

Non-Communist Observers Give Reactions to CP Convention

WHAT THEY THINK

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IT IS DIFFICULT in brief space to make an adequate comment on the recent CP convention from the standpoint of an "independent observer." The first thing I want to say is that I am satisfied, now that the experiment is over, with the initiative I took, with strong support from Norman Thomas, in proposing to the CP that non-Communist observers be invited to sit in all sessions, with the understanding that after the convention they would be free to make such reports and evaluations as they might be disposed to make. I can testify that so far as officers of the CP or the convention delegates are concerned, they carried out the understanding correctly and faithfully.

Secondly, I can report that the convention was conducted in democratic fashion. It seems to me it was conclusively shown that no individual or group was ever remotely in a position to control this convention. The discussion in the convention, as the discussion which has been going on for months in the Daily Worker and other Party publications, seemed to me obviously genuine and at times very "hot," though never disorderly.

Where the pronouncements of political parties are concerned it is always necessary to probe beneath the words and try to determine what they mean in terms of solid political reality. Plenty of reference are made in the convention resolutions about past errors of the Party to warrant specially careful probing beneath

Dorothy Day

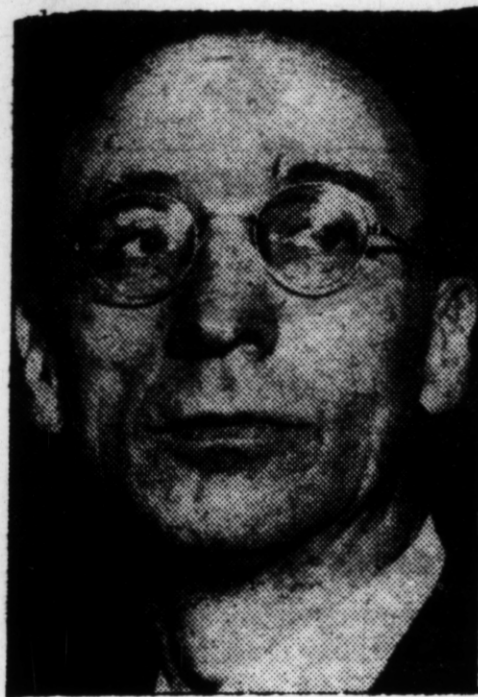
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I THINK your invitation to the ten observers was an important move in the work we must all do for peace and an historic move in the light of what has been happening in Poland and Hungary. I do not agree with the lawyer from the American Civil Liberties Union, who was an observer, who stated publicly that the Communist Party is consciously dishonest and infiltrating unions and such organizations as the NAACP. I give the comrades credit for sincerely working for justice and love of the poor and oppressed. It is because we are brothers that I too wish we could work together in this great country which we all love and which has sheltered people from all over the world.

One cannot read the Daily Worker and such articles as those of John Gates without believing in the sincerity of their confession of past errors and policies, but I must frankly say that even though this move to establish an independent Communist Party is sincere, it is not very logical according to their own philosophical position. The independents are all too apt to become innocuous liberals and the doctrinaire Communists like Foster are the ones who will remain true to Marxism-Leninism. This, of course, is evaluating it from the religious point of view. If you truly believe with Lenin that

of Roberts Rules of Order and the rules adopted by the convention; and the elections in which 46 nominations were made for 20 members-at-large of the party's National Committee.

The group also stated that "in view of the many admissions of gross Communist errors in the past by this convention, it is especially valid in this case to



A. J. MUSTE

the words in this case.

I come out of this kind of examination of the meaning of the convention, on the one hand, with the feeling that, as Muriel Rukeyser once said, "all remains to be done," in the sense that only the application of the new positions announced in day-to-day action can show whether the CP or its members have a contribution to make to what the convention called "advancing socialist unity."

On the other hand, I do not agree at all with those who think that "nothing has really happened" and that the CP is simply putting an elaborate and clever show of difference and change. I believe the way is open to carry on the serious political discussions which have been going on for a year or more and it is my hope that CP members and adherents will take a genuine and active part in them.

atheism is an integral part of Marxism, then one cannot bypass religion as an unimportant factor in the struggle for a new social order here in America.

Cardinals and Bishops through whom comes the succession from St. Peter which makes our Church one and apostolic have been imprisoned or exiled or urged to separate from Rome in countries all over the world which have come under the sway of Communism. If you can break up the human institution of the Church, you believe that you have overcome the Church. This same line of argument holds good for Communism—broken up into national parties, it will lose its force as an international proletarian revolution. I am sure you recognize this as we Catholics do and know that this move toward an independent party is only a temporary move in the light of world history.

We all want peace and will make many and great sacrifices to gain the time to work for it. Cardinal Wyszynski is making these sacrifices in Poland now and is setting an example to others in the Church. And be assured that all of us at the Catholic Worker in our very small way will do all in our power to work for and to pray for an increase brotherly love among us all, since it is only by love of brother that we can show our love of God. Yours for a green (not a red) revolution.

suspend judgment as to the extent to which the Communist Party has achieved independence and moved toward democratic socialism, and to let the actual behavior of the Party and its members determine the verdict. We deplore the fact that the convention arrived at no clear condemnation of the military intervention in Hungary."

IN THE ADJOINING columns we present statements by three of the non-Communist observers at the recent convention of the Communist Party—A. J. Muste and Dorothy Day. A statement by Roy Finch of the War Resisters League will appear next week.

In addition, the three observers, together with five others, issued a joint statement during the past week asserting that the convention was "democratically conducted" and assailing the Senate Internal Security subcommittee's investigation of the convention. The subcommittee is headed by Sen. James O. Eastland, Mississippi Dixiecrat.

The five additional signers of the statement were:

Stringfellow Barr, lecturer and publicist; Lyle Tatum, peace secretary for the Middle Atlantic Region, American Friends Service Committee; and George Willoughby, director of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.

The joint statement protested the summoning of Eugene



DOROTHY DAY and Granddaughter

Dennis to appear before the Eastland Committee last Monday as "a governmental inquisition into political opinions and activities."

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BY IMPLICATIONS the signers took issue with another observer at the convention, Carl Rachlin, representing the New York Civil Liberties Union, who, according to an Associated Press dispatch of Feb. 20, told the Eastland subcommittee that the Communist convention's decisions about an independent position in relation to other Communist parties and socialist governments was a sham. The joint statement declared that "to suppose as some apparently do that the ferment in the Communist movement here and abroad is merely an elaborate stage effect and that 'nothing is really happening' seems to us to fly in the face of the evidence."

As instances of the democratic conduct of the convention the observers cited the "vigorous discussion of all matters brought to the floor"; the availability of all documents coming out of committees to the delegates and observers and their availability to the press after the convention had acted on them; the reporting to the delegates of the votes on divisions in committees; the scrupulous observance