they would lead directly to crisis.

The resolution further states that these post-war mistakes were the product of long-standing deeply imbedded weaknesses in our movement. Included was our habit of trying to squeeze the facts of American life into a rigid interpretation of Marxist theory. Hand in hand with this went an uncritical acceptance of many views of Marxists of other countries. All in all, we had a situation where the Party leadership too often did not listen to the membership and the Party as a whole did not listen earnestly enough to the people, especially to the workers.

It is in relation to the labor movement that one could expect to find and does find some of the most hurtful examples of the fruits of these weaknesses. The most important was, how we saw the labor movement. In spite of our long years of participation in the leadership of outstanding economic struggles, we failed to keep centrally before us that the unions are in the first place organizations of workers dedicated to the improvement of their economic conditions. What we assumed was, that the questions we saw as the most important were therefore the most immediate in the minds of the workers. The urgency with which we saw and pressed the broader political issues caused us to disregard the way in which workers were looking at things. We failed to make clear by patient efforts the connections between the day to day struggle of the workers and these same issues.

Blindly pursuing this concept of the labor movement we developed too much of a high-and-mighty, know-it-all attitude. This led us to exaggerate our influence and support. We did not realize that a union might elect some Left forces to the leadership without being a Left union. In the difficult post-war period many important labor leaders, with whom we had worked harmoniously, began to go along with many phases of the Government-Big Business foreign policy outlook. They influenced the big majority of the unions' membership in the same direction.

With our somewhat inflated estimates, we showed ourselves stiff-necked and inflexible when the times called for modesty and flexibility. On too many occasions, when ruptures had become probable, we helped to make them inevitable.

The expulsion of the progressive-led unions is an example. These expulsions were part of an organized campaign led by certain labor leaders with the approval if not under the direct instigation of the State Department. The purpose of this cold war campaign was to drive out and destroy these unions and to split the world labor movement as well. The best defense of the workers' interests, the best defense of the cause of peace demanded that everything be done to prevent a split. The policy of our Party spoke formally on behalf of unity. But the prac-

tical content of our "unity program" was reflected in the sharp clashes that preceded the expulsions. These collisions related to our insistence, for example, on the adoption of a third party perspective and a condemnation of the Marshall Plan, as part of a minimum basis for unity! Thus, our inflexibility on these questions, arising out of our estimates of the war and fascist danger, facilitated the objectives of the cold war splitters.

This split hurt the entire labor movement. It stimulated widespread and savage jurisdictional struggles. While the unions dissipated their strength in such warfare, the monopolists gleefully struck home with a new offensive against all unions.

For their part, the progressive-led unions fought bravely and well. Despite the violence of the attacks against them, their fight for policies of peace, civil liberties and civil rights, gave heart to many workers, and stirred other sections of labor. Unfortunately, within these unions the struggle to re-unite the labor movement—a demand getting increasing response from the workers—did not command the same energetic attention. The split took its deadly toll.

Slow to appreciate the complete lessons of this split, and slow to realize the nature of our errors, we Communists on our part failed to pursue policies after the expulsions that could have led in the least possible time to re-unification.

The workers then, as now, faced harsh and immediate economic problems. Here above all was the basis for a fight on our part for continuing close relationships with masses of workers. This would have favorably influenced efforts to continue a minimum united front even with the leadership. We must candidly state that in this regard our course was not consistent.

While we actively participated in the important post-war economic struggles, the broader political questions of fighting to preserve peace, to preserve labor and democratic rights, occupied most of our attention. But in such a narrow, single-track way that our Party saw the main divisions in the unions as "pro-imperialist" and "anti-imperialist." Mostly, we "parcelled up" the union leaders in this way; but it affected our relations with the workers as well. Large numbers of workers, who either supported the position of the union leaders, or who had not yet become convinced of the relation between their economic struggles and the political issues we were stressing, were persuaded that the Communists had some special oar to pull. No doubt, many were affected by the anti-Communist hysteria. But it was not this alone. Too often workers had the impression that we were making it a pre-requisite for working together on day to day immediate issues, that they had to agree with our outlook on who and what was responsible for the war danger and how to fight for democratic rights.

Many workers interpreted our scathing criticism of the political line of the union leadership as meaning that the most important thing was to fight the leaders. While they too had differences with the leadership, the workers were not prepared to accept this. From their own experiences they knew that many of their elected officers would respond to insistent pressure on their part and could be compelled to reflect their demands and lead their struggles. Consequently, while they have important and justified differences on political questions, internal union problems, on who can most effectively carry the struggle for their needs against the employers, most workers do reject any oversimplified "oppositionalist" approach to the leadership which might lead to factionalism. Rather they are for uniting all possible forces to defeat the constant attacks of the bosses, trying in the first place to involve the leadership if they can, but not abandoning the struggle if they are convinced it is impossible.

While we Communists attempted to pursue principled views on all questions—even if at times the majority disagreed with us—we failed to guarantee with equal vigor the principle of keeping close relations with the workers, of united action on specific important issues. To do that may often mean that it is impractical, even harmful to press every aspect of our position, taking into consideration the level of thinking of the workers. Enunciating correct policies cannot be our only concern. To be isolated from the workers is to stand apart from those experiences by which the workers may in due course determine whether our proposals are correct or not. For certainly, we reject any idea that our role is to stand at the end of the road and beckon.

The kind of mistakes we have been discussing are sectarian errors, weeds that grow in the soil of isolation, entangle one's feet and make it harder to break out. The mistakes were reflected generally and did injury to the fine tradition of our Party as the outstanding advocate of trade union unity. So also in the latter war years, under Browder, the errors of believing in the "good faith" of big business, "right" errors, resulted in separating us from vital struggles of workers.

In this post-war period, our thoughts, interests and concern began to center around those in the labor movement who agreed with our point of view, rather than on the essential but infinitely more difficult task of resolutely fighting to unite all labor to meet employer attacks. Our influence also waned in our relations to members of the AFL. We paid little attention to the problems of the craft workers. While we were quite correctly concerned with the most dynamic sections of labor—the CIO—our concern got to be one-sided. In fact, we ignored the problems of the majority of the

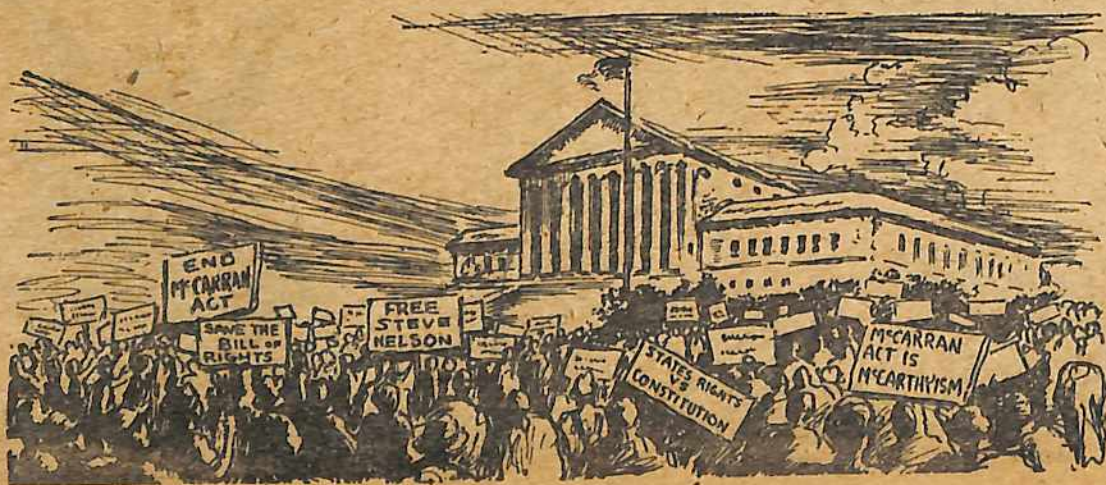
workers in the AFL. This was particularly true after the unjustified expulsion of the progressive-led unions from the CIO in 1949.

After the 1952 elections, as demands for unity became more intense, our Party more energetically called for united labor action as a step in the direction of labor unity. This call, valid as it was, nevertheless did not measure up to what was needed. Hobbled by our estimate of the political time-of-day and our evaluation of the trade union leadership, our call for united action was in effect suggesting a pre-unity "trial period" which workers felt had long since passed. In the absence of a real and sustained fight for trade union unity, many comrades in the Party were unprepared for the rapidity with which organic unity was achieved between the AFL and the CIO. A few even felt that this was in fact a State Department "plot," not warranting our support. Hence, as a consequence of our back-sliding on this question, the Communists, the traditional and most forceful proponents of such unity, had little to contribute when organic unity between the AFL and CIO finally came about.

The post-World War II period created new problems for Negro workers. The bulk of the more than one million who came into industry during the war were thrown out of work as a result of the contraction of the war-producing industries. Our Party attempted to pin-point this problem in its call for special seniority consideration for Negro workers when lay-offs took place. However, the "this-is-it" manner in which our demand for special consideration in layoffs was placed as the sole solution, did not meet with response from both white as well as most of the Negro workers. While seniority was an aspect of the question, the main problem was not primarily the ability of Negro workers to remain in the declining war-producing industries. It was rather the need to open up opportunities in other, non-war industries, where Negro workers had been barred, and for upgrading where they had been kept in the most menial job classifications. Nonetheless, in spite of any error on this question, the demand for special seniority consideration dramatized the plight of the Negro workers and helped stimulate the struggle for jobs.

As a result of post-war attacks, taken together with our own errors, the Party today does not have the influence among workers it had in past years. Today, some union leaders feel called upon to vie with each other in expressing their opposition to the Party and Communism. Innumerable constitutional provisions bar Communists from membership or from holding office in many unions. There is a fear among many workers to knowingly associate with us. In spite of this, there have been some changes taking place in the most recent period. The easing of tensions on a world scale as well as the correction and overcoming of a number of the fore-mentioned errors, is making it possible for Communist workers to participate on a more normal basis in the trade union activity of their shops and local unions. As a result of the increasing demand of workers for unity to meet anti-labor attacks, in some instances new coalitions, including workers long known as left-wingers, have been formed. This trend towards fuller unity, especially at the local union level, has been growing. While this is true in some instances, the abnormal and harmful attitude towards the Communist Party as such on the part of the labor leader-

(Continued on Page 11)



Underlying Concepts for Draft Constitution

(Continued from Page 5)
 aspects of our past efforts to achieve a common ideology are handled in our discussion of democratic centralism. Our problem is to insure that our new constitution will provide the necessary framework for both a common ideology without rigid conformity and a democratic cohesive organization that is capable of unity in action, an organization whose activity and functioning corresponds with its purpose and ultimate goal—the peaceful transition to socialism.

The Preamble and Purposes in particular as well as article VI, and for that matter the new draft constitution as a whole, seeks to achieve this view.

VANGUARD ROLE

The question of our vanguard role has also arisen in the discussion. There is considerable ground for review of this question. The fact is we have publicly and within the Party spoken of our vanguard role with connotations of arrogance. Over the years we have given the impression that we seek monopoly rights and see ourselves as the sole and exclusive embodiment of leadership of the working class; this carries with it an assumption of superiority and conceit and gives an unwarranted and unrealistic picture of our legitimate striving to assume an ever greater role of leadership—in the first place ideological and political leadership.

Many errors have been made in attempting to fulfill the role of a vanguard. Our errors include: the type of leadership we expect our people to exercise within other organizations—i.e., fraction methods;—we have given grounds for belief that we sought harmful factionalism, infiltration for sinister purposes; our relations as a party *per se* within united fronts leaves much to be desired; and even the way we play our so-called independent role suffers by our faulty and unrealistic self-view as a vanguard. Immodesty not only permeates our writing and speaking but also distorts the planning of our everyday role and the projection of program.

This requires that we reconsider and redefine what our leadership role is in general, and what leadership role a Marxist organization in our country can realistically play today. This will have to be given more thought and will have to be spelled out by the convention more than I can undertake to do today. But generally speaking we must realize that we have not only erred in the past but have not yet drawn full lessons from certain new realities today—changes on the American scene in the terms of growth of the labor movement, Negro liberation movement, farm movement and progressive organizations and the activities they have undertaken. The relatively advanced type of program brought forward by many labor and people's organizations and the initiatives taken by many of these organizations on a host of issues before the American working class pose new problems on how we strive to play our vanguard role.

From these new facts certain comrades draw the conclusion that these organizations are getting along perfectly well without us and there is no need for us except to propagate general and abstract Socialist ideas. They are wrong. Others feel that because of our many mistakes and severe losses we are impotent and have nothing

to give in terms of leadership. They are doubly wrong.

Some comrades raise a so-called moral question. They say playing any so-called "leading" role which is not frankly and avowedly based on one's membership in our Marxist organization is sailing under false colors and dishonest. And therefore the best thing we can do is to simply work within the workers' and people's organizations on the program as conceived of and advanced by these organizations, while those who belong only to our Party and no other organization can as individuals act otherwise. There are even a few who draw the further conclusion that membership in these labor and people's organizations is enough and there is no need for a Marxist party. These views deny us any "vanguard" role and are wrong, in your reporter's opinion. This problem in part springs from the difficulties of our semi-legal status and the remaining ravages of McCarthyite hysteria, but also is a consequence of differences on our long term and current role as a Marxist organization.

Thus, those who question our vanguard role fall into two categories—those who question the whole concept in principle, and those who would review how we have defined our vanguard role and practiced it, not only in recent years but since our inception, and who feel that we must redefine our role in the light of our mistakes and in the context of the situation in the country as we find it. They also feel we must take a more realistic view of the status and present potential of our Marxist organization.

"EDUCATIONAL" SOCIETY REJECTED

We hold that the achievement of socialism requires that there be a working class socialist organization with an advanced theory which strives to project policies to the working class and people generally, which, if accepted, will lead the working class step by step towards a socialist goal.

We believe that armed with the advanced theory of scientific socialism, and serving our class as a whole, Marxists have an insight which the masses don't yet fully share in the relation of class forces, the given meaning of particular struggles, the inter-connection between objective events—all of which makes it possible for Marxists to help enrich the content of the workers' struggles and thus help the working class to gain step by step ever greater victories leading towards their historic goal.

Our Committee believes that while we should discard the use of the term, vanguard, that this basic concept is generally sound and necessary and must be retained. However, we must learn better how to fulfill our leadership role.

For example, our very Draft Resolution by projecting the concept of anti-monopoly coalition and government and seeing it as an important stage in the peaceful transition to socialism fulfills in one sense the correct role we can play even now. How American Marxists would undertake to implement this strategic aim for the next period would be a further expression of its leadership role. This still needs clearer definition.

The question American Marxists have to answer is whether we shall trail behind the workers' and people's movement, putting complete confidence in spontaneous movements and whatever conclusions the workers' and people's movements will independently draw from their experience; or whether while listening and learning from the workers, we strive to make a contribution to their struggles, the quality of which is enriched by our socialist outlook and knowledge of the scientific theory of socialism. This of necessity goes beyond abstract and general socialist education.

Whether or not we keep the use

of the term vanguard, the fact remains that the essential concept must be retained. There is a necessary and indispensable role of leadership for an organization of Marxists, collectively and individually. The real problem is how we understand our leadership role and how we strive to perform it, particularly in the changed circumstances in which we work and in order to overcome our harmful mistakes of the past.

We therefore reject any proposal to transform our organization into what is commonly called a purely educational society which concerns itself exclusively with general and abstract propaganda. This would make socialist education sterile, divorced from life, divorced from the immediate issues and struggles of the workers and would only make of us a sect.

At a later date when we prepare the report to the Convention itself in which we combine the placement of the constitutional questions together with the problems that arise under a traditional organization report, it will be necessary to make a fuller exposition of how we must play our role in the given conditions of today.

WINNING GREATER LEGALITY

In our common effort to achieve greater understanding of how this role can be performed, not the least important factor is the problem that arises from the persecution and witch-hunt of Marxists in our country. This certainly complicates and makes more difficult playing any leadership role and emphasizes anew the importance of finding new and better ways to meet the problem of winning full citizenship and greater legality for Marxist thinking in our country. Nevertheless, we still have the task of continuing in the best way we can to play a leadership role now. We have a great ideological contribution to make and also can play a worthwhile political role. Playing our modest leadership role in a correct fashion today will enhance our efforts to win citizenship and legitimacy for the Marxist current in the labor and people's movement. We look towards the time when a strong and influential Marxist movement will increasingly win ideological and political leadership of the working masses. This will, of course, be a process of many stages.

It is with these views in mind that we should determine our Preamble and statement of purpose for the Draft Constitution, as well as certain other clauses having to do with membership and structure.

ON CLUB ORGANIZATION

I would like to raise here very briefly (not necessarily for resolution at this meeting) our forms of club organization, especially, functional clubs.

Speaking for myself, I have strong doubts that we can perform a correct leadership role and maintain functional clubs on a long term basis. At best they can only be transitional forms. Inevitably they function in the most restricted sense. Their public socialist role is at an irreducible minimum. Their function is often narrowly that of a caucus. Their enforced clandestine nature troubles our members and antagonizes our friends. Our members within these organizations, while often welcome and active as individuals, would be isolated as members of such clubs.

No one will deny most of our



members in functional clubs have mass ties. But are functional clubs necessary to keep these ties? Will such clubs best win us citizenship in the people's movement?

Considerable discussion is also developing over the desirability of shop and industrial clubs. With respect to shop clubs, our overriding goal of becoming ever more a working class organization, as well as the severe repression which our comrades in the shop confront every day, convinces us that we should continue the shop club form of organization at least for the present. The fact that most of our shop comrades strongly favor the continuation of shop clubs is in itself a powerful argument for such clubs. This does not solve the problems these clubs face in the labor movement and in their internal life. But we must leave that for a separate discussion. At this point I simply want to indicate that the new draft constitution provides for clubs on a shop and industry basis.

Many comrades contend that more and more the basic form of organization must be the community club, organized in the political subdivisions of cities and towns and that the working class character of our Party will be guaranteed by the strength of our Party in working class communities and by our ideology. There are many industrial towns in which community clubs now best meet our local Party needs. In one midwest city comrades have dissolved industrial clubs and merged them with clubs organized on the basis of political subdivisions. A city-wide Labor Committee functions side-by-side with the C. P. City Central Committee and comrades

report favorably on results. Shop comrades lead the community work, in political action and other activities. Husbands and wives attend the same club meeting and seem to prefer it that way.

I believe our attitude towards industrial clubs as distinct from shop clubs should be a more tentative one and should be viewed at the best as transitional.

Arriving finally at a correct position as to what should be our basic form of organization is also very much bound up with the legal status of our Party. Therefore, our draft constitution can only address itself to the present circumstances as we know them.

One other question which finds no real reflection in the constitution but must figure in the report to the convention:

Party democracy, greater collectivity, and initiative in the Party as a whole, and the struggle against bureaucracy, generally requires a sharp reduction in the number of "full time functionaries." Aside from the intolerable financial burden and the tendency to distort the Party's style of work along bureaucratic patterns, it makes for an ever greater gap between the leadership and membership.

Sharp retrenchment has already taken place, but this must continue further. We must note, however, that we are slow in developing the necessary new style of work and serious lapses and harmful gaps have developed in the role of the leading committees, and many every day tasks are suffering from neglect.

I now wish to submit the draft constitution itself for debate and amendment in this meeting of the National Committee.

Vital for Pre-Convention Discussion

— in —

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Kind of Party Needed Now

(Continued from Page 3)

what kind of Communist Party do the American workers need in the next period of advance?

Firstly, they need a Party to help give consistent anti-monopoly perspective to their economic and political struggles, to help these struggles grow into a realignment in the form of a great anti-monopoly coalition led by labor, and to help win greater mass acceptance of the fight for Socialism as the only sure road ahead to a truly "New America" of peace, prosperity and equality.

There is a distinct role for Communists and other advanced workers. Communists are needed to give life and meaning to the struggle to achieve the programs of the unions and mass organizations. There is need for initiative and inspiring example, as always. Lessons must be drawn from the struggle, and class-consciousness nurtured. The vast benefits Socialism could bring to this country must be explained constantly and properly, in American terms, and a general idea advanced how Socialism can be achieved here, on the basis of American conditions and traditions.

To be able to provide these kind of perspectives our Party must accept as its general guide that body of scientific social theory, the best accumulation of international working class experience, Marxism-Leninism. Some comrades prefer the term "Marxism" as a description of this knowledge. Others think "scientific socialism" would be better. It is not the terminology but the concept that should be the decisive area for polemic and decision on this question.

The most fundamental component of Marxism, or Marxism-Leninism, or scientific socialism is the scientific method by which to

analyze all social phenomena. All three terms embrace those theses or conclusions about society and its development which have universal validity and are not limited in their application to Russian, Chinese or any other particular national experience.

Scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism, is not a static body of dogma. On this everybody appears to agree. It is also agreed, in words at least, that our past failures to apply this scientific method to American conditions, plus the many new world developments, compel critical re-evaluation of many hitherto-unquestioned propositions. The Draft Resolution correctly proposes that we do just this. I do not regard this as a repudiation of Leninism, I do feel, however, that the Resolution must include convincing arguments for those few theoretical changes it adopts out of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. It also should indicate more clearly specific past-accepted theses that require early re-examination by American Marxists. This might to some degree reassure those who fear that to rethink and revise certain "sacred" ideas that life has rendered obsolete opens the door to the dumping of Leninism.

I do not view the proposal to delete the term "Marxism-Leninism" from the preamble of the new Party constitution as a departure from principle. The French CP, which I understand also has no reference to Marxism-Leninism in its preamble, is thereby no more liquidationist or anti-Leninism than we would be.

There is a further important consideration. The ruling class has so far successfully equated Marxism-Leninism with "force and violence" and "foreign agent," not only in the courts but in the people's think-

ing. What principle compels us to retain unnecessary handicaps to reach the people? Is it not Leninist to strive for whatever extra legality we can achieve among the people?

Secondly, the American workers need a party based on the workers, involved in their economic and political struggles, giving primary attention to their problems, with a majority of its members in the shops and trade unions.

The shop club form of organization should be retained, in my opinion. But we must considerably revise the content of the work of shop clubs in order to avoid past errors. It is a fact that past policies and methods in our industrial work did help create suspicions among many workers, and not just among the top leaders, that we were "interfering" in the unions. We do have a lot to think through in a new way and with open minds about this field of work. Those comrades, including many themselves in the shops, who are probing our past experiences and searching for other forms are not thereby abandoning emphasis on the working class.

Thirdly, the American workers need a party whose organization and functioning correspond to the life and experience of the American workers, to the history and traditions of our country.

Therefore I think we must break with certain past concepts and practices—monolithic party, semi-military discipline, over-stress on centralism, large numbers of full-time functionaries—and the many bureaucratic habits and methods of work that flowed inevitably from them.

There should emerge from the convention a party of Socialism that is not Social-Democratic in organizational form, not a de-

bating society, but a cohesive party, geared for action. But I think this can be achieved better if we do not cling to democratic centralism. Many argue that we never really tried it in the CPUSA. I think the concept, while valid in Lenin's day for many parties, has built in the emphasis on centralism and this inevitably became the main feature in every CP in the world.

Inner democracy can be fully guaranteed, including the right to dissent, without wiping out the authority of higher bodies and without sanction for organized factions. We can have an organization that strives to unite its members without demanding or forcing unanimity upon them.

The debate around the term is not the main question, anyway. Let's see if we can agree on the kind of party the American workers need in the next period. And let's describe it in terms acceptable and clearly understandable to the American workers. I think the Draft Resolution makes a good beginning. It incorporates many sound proposals that came forward in the earlier discussion. No doubt there will be others by convention-time.

NAME CHANGE AND LEADERSHIP

What about changes in leadership? I think there has to be considerable. For one reason because such change, on the national level especially, is an important way to signalize a new departure in the eyes of both the membership and the masses. For another, the isolation imposed by the enemy, reinforced by style and method of work, necessitates refreshment of leadership on all levels with changes and additions as much as possible from workers with mass ties.

Present repressive conditions impose limits on what additions can be made to open committees. Supplementary forms, better than those of the past, will be necessary to insure involvement of mass workers as policy-making leaders on all levels. It will also be an urgent task to make sure that every present leader is enabled to play a full role in the next stages of Party life.

I am opposed to the proposal for change to a political association. (At this writing I have not read Gates' or other late material on this question.)

However, the kind of basic changes I believe we must make in our Party lead me to the conclusion that we should change its name. This, also, will be a clearer public indication of a new departure for American Communists. Without exaggerating its immediate effects, it will enhance the possibilities for winning a hearing among more people today, with a widening circle as we prove in life, by our deeds, that we have learned from the past and present.

Change of name will not end the hostility of the present leaders of the trade unions and people's organizations. But it will, I think, contribute to relax tensions somewhat in these organizations and open up some elbow-room among the people in the shops and unions.

Nor will change of name end the government's attacks. Yet we may gain valuable time and room for maneuver, a matter of some consequence.

On this, as on all other proposals under examination, I think we should apply one yardstick—will it help the Communists to close the gap between them and the American workers and thereby help the American working class to find the quickest, surest path to socialism.

On the Party's Name and Form

(Continued from Page 2)

of our vanguard role would be a fatal mistake.

When we say that our party plays a vanguard role we mean simply that it is the conscious factor which brings the idea of socialism into the working class. The working class cannot arrive at the idea of socialism as a result of its spontaneous struggles against capitalist exploitation. To rely on the growth of socialist consciousness in the working class through the spontaneous processes of the class struggle without an advanced organization of advanced workers guided by an advanced theory, Marxism-Leninism, is to doom the cause of socialism to permanent defeat.

Furthermore, the idea of socialism cannot be brought into the working class by mere educational work. Educational work for socialism, at best, can bring socialist consciousness to some thousands of workers. When we undertake to move a whole class in the direction of socialist consciousness such educational work must be combined with the living experience of that class in its struggles against capitalist exploitation. In contrast to study circles which can learn from books primarily, masses learn primarily from their experiences.

Hence to bring socialist consciousness to masses, their struggles must be led in such a way as to facilitate the grasp of socialist ideas. Therein lies the distinction between reformist and revolutionary leadership of mass struggles. One type of leadership is concerned with keeping the masses under the ideological leadership of capitalism; the other is concerned with unfolding these struggles in such a way that, in the process of winning reforms, the masses ultimately see how to eliminate the basic cause of their exploitation and oppression.

To bring the working class to socialism, therefore, its struggles must be consciously guided and

led by those who understand the relationship between these struggles and the ultimate goal of socialism. Such guidance and such leadership constitutes the meaning of our vanguard role.

In answer to this it is said by some: "Well, the fact is that the masses don't accept us as their vanguard or the leaders of their struggles. So let's be modest and abandon the idea of playing a vanguard role until we become a mass organization once more possessed of mass influence. When we reach that point we can again start playing a vanguard role."

In the first place, if we abandon the concept of our vanguard role we will never become a mass organization. The political leadership of the working class is being contested by other social and political forces. If we do not enter into this competition we will never win it. It is erroneous to think that we can stand aloof from the struggle for the leadership of the working class in the expectation that the working class will give each type of leadership competing for its support a try—and then when it is disillusioned with all of them that it will finally turn to us and say: "O.K., now we'll give you a try." It will turn to our leadership only if we fight to win that leadership in appropriate ways in the continuing and unremitting process of daily struggle.

In the second place, we should not confuse the political role of our organization with the way in which it carries out that role in different periods of its relationship to the masses. The vanguard role of the Communist Party in the struggle for Negro rights was exercised in one way in the early thirties when it was the only organization attempting to lead mass struggles for Negro rights. It must be exercised in another way today when the mass struggle for Negro rights is being directly led by the NAACP. The vanguard role of the Communist Party in the fight for

the economic needs of the workers was exercised in one way in the thirties when there was a puny trade union movement of a couple of million. It must be exercised in a different way today when some sixteen million workers are organized in the trade unions.

The decision on how we should exercise our vanguard role is a matter of strategy, policy and tactics. The decision as to whether we should play a vanguard role is a matter of principle.

RELATION TO NEW PARTY

Others connect up their rejection of the vanguard role of our Party and its transformation into a political association with our perspective of the eventual formation of a new united party of socialism. They say:

"It is not our party which will lead the working class to socialism. This will be done by a new united party of socialism yet to emerge. It is that party which is destined to play a vanguard role in our country. Our party's vanguard role today, therefore, should not be to try to give leadership to the working class but to bring this new united party of socialism into existence as quickly as possible."

Now, there is no doubt that the effort to bring such a united party of socialism into existence is part of the vanguard role of our party. But to reduce our political role to this alone would convert our party into a simple propaganda group for a new party, a political center

exclusively devoted to bringing such a party into existence by propagandizing and negotiating for it.

Not only would this scrap the vanguard role of our party. It would also nullify completely the efforts of our party to hasten the emergence of a united party of socialism. For, by transforming ourselves in effect into such an initiative group for a new party of socialism, we will turn ourselves into a sect operating within the restricted sphere of the already organized socialist movement and its periphery. We will by conscious decision adopt the role of a "splinter." As such we are doomed to disintegration and with us, the possibility of a united party of socialism as we conceive it.

The materialization of such a united party of socialism depends not only on the validity of the concept of such a party but also on the growing strength of the party which is fighting for it, that is, our party. If we remain weak and isolated, or if we decline still further to the self-imposed status of a "splinter" then there will be no united party of socialism as we conceive it. What will then probably arise to dominate the field unchallenged, when socialist consciousness spreads among the masses, may be a socialist party led by right social-democrats which will fight against the formation of a united party of socialism.

We can make our maximum contribution to bringing a new united party of socialism into existence by attempting, even today, to embody all the traits which we believe such a new party should eventually have, including its vanguard role. This includes trying, within the limits we have and without the immodesty and sectarianism of the past, to give what measure of leadership we can to the struggles of the working class and popular movement. This will facilitate our own growth and it will hasten the emergence and ultimate unifica-

tion of the socialist currents in our country into a united party on a sound basis.

CONCLUSION

To sum up: I believe we should retain the name and form of our organization until such time as it becomes clearer than it is today that such changes are required either to make a new advance in the political influence and organized strength of the Party or until such time as it becomes obvious that such changes will be helpful in fighting for our legal rights and our citizenship in the trade unions.

This obviously means that we do not close the books on such proposals for all time. It may be that events subsequent to our convention may make it advisable to carry through changes in either name or form. If that happens, we should not hesitate to do so at a future convention.

What this convention should do, in my opinion, is to appoint a special committee which will study the problem of name and form of organization in close cooperation with the committee which will be set up to draft a fundamental program for our Party. Both committees should, on the basis of widespread discussion, report their recommendations to the next convention of our Party to be held a year following this one.

Once our fundamental program is adopted, there can be no ambiguity about the principles on which we base ourselves regardless of our name or form. Under such conditions, we will be able to discuss changes in name and form most fruitfully from the standpoint of the political advantages which might, or might not, be derived from making such changes. This is not fully possible today because, whether we like it or not, there are certain principled connotations involved in the discussion of name and form which must first of all be definitely resolved before either question can be settled on its merits.



Materials for Trade Union Resolution

(Continued from Page 8)

ship and most workers, still prevails. This is of no help to the labor movement itself. We are determined to do everything on our part to restore normal and proper relations.

An examination of the work of our Party in the last period shows that we have a considerable distance to go to eliminate the mistakes of the past. These errors are the responsibility of the Party leadership. They penetrated deep into the organizations. Therefore, many hangovers of the past still remain. We particularly need a firmer effort to eliminate sectarian "opponentist" policies not based on program, and to develop a clearer understanding for ourselves and others on the relationship between the Party and the trade unions. We have been very slow to confront and to begin to overcome our errors in the field of trade union policy. This only emphasizes the need for closer relations between the Party leadership and the workers in our Party. It requires an end to the "departmentalization," the separation of industrial problems from the leading committees.

TRENDS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

If we speak throughout in a spirit of striving to appreciate the maturing of the American labor movement, its new tasks in these new times, it is with a consciousness that this also calls upon us, the Communists, for a greater maturity, for deep and creative thinking. Our worst error today would be fear of fresh thinking for fear of a mistake.

In this spirit we must examine the trends in the labor movement, and the conceptions on which we have heretofore based our analysis.

It would be most helpful if we freed ourselves from the frozen "political geography" of: "left," "right," "center." For some time now such characterizations have not given a valid picture of what has actually been happening. These conceptions were no longer levers of our understanding; they became the bars of our cage. Imprisoned, we failed to see, study and assess the new changes, the shifts, the differentiations that were shattering all "compartments" and dissolving old "labels."

On this score there are profound lessons for us in the merger itself. The sharp diversity of

views that existed prior to the merger, and which still exists, was not an insurmountable barrier to unification and has not prevented the subsequent advance of unity. Further, in relation to the struggle for Negro rights, the fact that there were what we have called "left," "right," and "center" views, did not prevent the merger convention from unanimously electing two Negro Vice-Presidents and giving an enormous impetus to the whole progress of labor on this question. Therefore the overwhelming unity of the most diverse elements in labor is possible of achievement on decisive questions. The best way to contribute to that unity is not to "pigeon-hole" the various forces into fixed "categories," but to see their many-sided character in relation to each specific issue. Above all we must bear in mind that life and struggle compel changes. The movements of the millions of workers, their growing consciousness and will, are the primary force for welding the unity of membership and leadership around the major tasks.

In a similar fashion, it is necessary to take a fresh look at how we applied the term "Social Democrat" to the labor leadership. We have, to say the least, used this term very loosely. While there are those among the union leadership that fulfill what has been the function of traditional European Social Democracy, to try to hold back the militancy of the workers, it had become with us a term of sweeping condemnation, without any particular regard for its original meaning or the particular circumstances today. In our country, in an atmosphere vastly different from the revolutionary post World War I struggles of the working class, our union leadership is essentially labor reformist, staunch defenders of capitalism. We tended simply to view with extreme suspicion or automatically to oppose every proposal that came from them. This led many workers to draw the conclusion that we considered them the "main enemy." Maintaining a critical attitude we should have more energetically helped the workers to transform the more positive statements of these leaders into realized objectives. The wholesale use of the term Social Democrat did not help to explain in clear terms, either the character of various leaders, the differences that existed among them or the possibility for broad unity to be

achieved around important questions.

The times call for fresh initiative and bold perspective. The use of old formulas led some progressives and some in our own ranks to hold the opinion that the merger of leaderships of AFL and CIO would result in nothing but a "reactionary combination." Those who came to such a conclusion took no account of the movement of millions of workers, and what large numbers of them expected and demanded of the merger. Such a conclusion failed to see the new facts of life, that the merger and the events producing it had a logic of their own, and a visible impact upon various leaders, calling for fresh analysis, new judgments.

Within the leadership of AFL-CIO there are divergent positions, in some cases very sharp, on various political and economic problems facing labor, our country and the world. There are divergencies on problems relating to jurisdiction, craft and industrial forms, ethical practices, organization of the unorganized, internal democracy, political action, and civil rights. On foreign policy there are keen differences, with a dominant group holding tenaciously to an all-out cold war position.

What is new, what is important, what must be seen for valid judgment is that there is a great deal of fluidity: the leadership do not group themselves in identical fashion in relation to all questions.

For example, many of those who have expressed considerable differences on foreign policy find themselves on the same side of such questions as the energetic prosecution of a civil rights program or the removal of obstacles to greater unification.

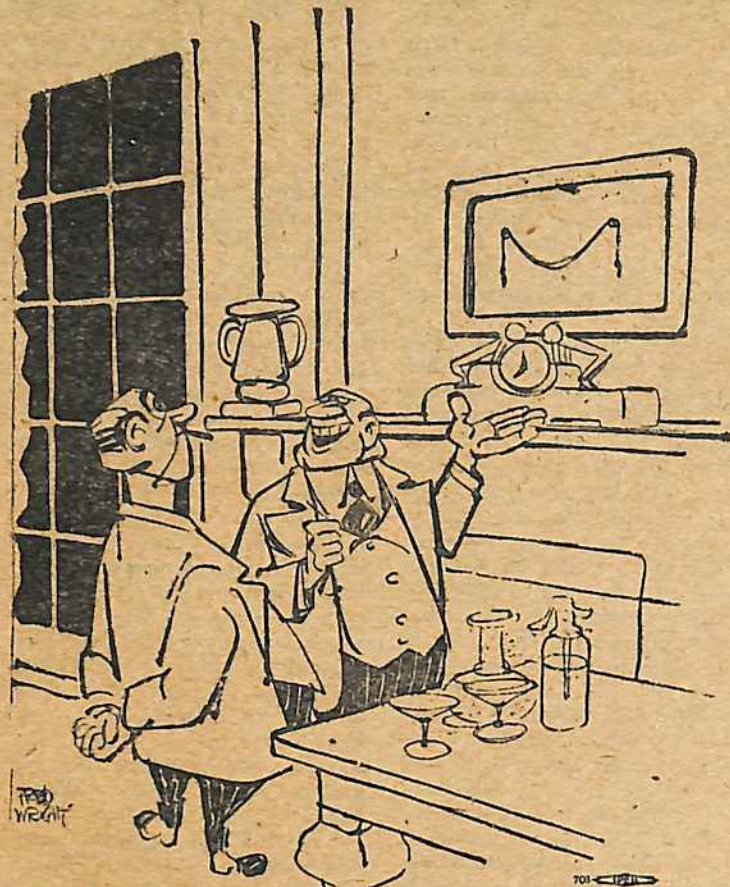
Lines have not fully hardened, although certain general tendencies seem apparent. Around most of the former CIO unions, and some of the AFL, there is developing a relatively more positive and militant perspective. Among leaders of the Building Trades, the Teamsters and some others, there is a more conservative trend and in some instances reactionary points of view. This latter trend has been the major source of obstacles to the strengthening of the federation's unity and of continuing attacks on the industrial unions. Within this trend are to be found the most conservative positions on the political field, and a "go slow" attitude towards the whole federation's organizing objectives. Thereby they inhibit the activity of the merged labor movement and lessen its effectiveness.

Yet, as has been seen, on individual questions even some of these leaders can be moved to proceed in unity with the majority of the labor leadership.

On the grounds of such an estimate, one which does not pre-fabricate hard and fast lines of division, the significance of the intervention of the millions of members becomes overwhelming. That intervention, based on the workers' desire to move ahead, can defeat any grouping or trend within the federation that obstructs progress.

What is new and different, corresponding to the new situation in our country and the world, is that the defeat of any reactionary trend and real advance in meeting unprecedented historic tasks, can only be accomplished by the struggle for an all-embracing unity around specific issues, a struggle that can move even some of the most reluctant. Such a unity cannot be achieved by continuing to think in old terms and to judge the present positions of leaders by the use of old labels of "left," "right," and "center."

The most conscious, active and militant workers have a



AND THIS IS THE ORIGINAL SHOESTRING I STARTED ON...

special contribution to make. Such workers, including those of socialist conviction, can add strength and consistency to the struggle. As the fight for all-embracing unity proceeds, their effective participation will increase their numbers.

THE LABOR-NEGRO ALLIANCE

Previous reference has been made to the need for strengthening the labor-Negro people's alliance in the U. S. A. Here, too, in dealing with a factor so decisive for the future, we must be ready to re-appraise old ideas, to think afresh.

The body of more than two million Negro unionists, now organized within the federation, constitutes a great power for furthering the labor-Negro people's alliance. They not only compel attention to their economic demands as unionists, but also bring forward to labor the struggles of their own people for elementary democratic and equal rights. In so doing, these millions of Negro unionists give stability and depth to the alliance.

That which must be seen as new is the grand scope towards which the alliance is developing. It is no longer the comparatively limited province of the Left forces in the labor movement and the more advanced forces of the Negro people. The alliance has enlarged to the point of representing on many questions virtually official agreement of the leadership of labor and of the Negro people. This relationship "at the summit" is made possible and is sustained by the broad Negro-white unity that has been developing at all levels of the labor movement.

This developing Negro-labor alliance also has formidable opponents within the labor movement. Except in the South, they dare not now operate in the broad light of day. But in large areas of the labor movement the Negro is still barred, if not by regulation, then by custom or practice. The leading jimcrow "bitter-enders" in labor's ranks fight policies of integration and equality for Negro workers, and try to check the Federation's full participation in the surging battles around school desegregation, against the White Citizens' Councils, and for the right to vote.

Two conclusions seem to be in order. One is that the level of the Negro-labor alliance today requires a broader approach, a broader perspective on the

part of those who seek to advance that alliance.

This alliance is now intertwined with the very fiber of the labor movement. It makes its mark on every major policy and action of AFL-CIO. Certain of our more recent judgments of this alliance, which were founded on suspicion of the "motives" of various Negro and labor leaders—incorrect at the time—would be disastrous today.

True estimates must be based on reckoning soberly with the movement of millions of Negro workers, of the entire 16,000,000 Negro people, who have set a new time schedule for complete emancipation: NOW.

In this way it becomes possible not to lag behind the movement, but rather to help its acceleration by selfless and uninhibited participation in realizing those higher goals warranted by the new level of the alliance and the new times.

A second conclusion is that the further advance of the Negro-labor alliance will not be automatic. There are those in labor who fear the militancy, the democratic spirit and surge towards political realignment unleashed by such an advance. There are others who fail to see this alliance as the most potent and indispensable weapon for defeating Big Business "divide and rule" policies and for achieving labor's economic demands and political aspirations. In short, there are those who are consciously fighting the alliance; there are those still without appreciation of its importance.

The advance of the Negro-labor alliance is supremely important for the progress of labor and our nation. All those who see this have the prime responsibility of giving their best thought and effort in the continuing fight for its existence and furtherance. This requires a practical day to day struggle against every form of discrimination. Note has already been made of some of these specific problems. Over and above them, there is required the commitment of labor's full strength in support of the battles of the Negro people in the South. There is required an alert response to the intensification of the job problems created by the new technology.

THE QUESTION OF "INTERFERENCE"

Even those workers who have been most influenced against us know that the Communists are

(Continued on Page 12)



Materials for Trade Union Resolution

(Continued from Page 11)
capable of the greatest devotion and self-sacrifice. This has been proven throughout the entire history of the organization and growth of the trade union movement. We pledge that devotion and self-sacrifice, not only to the everyday struggles of the workers, but also to helping labor accomplish those historic goals which arise out of the new era in the life of the labor movement itself.

There have been times when some of our practices and approaches justifiably lent credence to the charge that Communists "interfere" in the internal affairs of the unions. During certain early periods there was much that we could and did directly contribute to the conduct of strikes, the organization of union meetings, the processing of grievances and many other detailed questions. This time is long since passed. Unions have developed their own internal methods and procedures. Consequently, contributions that Communists make are not of the same order and not related to the internal procedural problems of the unions. Yet we recognize that serious misunderstandings have arisen and have largely taken hold where some of these practices of the past have continued, long after they ceased to be necessary and even became harmful. This was true especially where they were applied to political questions. Not even a lingering trace of such practices may be permitted to remain.

It is not the policy of the Communist Party to interfere with, "bore from within," or seek to capture or control the trade unions. We reject any allegation that this is our policy. We respect the complete political and organizational independence of the trade unions and other organizations of the working class.

Affiliation to our Party does not aim to provide a member with "decisions" that he or she is directed to "carry out" with reference to union problems. Membership in our Party which bases itself on the principles of Scientific Socialism does aim to provide the Communist worker with a more fundamental understanding of Labor's past and present struggles. On this basis he can make effective contributions as a unionist to the thinking and activity of his fellow workers. We Communists present our thinking to the organized workers and seek to influence them only by persuasion, discussion and example, as we do any other section of the population.

Communist workers in industries and shops are organized on the basis of their natural day to day working life. They will be found among those who work for democratic procedure in the unions. Abiding by the discipline of the union, they always favor the full involvement of the membership in the policy-making

as well as the activities of the unions. We are aware, however, that there are many misunderstandings as to why Communist workers organize themselves in this way. We are prepared to examine what the workers have to say on this question, to study their point of view, to use their suggestions in eliminating misunderstandings.

Much has been made of the Party's emphasis on the role of workers in the most basic industries of our country—steel, auto, and the like. The word "concentration" has been given all kinds of sinister meanings. In point of fact, the concern of the C. P. for these workers is entirely natural. Our Party is an organization of the working class. It is just these workers who are by the circumstances of their lives placed in direct conflict with big business. They constitute the largest portion of all industrial workers. Producing directly for the monopolies, they daily come face to face with monopoly greed, monopoly speed-up and monopoly discrimination. American labor history has shown that it is these workers who have engaged in some of the longest and bitterest struggles. Their organization into the ranks of the CIO during the late '30s had great influence on the militancy of all labor, gave a new lift to the American labor movement.

For these reasons our Party believes that in the coming-together of all those who want to curb the monopolies, these basic industrial workers will be the very bone and sinew of the movement.

We further believe that such will, of necessity, be their role through all of those sharp class struggles which will precede a peaceful changing over to Socialism in our country, a transition which we envision as possible and which we want to make real.

WHY WORKERS NEED COMMUNISTS

Why are Communists a necessary and invaluable part of the working class movement? The Communist Party is deeply convinced that the workers of our country are that class which will lead the whole people towards a better future. This conviction leads the Communists to do all in their power to help the workers in all their struggles, to assist in organizing them and to stand shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-unionists in the front ranks when the battle grows hot. We have helped, and continue to help, in striving for the greatest unity among the workers for their common aims, in building the widest support for particular struggles throughout the labor movement and among other sections of the population sympathetic to labor.

Long and varied experience, thoroughly studied, has made it possible for the Communists often to foresee, and forewarn of the plans, tricks and schemes used by employers in trying to defeat the workers in a struggle or to cheat them out of victory. Moreover, our Party has always urged that each struggle of the workers, whether ending in victory or defeat, should be examined for all the lessons it can teach. Thus defeats can be overcome, and victories made the basis for fresh advances.

Our Communist standpoint, which we place before the workers for their thinking, is that so long as we live under capitalism there will be conflict between the capitalist class and the working class. There are, of course, other standpoints in the labor movement. Some leaders of labor deny that there are different and opposing classes at all, and go so far as to pride themselves on never having led the workers in strike action. Others insist that we have "People's Capitalism" and that capitalists and

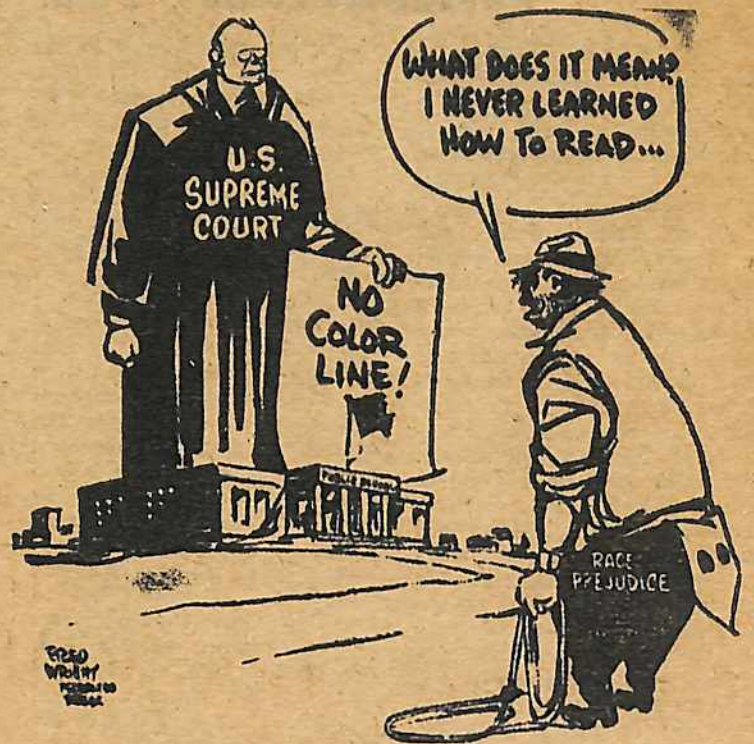
workers are "co-partners," or have a "mutual trusteeship" for the system as a whole. Alongside such views exists a theory (often put into practice) that the workers should even "sacrifice" and by accepting lower wages or speed-up, or both, assist their own employer to "compete" with others.

The harsh realities of life, we feel, prove our Communist standpoint to be correct. Among the workers it is widely re-stated in the saying that "the boss will do everything for us workers except get off our backs." Even those labor leaders who have different views feel compelled, in specific cases as they arise, to fight, and to fight hard. They conclude simply that this is "bringing the boss to reason." However, if it has to be done over and over and over, is it not a fair conclusion that there is method to the bosses' constant madness?

The point of view of the Communist Party is that of class struggle, and the need to support without reservation the side of the working class. The other views may be generally termed as those of "class collaboration," and its adherents within labor also assert the need to strengthen labor's side in a collaboration that they are compelled to admit is far from tranquil. For our part, we Communists say there is a clear basis for the unity of all those who are on labor's side in those everyday struggles whose existence no one can deny and whose solution demands united effort. We do feel that our own standpoint is verified by the whole history of the labor movement and double-checks with the daily experience of the workers. We are convinced that our class-struggle viewpoint better prepares the workers to meet their experience, to achieve victories and to march forward. We Communists ask no special privileges for this view nor do we "demand" its acceptance. We consider it harmful if the workers do not have a chance to judge this view as they do others, and if its proponents are "outlawed" or punished for advancing it.

The Communist Party believes that the interests of the American workers are at one with the workers of other lands. We hailed world labor unity which came about as a by-product of broad anti-fascist unity, victorious in World War II. With the coming of the cold war, the disruption of this unity, instigated by monopolies, did harm to the aspirations of world labor. The easing of world tensions following upon the Geneva Conference gives hope for the resumption of that unity. Certainly, the far-flung nature of American big business with its branches and properties stretching around the world, spurs the need for international united action of the workers. Beginnings made by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in bringing together auto workers in the vast General Motors chafu; the Europe-wide campaign sponsored by unions of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the ICFTU for the 40-hour week, are all good omens. The common objectives of the ICFTU and the WFTU, the two centers of labor on a world scale, should inspire conciliatory discussions of past differences and a fresh approach to united action and unity.

Ours is the age of atomic energy and automation. A power of production beyond the dreams of any previous generation has come into being. Yet in our country there is not just rejoicing, there is also fear. Why should this be so? It is because deep down in the minds of millions of our countrymen is the question: will these enormous forces, monopoly-owned, result in abundance for all or further enrichment of the few and the ruin of the many? Monopoly-owned, will these gigantic pro-



ductive forces mean unending peace or war that will end all?

The people's concern is just. They have seen what was called the "industrial revolution" in our country during the '20s wind up in the colossal crash of 1929, a crash from which we did not emerge for a decade, and then only under the stimulus of a new World War. The people have seen capitalism unleash two world wars in successive generations.

Therefore an irrepressible searching for new answers is astir in America. In the labor movement it shows itself in discussion over whether atomic energy shall be privately developed or economic storms to be principally exacted from the working people. A great coalition of the people, led by labor, can achieve that goal towards which they have striven for nearly a century: to curb the monopolies by winning political supremacy.

Such a goal falls short of what we Communists believe to be the ultimate answer, a socialist re-organization of our society. We believe, to the extent that the vast new productive forces develop, they will more and more put unbearable strains on social relations that permit such forces to be owned by a handful of monopolists and operated to serve their profit aims. Atomic energy and automation press against such restraints; they demand a social system of production for the use and benefit of all, a system possible only under people's ownership of the means of production. Such a system, socialism, can only come about when the working people and the majority of all the people of our country have become convinced of its desirability through their own experiences and thoughts. The Communist Party seeks to further this through its advocacy of socialism, to be achieved democratically by majority will and by peaceful means.

It will further this objective if the various currents of socialist-minded thought in the unions, as small as they may be, can be brought to act in harmony. For there is a tradition of socialist thinking among American workers. Socialists were among the early builders of the unions. Their influence was reflected in the preamble of numbers of union constitutions which in various ways called for people's ownership of the means of production. In recent years, almost all of these unions deleted these phrases and turned their backs on their previous positions. In spite of this, and in spite of the absence of any widespread socialist organizations among workers, some currents of socialist thinking continue to exist. As the Draft Resolution states:

"We recognize that in the past we assumed that all that was worthwhile in other socialist cur-

rents and groupings would inevitably and controlled or whether it shall be the government's province. It shows itself in labor's refusal to accept assurances that automation will bring nothing but good, in labor's restless search for programs to meet already-felt problems.

We of the Communist Party share in the popular feeling that there must be new answers. The labor movement has a strength that can impose demands that are unprecedented, demands required for a situation without precedent. Certainly labor is grimly determined never again to permit the full and ghastly flow into our own organization. We believe that this assumption was always incorrect and should be replaced by serious and painstaking efforts to assist in the eventual development of the broadest possible unity of all socialist-minded elements and organizations."

This then is why we are convinced that there is a special role for Communists among the workers. They are needed:

- For their conscious participation in the daily struggles;
- For their ability to help draw lessons from each battle and to help chart the course ahead;
- For this unreserved position on the side of the workers in the class struggle;
- For their conviction of the identity of interest of the workers of our country with the workers of others;
- For their profound belief in the desirability and the inevitability of a Socialist transformation of our country.

We join wholeheartedly with labor and all others to help develop an anti-monopoly coalition as opening the broad avenue of social progress for America. In our opinion, it is childish nonsense to pretend that the multi-million trade union movement can be "captured" or "dictated to" by us or by any other tendencies, parties or groups inside or outside its ranks. The experiences of the workers themselves as they live and fight and think deeply about their problems is the only way in which they will come to conclusions. Our Party with its scientific Socialist outlook can help spark this thinking. That is why workers need a Communist Party. The future of the American labor movement will also be shaped by the tremendous force for progress that has arisen from within the ranks of labor and is sweeping across many lands. For the American trade union movement is part of the labor movement of the world.

Always striving for greatest unity of action and purpose, we Communists have in the past and will continue in the future to make important contributions to the further advance of labor, to the peace of our land, to the progress of her people.

