

N. Y. State CP Majority, Minority, Statements

The New York State Committee of the Communist Party yesterday made public majority and minority statements on Section IV of the Draft Resolution for the forthcoming Sixteenth National Convention of the Party.

The majority statement was adopted as a basis for discussion by a vote of 25 to 6 on Dec. 8, 1956.

In making public the statements, the State Committee said they were being released for discussion by the membership in the spirit of change and unity as embodied in the National Committee statement and amendments published in the Daily Worker Dec. 24th. One of these amendments, on the subject of name and form, called for a discussion to continue now after the national convention and with action to be decided on some subsequent occasion after the convention.

A minority statement, defeated by a vote of 5 for, 27 against, and one abstention, was released with the majority statement. A folder containing the two statements can be obtained, it was announced, at the New York State Committee office at 101 West 16th Street, sixth floor.

Excerpts from the majority statement, as well as from the minority statement, follow:

Discussion on the situation in the party was organized belatedly by the National Committee. This was also true of the State Committee. Views were crystallized in leading bodies that ultimately found expression in the Draft Resolution without providing an opportunity for the active and timely participation of the membership. As a result, though we are on the eve of the Party convention, there are many questions that have not as yet been clearly defined, no less adequately discussed.

The people's movement is growing in strength. Labor is united for the first time in many years . . . 16 million strong. A powerful movement has been unfolding among the Negro people with the support of labor and liberal forces around the crucial issue of civil rights. Millions of Americans are beginning to understand that this struggle in the South will determine the future of American democracy. The strength of the labor and peoples movement was evidenced in the '56 elections despite the victory of Eisenhower. A new realignment of progressive forces in our country is under way.

These developments point to the widening gap that exists between the Party and mass movement, hence the need for

thoughtful and determined action if we are to emerge again as a vital force in the working class and peoples movement.

The nature and root cause of the errors made by the Party which contributed to this situation are analyzed in the Draft Resolution. We agree with this analysis. We believe that the point of view which ascribes our isolation primarily to the objective situation would bind us to the past and perpetuate this crisis.

We endorse the following analysis in the Draft Resolution:

"The most important mistakes made in the period under review were left-sectarian in character. These left-sectarian mistakes are the main reason for the unprecedented degree to which it was possible for Big Business and its political representatives to isolate the Party.

"To end its isolation and expand its mass work, the main task of the Party today is to overcome completely the influence of left-sectarian estimates, policies and tactics in all fields of work." (Draft Resolution, Pa. 53).

With this understanding we believe the preconditions for any advance require:

1. That we give a clear-cut and unqualified support to the proposition that we are on independent party of American Marxists dedicated to Socialism whose "only allegiance is to the working class and people of our country."

A major source of our un-Marxists dogmatism was our uncritical reliance upon the Communist Parties of other countries, particularly the Soviet Union, to interpret Marxist-Leninism for us.

We stand for the independence of Parties that apply Marxism-Leninism to their own countries; the study of all contributions of all Marxists the world over; and especially the CPUS.

Wrong relations in the past proved harmful not only to ourselves as Marxists. It was not helpful to the Soviet Union. True working class brotherhood demands an independent attitude toward socialist lands—while remaining warm supporters of these socialist countries.

2. That we develop a creative approach to Marxism, one which uses the methodology of science as Marx and Lenin used it, and break with the doctrinaire, unscientific methods of the past.

Our theoretical work has been mainly the mechanical fitting of the facts, relationships and traditions of American life into a ready-made doctrinal pattern.

3. That we take the necessary measures to strengthen the democratic process in the party and eliminate bureaucracy. To this

end we recommend the abolition of the concepts of democratic centralism and monolithic unity. Whether the bureaucratic evils were inherent in these concepts or were the result of incorrect application is not the main issue. What is uppermost is the need to define the nature of the organization as a democratic working class organization with a common ideology which functions on the basis of majority rule and guarantees the right of dissent.

To this end we further recommend that all leading committees shall be composed primarily of representatives elected directly by the next lower organizations in order to achieve the closest fusion of leadership and membership in policy-making bodies.

These measures we believe will strengthen the cohesiveness of the organization and its fighting capacity.

We support the concept of a centralized national organization which is guided by common policy democratically arrived at, together with the rights of each district and its subordinate organizations, the counties, sections and clubs to determine policy within their own spheres and within the framework of national policy.

4. These changes in concept must be accompanied by an even more vigorous and consistent effort to reestablish the broadest ties through increased activity in every field. Our whole leadership and membership must be imbued with the need to participate in all struggles to help advance the unity of the labor and people's movements and the building of a new democratic coalition in America.

The fight for peace, civil liberties, the issue around Rule 22 in Congress, the many economic struggles of the trade unions, the need for schools and housing and other social issues call for our full and energetic support.

FUTURE PERSPECTIVE—UNITED PARTY OF SOCIALISM

There is one view that bases itself on the idea that the Communist Party remains the only instrument for Socialist transformation of society in America. It rejects the view of the National Draft Resolution that we were wrong in the past in recognizing that other forces for Socialism existed and could come into being. It feels that the Communist Party remains and is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class—though diminished in members and influence and that in time, with changes in the objective situation, it will grow into the mass party of Socialism capable of winning the working

class in the struggle for Socialism.

We believe there is, as opposed to the first view, another alternative—looking to the creation of a broader Socialist movement in our country, or what is referred to in the Draft Resolution as the United Party of Socialism. Without having the blueprints or the form of such a Socialist party or movement, we think it necessary to begin now to explore, make contact with, seek joint activity with other socialist trends in our nation. We recognize that at this time it would be premature and wrong to attempt to merge the small and relatively ineffective socialist groupings in the country. But we believe that a process of stimulation and exploration would reveal new possibilities, especially in the labor movement which must be the foundation of an effective Socialist organization.

THE PARTY

In the interest of strengthening the Party and its role in the crucial fight for peace, democracy and socialism in our country, we advocate change of name of the Party and the transformation of the Party into a non-party political action association.

We advocate these changes:

1. Because it will contribute to the struggle for our acceptance and legality among the masses. We do not view change of name and form as gimmicks that will transform our relations. This is clearly not the case. We do believe that it represents the beginning of a process—taking all our changes and reforms into account, on theory and program, on the issues of independence, on internal democracy that in time will help bring about a change in our relationships for the better.

2. Because it represents a form of transition that would facilitate the struggle for a new and broader party of Socialism. It would dramatize to masses of non-party people that the position stated in the Draft Resolution that we do not have a monopoly on building socialism is genuine and true and not a maneuver.

2. Because given these changes and the perspective outlined above on the "United Party of Socialism" we believe there is a greater possibility to maintain our ranks intact—stem the losses in the Party and thereby halt the trend to liquidation. We believe it opens up new opportunity to appeal to hundreds and thousands of former members who dropped, not because of fear, but because of our many wrong policies and undemocratic practices in the past.

In recommending a Political Action organization we wish to make it quite clear that we view

it as a Marxist organization that would take an active part in the day to day struggles of the people and propagate its ultimate aims of Socialism. It would be an association of Communists, following class struggle policies, and based on the working class as the most decisive and progressive force in our country. Its program would emphasize the fight for Negro rights, and seek in every way to cement the alliance of the working class and the Negro people as the cornerstone of democratic advance. And it would seek to rally all other democratic sections of American society—the farmers, intellectuals and other middle strata—around the leadership of the working class. The name of our Party would be changed to correspond to this change in form.

We present these ideas for discussion.

We do not consider that these are the only ideas that will solve the present crisis of the Party.

We are also mindful of the fact that opportunity has been lacking for a full discussion on these questions—hence an unreadiness on the part of many who favor change to decide on what changes should be made at this time. In part this was due to the manner in which it was virtually excluded from the discussion in the Draft Resolution.

Above all we are interested in stimulating the widest discussion on what changes are necessary.

We do believe that these changes and the general perspective outlined here will enable the Party to play a more effective role among the masses in the period ahead—a period that will no doubt witness a sharpening of the class struggle on every front.

Minority Report

Our party is in crisis. This is generally recognized by the membership. The crisis arose, in our opinion, from the severe onslaught on the party by reaction over a period of a decade. This is well known; although in the somewhat relaxed atmosphere following the set-back to McCarthyism and the abatement of the cold war some forget this hard period of persecution in which the party was virtually illegalized. These factors caused a considerable loss of members, severely weakened our organization and isolated it from the broad mass organizations and movements. Heavily contributing to the isolation, particularly with regard to the labor and people's movement, were the

(Continued on Page 5)

N. Y. State CP Statements

(Continued from Page 4)

series of left sectarian mistakes, which are receiving a full airing in the discussion. They must be kept firmly in mind and corrected. Not recognized sufficiently, however, are the right opportunist and liquidationist weaknesses and errors during the past period — which have become marked at present.

A central factor in the party crisis was the revelation of the shocking and grave errors of the later part of the Stalin era, and recently the tragic Hungarian events.

Every crisis and inner controversy goes through stages. It is important for the membership to be aware of them.

The first stage, as is natural to crisis, was marked by much confusion, especially due to the Khrushchev report on Stalin and the estimate given of the party's position and tasks by the April meeting of the National Committee.

A second stage was reached with the adoption of the Draft Resolution by the National Committee in which sharp differences were evidenced in the leadership regarding the estimate of the period under review, the nature and role of our errors, the part played by the objective situation and the changes proposed in relation to Marxism-Leninism.

The third and present stage came with the acute differences over the Hungarian events and as a result of the all-out campaign by the main leaders of the New York State Committee to go far beyond the proposals of the Draft Resolution and to transform our party into a "non-party association." This campaign has produced a number of basic amendments to the Draft Resolution adopted by the majority of the New York State Committee and which are being circulated for support of the

New York membership. They include the following:

1. To change the Party into a "non-party" Political Action Association.

2. To change its name.

3. To discard the principles of democratic centralism.

4. To reject the principle of the Party as the vanguard of the working class.

5. To make the organization of a "United Party of Socialism" a "central duty" of the Party at the present time. The majority statement advocates the change to a non-party Political Association as a "form of transition" that would facilitate the "struggle for a new and broader Party of Socialism."

We make this statement because we firmly believe that these proposals are not those needed, and that they can do great harm. They represent a dangerous turn away from a Marxist-Leninist Party. They reject basic Marxist concepts of a party and of party organization in line with a marked tendency of some to renounce Marxism-Leninism. They are unrealistic and can only lead to the liquidation of the Party.

We urge the State Committee to withdraw these proposals as they do not correspond to the already-expressed wishes of large sections of the membership in New York and throughout the country, and can serve only to sharpen differences and increase the moods of pessimism, demoralization and disorganization.

To abandon the party form of our organization also suggests that we have discarded the democratic struggle for a multi-party political choice for the American people, and that we have committed ourselves to the permanence of the two-party sys-

tem. If we abandon the struggle for a multi-party system, then how do we envision an anti-monopoly people's government coming into power reflecting the leading influence of the working class?

The program of the anti-monopoly coalition will be influenced in a socialist direction only if the Socialist-Communist component of the coalition registers its presence and strength by the size of its vote, the number of its representatives elected to public office and by its influence and struggle. The percentage of votes and elected officials, and its mass support, will reflect our strength in the coalition. Communists will have to stand and be counted before the American people, and be judged by their platform, program and work.

The argument is made that an "Association" is necessary because we have not been for many years a "Political party in the American sense," and that we have been an electoral party. This has been the false charge of reactionaries for years. This has been said of the Socialist Labor and Socialist Parties before us.

ON THE UNITED SOCIALIST PARTY

It is correct to work for a "united Socialist Party" as a future
(Continued on Page 7)

Daily Worker

Published daily except Saturday and Sunday by the Publishers New Press, Inc., 25 E. 12th St., New York 2, N. Y. Telephone ALgonquin 4-7954.

Registered as second class matter Oct. 22, 1947, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

3 mos. 6 mos. 1 year
Daily Worker only \$4.00 \$7.00 \$12.00

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

(Except Foreign)
Daily Worker & Worker 4.75 8.00 13.00
The Worker 2.00 3.00

CP Statements

(Continued from Page 5)

ture perspective, but it is wrong to turn the Party into an "association" in the false hope that such a change will facilitate the development of a united socialist party. It is wrong to reduce the Communist Party to a mere "transitional" organization whose "central duty" would be to propagandize for such a party.

As pointed out in the Draft Resolution and in many articles, the conditions are not ripe for such a united Socialist Party. Such a change could only divert us from the major task at present of strengthening and rebuilding the Communist Party.

Only a strengthened Communist Party can carry on work and education for socialism among the working people without whom there can be no worthwhile mass Socialist Party.

Only a stronger Party can help weld the unity of socialist-minded elements, on the basis of a united front, and clarify differences, without which no principled unity is possible.

The attempt to make the formation of a united socialist party an immediate goal, which in effect is what the proposal means, is only a defeatist attempt to leap over difficulties by projecting false, illusory prospects.

• • •

THE IDEA OF AN ASSOCIATION IS NOT NEW

The Party, under Browder's influence, changed into the Communist Political Association in 1944. Now the proposal is for an association without even the name "Communist." It is said that the trouble with Browder's "association" was its concept of "progressive capitalism." But that was not accidental. It was the fundamental idea underlying the change. The concept of "progressive capitalism" envisaged a long and enduring period of class peace. Naturally, under such conditions there was no place for the Party and the struggle for Socialism.

• • •

ON DEMOCRATIC

CENTRALISM

Point Two of the majority amendment deals with the question of party organization. We agree with the first part of the amendment, but it does not follow that therefore we can and must, as the amendment concludes, "discard the concept of democratic centralism and monolithic unity as principles of our organization."

This amendment by itself does not ensure the combination of democracy of decision and unity of action which is the essence of democratic centralism. It does not provide that dissenting minorities must abide by majority decisions while they are in effect. It says nothing of lower bodies abiding by the decisions of higher bodies, nor other essential features of a fighting Marxist-Leninist organization.

After all, the old Socialist Party functioned through one national center and adopted common outlooks by majority decisions, but in practice, the state organizations were more or less independent. All varieties of Socialism prevailed, and there was little democracy and less discipline.