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The State Convention

Report of the state chairman

By
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This convention is a midway point between the local and national conventions. In large measure the local conventions have already determined the general course which the membership wants the party to take. This state convention, however, should do more than just reflect the majority views on the questions already acted upon below. It should seek to define the general areas of agreement emerging from the County Conventions, on which the whole party can unite; it should leave the door open for further comradely discussion of those questions on which there are differences and dissenting viewpoints; and it should seek to register a clear position on behalf of the California membership, to place before the National Convention on a mandate for the basic changes necessary to transform our party into a more effective force fighting for the immediate needs of the American people, and for socialism.

The party emerged last year from a five-year period of repression into a new and different world situation than existed at the time of our last convention. On a world scale, Geneva had just marked the easing of world tensions. The 20th Congress of the CPSU recorded the emergence of the socialist camp as a world system, and with it as a powerful ally the vast group of nations moving toward national and colonial liberation, together representing the great majority of mankind. While recent events in Egypt and Hungary make clear that we cannot oversimplify this analysis as the road ahead is smooth and straight without dangerous obstacles, the basic fact remains that the strength of the socialist camp and the neutralist bloc, and the atomic stalemate, have made possible the realization of peaceful co-existence.

During the same period in our own country, the peak of the McCarthyite wave had passed and been turned back. The labor merger marked a more powerful and relatively united labor movement acting on the economic and political field, and making its power felt. And not the least important, the movement for Negro liberation from Jim Crow was reaching new and unprecedented heights, and having a lasting impact on political alignments in the country.

Yet with all these promising prospects, our party was plunged into a crisis. How do we explain it? We started out by attributing our isolation primarily to sectarian mistakes in tactics and political estimates. But while this was largely true, it did not go to the roots of our errors, nor explain why they were repeated again and again, which showed that we had not learned anything from them.

The 20th Congress and its aftermath helped us to see the necessity for a more fundamental approach to re-examining our status, and to review more basically programmatic and theoretical questions, which the whole world Communist movement is engaged in. And from such a review of our own party's history, we must draw the conclusion that our mistakes can be traced largely to the fact that we have not learned to treat the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin as a science, but as

a fixed dogma; and as a result we have failed to creatively apply our Marxist science to the unique and specific characteristics of our own country.

The fact that Marxism is a universally valid science with a universal application, has not prevented the C. P. of France from identifying itself with the best of French traditions, institutions, history, and culture; or the Italian party with Italy; or the Chinese party with China. Our party, if we are to be truly a party of the American working-class, must base itself on American constitution, history, and traditions, in order to find the American road to socialism.

Our failure to take this as our starting-point has led to the present situation, where our isolation is dramatized by the following: that two grave events have taken place in the past year or two without our playing any significant role in them — the merger in the labor movement, and the great struggle of the Negro people and their allies for civil rights. This is largely due to the fact that our concepts and policies were rigid and frozen, as though there were no changes in the situation from the 20's and 30's; we had not taken into account what changes had taken place in the level of the mass movement and the character of the struggle, which would require new and different approaches, tactics, forms and methods.

In the period of the 30's and 40's, we were able to make notable contributions, in spite of all our weaknesses, in economic struggles, in the fight for Negro rights, in the anti-fascist and peace fights, because we pioneered in fields where no other force was giving leadership, or where we played a special role in initiating struggles which others took up. But the level of the mass movement has passed us up, and in the present stage of the struggle we can no longer play that same role today in the old way. Our failure to recognize this up to now is one of the big factors bringing about our crisis.

A second aspect of our crisis arises out of the shattering revelations since the 20th Congress, regarding the mistakes of the CPSU leadership, the exposure of the Stalin cult, and the crimes and violations of socialist principles committed in the process of building socialism. This had a deep-going effect on the entire world Communist movement; but it had a special impact on our party, because of our undue reliance on the Marxists of other countries and the more mature parties as the interpreters of Marxist theory, and our inability to identify ourselves more as an American party. Our uncritical approach to Soviet developments, and our failure to engage in criticism of the policies of other Marxist parties, was based on the mistaken notion that it would harm socialism and weaken the peace fight. While we are proud of our record in defending socialist achievements and the cause of world peace, we must recognize that this uncritical attitude did not always help socialism or peace, and

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was harmful to our party, because it closed the door to inquiring into questions which were long overdue for review.

Of the many harmful aspects of our approach, perhaps the most serious was the deadening effect it had on a creative approach toward developing Marxist theory further, toward differentiating between those principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin which are universally valid and those which applied to a different period or historical circumstance. Living as we do in the most powerful capitalist country in the world, with its bourgeois democratic institutions, this has special significance for us.

For instance, we have long advocated a peaceful, democratic road to socialism, but we have failed to spell it out in terms of American conditions, so that our position appeared to be in contradiction to certain propositions of Marxism-Leninism, especially when they were viewed as rigid concepts. Even now, when a new world relationship of forces opens up greater possibilities for a parliamentary path to socialist development in countries where democratic channels are open, we still have to define more clearly, not only the differences between our country and those of Eastern Europe or China, but the differences even among the countries of bourgeois democracy. The path in Italy or France will develop in accordance with their respective histories and traditions, just as ours will develop in accordance with uniquely American characteristics, especially taking into account the contradictory factors of the role of monopoly capital on one hand, and on the other, the strong democratic and revolutionary traditions in our history, as well as the unique character of the Negro question in our country's life.

The failure to define the specific national characteristics of the road to socialism in each country is one of the most serious and near-disastrous mistakes made by the C. P.'s of the Soviet Union and neighboring socialist nations; it led to serious consequences in the break with Yugoslavia, in Poland, and in Hungary where it proved almost fatal. No matter how we will finally assess the events in Hungary, on which there are sharp differences in our party, we are all agreed that what contributed largely to the tragic

consequences was the mistaken approach that socialism in different countries can all be created in one mold.

The many-sided aspects of our Marxist science demands that in defining the road to socialism, we determine not only what is common in all social development, taking as our starting-point the class nature of society, (and even that which is common is not necessarily uniform), but what is equally important, we must determine what is variable, such as national characteristics. The greatest errors of the world Communist movement, including our own, lay in seeing almost exclusively the common factors in the world situation, and neglecting to assess the national factors at least in practice, if not in theory. This led to a one-sidedness which is contrary to the essence of Marxism-Leninism.

Furthermore, certain valid concepts became frozen and inflexible, and lagged behind the changes in the world. What applied in the theory and policies of the world Communist movement when the Soviet Union was struggling almost alone in a hostile capitalist world, had to be reviewed in the light of new reality, the emergence of socialism as a world system embracing one-third of mankind, allied with at least another third representing the new continents awakening to national liberation. There was also a slowness to recognize the changes that have taken place in the capitalist world to meet the challenge of the socialist system.

Finally, the world Communist movement which has contributed so much on the national question, must re-examine the new significance which this question takes on today, particularly in relations between socialist states. The grievous errors made by the CPSU on this question led to some of the most dangerous aspects of the crisis in Poland and Hungary, even after recognizing the earlier mistakes with Yugoslavia. (The Chinese party, in the course of a recent statement which gave a balanced view of Stalin's role, candidly stated that the Soviet Union under Stalin was guilty of great-power chauvinism in some of its relations with other socialist states.) But we are not just dealing here with a violation or distortion of Lenin's teachings on the national question. Lenin could not anticipate and spell out the complex problems of relationships that

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would arise with the multitude of socialist states that came into being since his time, nor all the new aspects of the national question when whole continents are moving toward national and social freedom.

If our theory and program are not refreshed to keep up with the complexities of the new world situation, we will run into new crises. The great lesson we must learn from all this, is that in the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism there is no exclusive monopoly of wisdom in any one party, no matter how mature, or any one leader, no matter how great his contributions to the struggle for socialism. There must be a relationship of equality among the various parties, with not only the right but the duty to engage in friendly fraternal criticism, and the recognition that each party is the final judge in charting its own path. We may make mistakes in this while we feel our way, but this should not deter us from such a course.

This does not deny that we can learn from the rich experience of the international working class movement. We can adhere to the principle of international working-class solidarity without negating patriotism and concern for the national interests of our own country's people.

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A third feature of the causes of our crisis was the bureaucratic suppression of democracy in party life, which has been identified with the term "democratic centralism", or at least our concept of it as we practiced it. This has understandably been the subject for the most intense discussion and criticism, because the membership, confronted with the mistakes of the leadership, feels that it has never had the opportunity to pass on the policies it was saddled with; and there were no channels in party life to review and correct policies, no matter how obviously mistaken they were proved to be in life. Our bureaucratic system fed our dogmatism, because it made it difficult if not impossible to test our theory and policies in practice. If the membership is to regain any confidence in the party, our system of organization and leadership and our concept of discipline has to be drastically revised; it will be the first test of the party's ability to make basic changes from the past.

We have in the past confused unanimity with unity; lack of dissent with agreement; lack of opposition with discipline. We must reconstruct our party on the basis of the broadest possibilities for democratic expression, review of policies, and the right of dissent even after decisions have been reached. But being a party of action and not a debating society, we must also maintain a cohesiveness and unity so that we can be an effective force in carrying out our policies once the majority has decided. The voluntary discipline which this entails will bring more effective unity, ever where there is dissent, than under the old concepts of iron discipline and monolithic unity.

I would like to single out only one outstanding example from many that could be given of how the system of democratic centralism worked out in practice during the past five year period.

After the 1950 conventions, the party leadership drew the conclusion, in effect, not only that the danger of war and fascism were increasing, which is not disputed, but that a world war was imminent and fascism was just around the corner. This was the essence of the political estimate adopted by the National Board in June, 1951, after the Supreme Court decision upholding the Smith Act, which was characterized as marking a "qualitative change" and a "wholly new situation" in the process of fascism.

There were differences, however, in the interpretation of this estimate, in the organizational conclusions to be drawn from it, and the way it was to be applied in the districts. A minority viewpoint in the National Committee, which some of us in California supported and fought for, argued against

equating the attempted outlawing of the party with fascism; against the concept that there were no possibilities to fight for legality and against organizational measures which accepted the status of illegality for the party, much of it self-imposed.

Our State Board, while it went along with the overall estimate, did not go along fully with the organizational conclusions. There was general agreement on the need for security measures, but we tried to combine the maximum amount of security with a continued fight for legality. As a result, we did not give up all public activity nor a public leadership, and were able to survive this period with less severe losses of membership in California, and maintained a better morale and fighting spirit in the party which was especially evidenced in the defense campaign around the Smith Act trial, support for the P.W., peace campaigns, and the Wells campaign.

The system of leadership established in California in 1951, while it sought to follow the national pattern, differed from elsewhere in that a part of the leadership continued to play a public leadership role. This was characterized by the national leadership at that time as reflecting a right opportunist line and legalistic illusions. We reject these characterizations, and we had to fight over two years until we got the national leadership to withdraw then and acknowledge that they were mistaken. But in line with our general practice not to take a debate in a higher body into a lower body, this was not brought for discussion to any party body below the State Board and State Committee, and the party membership never had the opportunity to discuss it.

There was a prolonged struggle not only with the national leadership on this question, but it caused sharp differences within the state leadership which were never fully resolved. Furthermore, it placed the comrades who were in that period charged with the main responsibility for leadership in the impossible position of trying to enforce a national policy with which the majority of the State Board disagreed. Had we made some provisions for reviewing these policies in the state, we might have avoided some of the serious mistakes we made in the course of this struggle, and their undue prolongation.

Our basic error, however, was in not challenging more directly the political estimate itself, and in limiting ourselves primarily to trying to fight its political and organizational consequences, which affected us, too. We suffered a loss of membership of approximately 50% in 5 years (compared to about two-thirds nationally); we could not avoid a sort of "underground" atmosphere; many comrades carrying out assignments at great self-sacrifice suffered hardships; we developed an inner orientation and a growth of sectarianism; and we, too, suffered from tendencies toward liquidationism. Furthermore, security considerations could not fully justify the bureaucratic way in which we in the state leadership set aside all semblance of democratic practices, and continuing this method long after the situation has eased, when even necessary precautions could be relaxed.

Thus our system of democratic centralism operated in such a way, that once a decision was made by a national or state body, it could not be challenged or even reviewed, and dissenting opinions never became known to lower bodies or the party at large. These views could not be debated nor tested in practice, and decisions could not be changed except by the initiative of the higher bodies. Thus, the notion that our party must operate as the fascism was here or war was imminent, would not have persisted so long, when the party found in practice it was incorrect, if we had permitted the discussion of dissenting views and provided channels for a change of policy.

Whether we place the blame for such methods on a distortion of democratic centralism, or believe that the system of democratic centralism itself is at fault, it should be evident to all of us by now that such practices by any party body were extremely harmful to the party. The Draft Constitution now before you, and the many amendments proposed in the various counties and



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clubs, is aimed at breaking with these practices of the past.

We must also redefine our former concepts of the "vanguard role" of the party. Some of our greatest sectarian errors can be traced to our erroneous conceptions of what these terms meant, as to we could play a role "independent" of the masses and the level of their consciousness. Of course, a Marxist working-class party does have a distinctive unique role to play, both in the everyday struggles as well as in developing socialist consciousness among the masses. It must be a party of action, because workers can only come to socialism thru their own experience; it must engage in education for socialism, as a supplement to action. In the past, we engaged in the former and neglected the latter, and as a result the workers' experience in struggle did not advance socialist consciousness. If we now went to the opposite extreme, and limited our role to socialist education, it would advance socialist consciousness even less, because such education to be effective must be based on experience in struggle. However, this report does not attempt to give a definitive answer regarding the concept of "vanguard role"; this whole question has not been adequately examined as yet in the party discussion, and it still remains to be spelled out more clearly and specifically.

All of the foregoing summarizes some of the underlying concepts of the Draft Resolution and the Draft Constitution, especially Amendments 1, 2, and 3, and the Preamble, and in our opinion these principles should be endorsed by the Convention, and the general direction of the Draft Resolution on these questions should be supported. We can do so even though we recognize that a number of questions in the Draft resolution have been inadequately presented and had little or no discussion, for lack of time. The trade union question, the Negro question, the anti-monopoly coalition, the American road to Socialism, and many others will still have to be gone into more fully before final conclusions can be drawn.

The crisis in the party has had varying reactions among our membership. Some see nothing new, and think the party can remain as it is. On the other hand, some have quit the party, or are urging dissolution, because they have lost faith in the party's ability to change, or because they think the party is too seriously compromised to make a comeback. A number believe we should find some way to build a new "mass party of socialism". But the hard facts are that such a party will not arise out of thin air, in com-

plete disregard of the objective situation. The various small socialist-minded splinter groups that exist today hardly form the base for such a mass party. If we dissolve, there would be an increase of fragmentation and splinter groups, and the disintegration of the largest and most potent Marxist grouping with a working-class orientation in the country, which our party still is, would leave a gap that would take a long time to fill. At this juncture in history, it is inconceivable that our country should be left without a Marxist party, if we were to dissolve without any clear idea of what would take its place.

There is a larger body of opinion in the party that favors a change in name and form, to a political action association or educational league. The chief arguments made for such a change are: that it will help the fight for legality; that it will dramatize that we are making basic changes, and will be more in keeping with the role we are capable of playing; and that it will clear the way eventually for a broader, united party of socialism. On this question, we have had the most intense debate and the sharpest differences in the party.

The great majority of the party in California, as expressed in local conventions, has gone on record for making basic changes in our party, retaining its character as a working-class party of action, applying Marxism-Leninism creatively, functioning in a more democratic manner; and the conventions voted overwhelmingly against a change in name and form at this time.

But in our opinion, the matter is stated correctly in Amendment No.3 to the Draft Resolution, that the various proposals should be carefully studied and thoroughly discussed on their merits, and that even after the convention the question should not be considered closed, but left open for further exploration and discussion, after we have determined the content of our program and policy. We believe that in spite of the opposing viewpoints, the maximum unity can be achieved in the party by retaining its name and form at this time, while proceeding with making the basic changes necessary.

We must work to strengthen our relations with other socialist-minded groups in the country. We should discuss the question of changes in the party with non-party socialist-minded workers and leaders, in order to get their thinking as to what is the best way to advance the movement for socialism. Certainly we should not take a negative approach to the goal of building a broader, mass party of socialism, when the objective conditions

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mature. Such a party will not come over-night, but the changes we make in our party now, will help pave the way for it. Thus a vote on name and form at our convention cannot close the matter, and we should be prepared to continue the discussion in the party on these questions, in a comradely way, at some appropriate time after the convention.

It is pretty evident that we are not going to settle all questions at the convention; on some there will be sharp division, on others there should be no attempt to draw conclusions without further investigation and discussion. This presupposes that our party has learned how to conduct a free and open debate on policy and more fundamental matters, (something we are very new at), without tearing the party to pieces. There is a disturbing tendency to substitute epithets and name-calling for debating the issues on their merits, and if we do not successfully combat it, this will split the party into factions or fragments, and drive people out of the party.

At a time when we are striving to break with the dogmatism of the past, it would ill behoove us to hastily pass final judgment on all proposals, even if they are in the minority; or to indiscriminately brand people as revisionists or liquidationists in the same old arrogant way, because they take a different position in the debate. A democratic discussion calls for curbing the tendency to characterize everybody who wants a change of name or form as being a liquidationist, which is just as wrong as taking the position that everyone who is against such a change is an incurable dogmatist.

It was the purpose of the National Committee, in addressing its open letter to the state and local conventions and clubs to create an atmosphere in which the sharpest debate can take place without splitting the party and to preserve to the fullest the channels for democratic discussion at the conventions and afterwards. The spirit of this discussion will be one of the acid tests and will be so judged by many

comrades whether our party has the capacity to make the changes we are all talking about.

In the main the county conventions reflected such a healthy spirit, and registered that the party discussion is growing in depth and understanding, and reaching a new level at which a common viewpoint is beginning to emerge among the majority of the membership, which we hope will be fully reflected at this convention, and its full impact for unity of the party be decisively felt at the National Convention.

The National Committee, when it opened up the discussion on reviewing our work last year, drew the general conclusion that the severe losses the party suffered in the preceding five years, and our growing isolation, were due not only because of objective conditions and difficulties growing out of repressions, but primarily because of mistakes since '45 in political estimates and tactics, which were in the main of a left-sectarian character. A review of our work by the State Committee, the County Committees, and the clubs would undoubtedly bear this out.

It is not the purpose of this report nor was there time to make such a review. The discussion has not been able to thoroughly examine all these questions sufficiently to give a collective estimate to this convention on all the fields of work under review. This will have to be done at the next sessions of the State and County Conventions after the National Convention, probably some time in March.

Since this report is not attempting to review our work in the state, or fully examine the nature of our errors, I would like to urge you to read the State Memorandum on Policy Questions, which is supplementary material for use in the discussion on our trade union work, Negro work, peace, and political action. There are also important questions such as the Mexican question, youth, the cultural field, farm work, and many others, that we must start examining after the National Convention.

I would like to single out some

questions, however, which ought to be brought to your attention in this report, even if this convention is unable to discuss them because of time, so that it can become part of the discussion in the party between now and the March sessions of the convention.

Labor and Negro Questions

The two keystones of the content of our party's work, its character and program, are the trade union question and the Negro question. There is a justifiable dissatisfaction on the part of our trade union comrades, and even more among our Negro comrades, that these questions have had insufficient discussion in the party, altho some valuable discussion material has been issued nationally for this discussion. Because of lack of time, only one of the county conventions, (E. Bay — Alameda and Contra Costa counties), actually heard reports on these two questions, and adopted resolutions dealing with them. This big gap in the discussion generally is actually holding back many comrades from fully accepting the proposed changes in party concept, because of their uncertainty as to what the proposed changes will have on our basic approach to Labor and the Negro people.

A Marxist party is judged by its orientation to the working-class and its mass policy in the labor movement. Thus one of our basic deficiencies has been that our approach and our policies have not been rooted in the realities of the American labor movement. The great contradiction is that we have a powerful trade union movement, that makes its power felt both in the economic and political field, but where the ideology of the ruling-class, and the concessions it has been forced to give, have had a deep effect on the level of class consciousness, not to speak of socialist consciousness, on the workers and their leaders, and on the forms that the struggle takes in the U.S. We would be one-sided if we considered either the strength of the unions alone, or their ideology alone, without the other, in working out our policies and tactics, which has too often been the cause of our past errors in this field,

whether right or left. If we are to root out our sectarian mistakes which have so isolated us in the unions, we must take as our starting-point a concrete analysis of the specific characteristics of our own labor movement and the special problems arising therefrom, in order to arrive at a correct policy.

The level of the Negro mass movement in the South, and the growing elements of a Labor-Negro coalition on the issue of civil rights, demands that we define what is new in the situation, in formulating our program, so that we can project the necessary changes in our approach, while retaining what is essential. To simply define our past errors as sectarian, over-simplifies a complex situation in which the basic fact of the national oppression of the Negro people remains, but with many new aspects of the Negro liberation struggle to be considered. Furthermore, the way in which this struggle has become one of the central factors in the political situation and relation of forces in the whole country adds even greater urgency to the need for us to formulate our program and a mass policy, so that the party can once again become a vital force in the developing movement for Negro liberation. Our failure to make an analysis of these new features has contributed largely to the critical situation we face in the party on the Negro question.

It is all the more necessary, therefore, that as soon as possible after this convention, the review of our trade union work and our Negro work get a certain priority in the discussion.

The Press

The establishment and maintenance of the Daily People's World into its 20th year has been one of the monumental achievements of the left-wing movement in California, and for that matter in the U.S. It has been one of the major contributing factors to the role of the party thru all these years, and especially the most difficult ones; to our relations with other progressive forces; and to our part in mass struggles in which the party and the PW played an influential role. The role of the Left in election campaigns, in the peace fight, in the struggle for Negro rights, in trade union struggles, and in the battle for the Bill of Rights would be unthinkable without the PW.

The crisis in the party has had its reflection in the PW. A critical review of the PW's role became a part of the party discussion, and legitimately so, but unfortunately the financial crisis of the paper, which became aggravated by the situation in the party, and is now threatening the very existence of the paper, has overshadowed the political discussion of the paper's role and is pressing for solution before we have fully resolved the political questions.

However, the positive thing that has emerged is that after a widespread discussion in which an unprecedented number of party and non-party readers participated, some important changes were made in the paper, which have been generally greeted by the readers, as marking a beginning in needed improvements. Furthermore, the PW played a valuable part in the discussion on the role of the Party and the Left, and has reached out to other Left circles. On the whole, it has played a unifying role, while providing a forum for debate. This convention must take the responsibility to guarantee the continued existence of the PW, as indispensable to fulfill our main tasks.

A special report on the role of the PW and its situation today, with recommendations for action by this convention, will be placed before you in behalf of the State Committee of the party.

The State Center

One of our most vexing problems in this state is to find more effective organizational forms by which the state organization can give more effective attention and guidance to the work in California. We have long been dissatisfied with our role as a state leadership,

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but we too long delayed in dealing with this question.

Generally, the state center has functioned during this last period in the development of state election policies; in certain aspects of the peace campaign; in defense campaigns; in the Wells campaign; and in the press circulation and financial drives. But its relations with the counties deteriorated, and especially after drastic cuts in staff, it was able to give very little help to the solution of their problems. Except in some aspects of state-wide co-ordination and discussion of overall policy, it was not able to give any direction in this situation to concentration tasks, Negro work, and trade union work, particularly A.F.L.

But aside from our political and organizational weaknesses, and objective difficulties growing out of repression, which contributed to this situation, we have come to the conclusion that a chief contributing factor is that the organizational setup of the state center has not kept pace with the changes in our state since the war; the growth of industry in new areas; the problems of agriculture; the diversified political character of the state; and the existence of two major regional centers of population and industry, 500 mile apart — one in Northern California, centered around the San Francisco Bay Area and surrounding counties, and one in Southern California, centered around Los Angeles and adjacent counties.

Our growing difficulties in the work of the State Center arise from the long-overdue need to re-examine the role and function of the State organization in the light of the complex character of this state, and the new

problems arising from changing objective factors; based on such an analysis, we should then be able to better determine the type of structure best suited to this state, and the type of leadership that can best fulfill these functions.

A number of alternative proposals on state structure have been suggested; whether to keep the state headquarters in San Francisco or move it to Los Angeles; whether to set up two districts with some kind of state-wide co-ordination, or two regions functioning under a state setup. But until we make the kind of analysis indicated above, out of which would flow some conclusions on structure and leadership, we are not in a position to properly discuss these various alternatives and reach a decision which will meet the needs of the party as we envisage it after the convention.

Since this question cannot be decided at this session, we propose that we give it careful consideration in the interim, with a view to trying to resolve it if possible at the March sessions; and that the State Committee and the County Committees provide the necessary forms for a thorough discussion in the various counties, so that we can reach agreement on some collective proposals to be brought before the State Convention when it re-convenes two months hence.

Furthermore, while this session of the convention will not be called upon to deal as yet with questions of leadership to reflect the changes in the party, the delegates and the whole party must start giving the utmost thought to this question, in relation to the National Convention in February, and the election of national, state, and county leadership. It would be well that from the clubs on up, this question is thoroughly discussed so that you will be

prepared to act on your conclusions, when these questions come before you.

Finally, we must start getting to work on a program of action that is within the capacity of the party to carry out. We must find a way, that while discussion goes on in the party, it does not take place oblivious of the big economic and political issues arousing the people, and of the modest but vital role we can play in these struggles, to advance the possibilities of building an anti-monopoly coalition, the key to further social advance in our country.

A score of issues crowd each other for attention: Eisenhower's threat of force in the Middle East; the bombings in the South; the fight on Rule 22; a state FEP; the growing pattern of inflation; or an issue in your own neighborhood or union. After all our resolutions are acted upon, important as they are, how we fight on these and other issues will determine how the masses look upon our party.

For instance, the ominous turn of events around the Middle East threatens to undo the great advances toward peaceful co-existence of the recent past. It has unloosed the "brink of war" strategists, who are recklessly gambling on this moment of difficulties in the socialist sector of the world. While the desire of the American people is still for peace, and the main trend is in that direction, few voices have spoken against the line which Dulles is using to get Congressional approval of the Eisenhower doctrine, and few are arousing the country against it. We must help stimulate the broadest kind of movement of those forces that identify themselves with the spirit of Geneva and Bandung, and the stated

objectives of the United Nations, to prevent the country from being turned backward, but to go forward. On this, as on other major issues, we must learn to work in a new way.

Comrades, what must emerge from these convention discussions, and what I believe is emerging, is a common resolve of the great majority that we will really learn the lessons of the past, retaining what is essential and on that basis make the basic changes needed; that we will combat those tendencies which resist change, as well as those which would throw overboard that which is valid and basic in our theory and program; that while determining firmly our direction, we will constantly leave open the channels for further exploration and enrichment of our theory and policies; that in this process we will also earn the right to call ourselves a party of action, by beginning immediately after this convention to shape a program of activities involving us in the daily struggles. If this is the sense of the county conventions, and of this convention, then the California party can play a big role at the National Convention in helping set such a course for the party, and thus unifying the party.

The road ahead is not an easy one. But this period can be most fruitful in our history. It is certainly the most challenging. We should eagerly take up that challenge, because it offers the great hope that if we can learn to really apply our science in a creative way, we can survive this crisis, and in the process find the way to build a broader and more effective Marxist Party of socialism which will become a decisive force in American life.



SUPPORT URGED FOR P.W. DRIVE

SAN FRANCISCO — The California state committee of the Communist party has appealed to all members of the party for all-out support of The People's World Circulation campaign.

"There is no more important task today for all progressives than to guarantee the continued existence of The People's World," the committee said. "Being forced to change over to a weekly is a serious setback for all advocates of peace and democracy, who need this

fighting organ to support the struggles of the people on the issues of the day.

"But it need be only a temporary setback for the fight to build and strengthen The People's World on a weekly basis can lay the foundation for eventually going back to a daily publication. What is needed now is the wholehearted participation of all the paper's supporters in the present circulation drive as the first step in the building of a bigger and better People's World."

Resolution on the Draft Preamble

DRAFT PREAMBLE as adopted by the State Convention, Jan. 19, 1957.

The Communist Party of the United States is an American working class political organization whose primary concern is for the present and future welfare of the working class and its allies. The Communist Party believes that the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, of poverty, of 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. We advocate a peaceful, democratic road to socialism through the political and economic struggles of the people of the United States within the developing constitutional process.

The Communist Party seeks to advance the understanding of the working class through its day to day struggles for the establishment of Socialism. Socialism through the achievement of

a vastly widened economic and political democracy will fulfill the promise of the 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 will join with all in the struggle for the immediate needs and fundamental interests of the workers, the farmers and all who labor by hand and brain. The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights against those who would destroy democracy. It fights against imperialism and colonial oppression, including American imperialism, for curbing and breaking the power of monopoly, against discrimination because of race, color, national origin, religion, political belief or association, sex, creed or age. It regards the struggle to win immediate and full citizenship and unconditional equality for the Negro people basic to the continuing fight for democracy. Our party

fights against anti-semitism and all forms of chauvinism.

The Communist Party holds as a cardinal principle that there is an identity of interest uniting the workers of all lands. It recognizes that this common bond is strengthened when working class movements operate in an atmosphere of independence exercising the right of fraternal and constructive criticism.

It holds further that the national interest of our country and the causes of peace and progress requires the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples, peaceful co-existence of all nations, and the strengthening of the United Nations.

The Communist Party bases its theory generally on the democratic heritage of mankind and particularly on Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by the Party and creatively applied and developed in accordance with the conditions of the American class struggle, traditions and democratic customs.

In the struggle for democracy, peace and social progress, the Communist Party strives to carry forward our

country's democratic, working class and socialist traditions.

The Communist Party seeks no monopoly in the struggle for socialism and will work with all socialist-minded Americans to win a socialist society for the United States.

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

(Three votes were taken on the draft preamble, as follow:

- On an amendment to substitute the phrase "Marxism-Leninism" for the phrase "on the teachings of the giants of scientific socialism, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V.I. Lenin." YES, 81; NO, 40; Abstaining, 5.

- On an amendment to strike out the phrase "as interpreted by the Party". YES, 39; NO, 87; Abstaining, 9.

- A vote as to whether these actions would apply to the Los Angeles draft preamble in preference to the national draft preamble. For LA draft, 74; For national draft, 57.)

Amendment on Form and Name

Amendment to Draft Resolution as Adopted by State Convention Jan. 20, 1957 On Form and Name

(Strike out last sentence of paragraph 1 on page 62 and substitute the following):

Proposals have been made to change the name and also the form of our organization. These proposals have been extremely varied and for the most part have not been examined in detail by our Party as a whole.

Some proposals concern themselves only with a change of name for our organization to dramatize and highlight the other changes called for in

our Draft Resolution and Draft Constitution. Other proposals call for a change from a Party form of organization to a political Association or League. Other proposals are made by comrades who feel that any change in name and form should be made in conjunction with some forces not presently active in the Communist Party; while others favor a change in the character of our organization as well as change in form and name.

Advocates of these various proposals have taken note of certain moves towards a revitalization of the "Left" and for greater exchanges of view and common action by various socialist-minded groupings in the country. They believe that these developments can

have considerable bearing on our Party's own decisions with respect to name and form.

To label generally, without regard for content, all these proposals for changes in name and form as liquidationist is wrong and violates the spirit of free discussion of all issues called for by the Draft Resolution. All proposals deserve to be studied and discussed on their merits.

It is equally wrong and divisive to insist that a change of form and name must be made at the February convention. It is wrong and harmful to insist that a change in name and form at this convention is a pre-condition for effecting other major changes called for by this resolution.

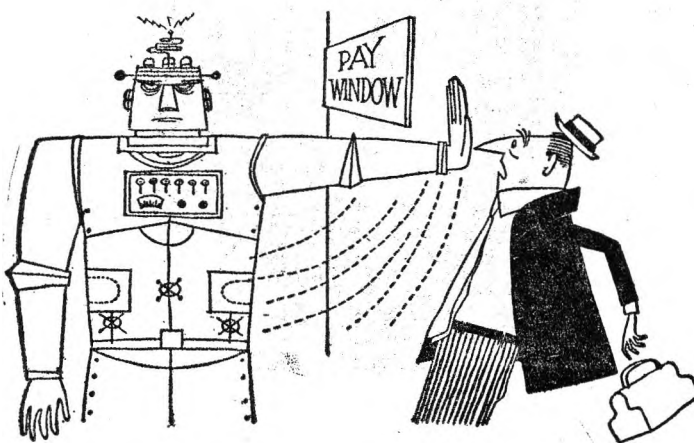
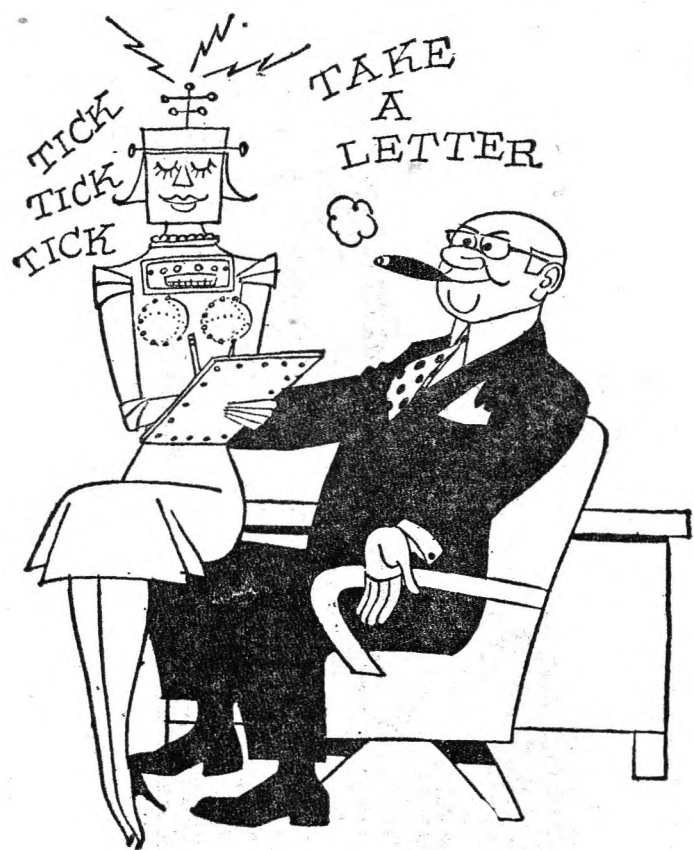
The basic changes that are urgently needed and which this convention must settle have to do with our approach to theory, the content of our policies, and the correction of bureaucratic methods in the inner life of our Party, and the development, of our mass work and ties. What must be settled are the basic Marxist organizational principles, the organizational stability and unity of the organization must be guaranteed.

At this time when the content of our policies and organization are yet to be settled by the convention, the pro-

posals for change in name and form give rise to fears amongst sections of the Party that these proposals may open the way for liquidating essential features of Marxist organization.

Once the principles of our organization are soundly established on Marxist foundations as outlined in this Draft Resolution, once a Party program dealing more elaborately with fundamental theoretical and programmatic questions is drafted and discussed by the Party, such proposals as deal with form and name will be seen in their proper context, as subordinate to questions of program and policy and can therefore more readily be discussed on their merits.

We propose that this convention shall not undertake to change the name and form of our Party. This does not foreclose further consideration of these proposals. The national convention shall determine how to develop further discussion which will allow for the fullest participation of the entire party and shall include consideration with non-party socialist minded workers and leaders after adoption of the Party program. Any action on this question must be taken by referendum vote. (Vote: YES, 133; NO, 3; ABSTAINING, 6).



Summary of resolutions

168 resolutions were submitted to the State Convention by clubs, sections, divisions and county organizations. 90 Amendments to the Draft Constitution were also submitted. With the exception of the amendment to ARTICLE VI, Section 2, which was acted upon by the State Convention (as noted elsewhere), all amendments were referred to the National Convention.

Of the resolutions, except for those specifically acted upon by the State Convention, all others were referred to the National Convention and shall be submitted by the California delegation to the National Convention. Since space does not permit the publication of all these resolutions, we can group them as follows:

- Form and character of our organizations — 37 resolutions
- On Party democracy — 16 resolutions
- Status of the Party — 1 resolution
- Mass work — 4 resolutions
- Relations with the world Communist movement — 5 resolutions
- Relations with other Socialist forces in the U.S. — 3 resolutions
- Negro question — 12 resolutions
- Mexican question — 4 resolutions

- Japanese-American question — 1 resolution
- National Group work — 1 resolution
- Jewish work — 2 resolutions
- Culture — 9 resolutions
- Peace — 4 resolutions
- Hungary — 4 resolutions
- Trade Union — 4 resolutions
- Youth — 5 resolutions
- Agriculture — 1 resolution
- White collar — 1 resolution
- Woman question 5 resolutions
- Ideology and theory — 12 resolutions
- Press — 8 resolutions
- Draft resolution in general — 22 resolutions.
- Misc:
 - To move national center to Chicago — 1 resolution
 - Maintaining contact with people who have dropped out — 1 resolution
 - Against name-calling — 1 resolution
 - Also on terminology, capital punishment, party unity, use of the term "American."

Amendment on Democratic Centralism

Amendment to Draft Resolution
as Adopted by State Convention
Jan. 20, 1957
On Democratic Centralism and
Monolithic Unity.

(Add to Paragraph 3 on Page 60)

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 the people become available to 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 ever more effectively.

We think a debate on the term democratic centralism a fruitless one. We would rather devote our attention to defining what principles our Party should have within its organization.

1. The Communist Party is a democratic organization based on majority rule. It is a cohesive organization for the purpose of acting unitedly to carry out the program and policies decided by its membership while recognizing and respecting the right of dissent and minority opinion. It recognizes the

need for delegating authority to elected committees between conventions while guaranteeing the procedures for regular review of policies proposed by such bodies.

2. Local bodies shall have the right to determine their own application of national policy.

3. We urge that questions which deal with the relations of the Party with the mass movements (Negro, Labor, etc.) be resolved, whenever possible, through delegated conferences and/or referendums; where there is a sizeable body of dissenting opinion, within leading committees, final deter-

mination be based on maximum participation of the membership.

We recognize the need to constantly test the correctness of our policy in the course of activity with those whom we seek to influence in the direction of socialism. The conflict between working class and non-working class ideology can best be resolved within the framework of freest Marxist debate. The encouragement of free Marxist debate on all questions is the best guarantee against factionalism.

(Vote: YES, 136; NO, 2; Abstaining 3.)

Draft on Vanguard Role

(Draft submitted by state convention resolutions committee but not acted on. Referred to national convention.)

(Insert on page 60 of Draft Resolution after first full paragraph)

Our efforts to advance these objectives requires that we retain the fundamental concept of our organization as one which strives to fulfill a leadership role, both in relation to the current struggles as well as in its advocacy of a socialist transformation. The concrete expression of this role will of necessity be different today in the presence of a powerful organized labor movement and Negro people's movement than it was in the 30's when these movements were much smaller in size and narrower in content.

A Marxist party which seeks to gain the confidence of its class cannot do so by arrogantly assuming that it is already the leader of the workers. The possession of advanced theory and the ability to project advanced ideas in the current struggles can and should lead to the ever greater identification of such a Marxist party with the class, and the enhancement of its leadership role. But this is not an automatic process.

In the past we have mechanically assumed the posture of "the vanguard party". This assumption, because it was a dogmatic application of a concept rather than an effort to take what is valid in the concept and apply it to our particular conditions hindered the very aim of providing Marxist guidance to the working class movement.

As a result the term "vanguard role" has assumed connotations of unrealism and arrogance with which we seek to break. Listening and learning from the workers, participating in their everyday struggles at the level at which they are being waged, we strive to earn the esteem of the working class, as a foundation for effective leadership.

This does not mean we no longer have an independent position on questions nor play an independent role in the democratic movement. On the contrary we must seek out the ways of placing advanced thinking and proposals before the people. Yet, even our "advanced" position must at all times take into consideration the thinking and desires of the people we are working with. Our "advanced" positions cannot be brought into every group we work with despite the situation in that group. On the contrary whatever stand we take must be balanced against

the understanding and willingness to act on the part of those we are trying to convince. Whenever our stand fails to win support from non-Party people it must be re-examined.

The day to day struggles of the working class against capitalist exploitation can, at best, lead only to trade union consciousness. Socialist consciousness must be brought into the working class movement.

This can not be done apart from participation in campaigns for the betterment of conditions. In supporting the immediate issues we must find the ways of raising the understanding of other supporters, even if but a little, in the direction of class or Socialist thinking. We can also help stimulate action on some things that will help the people move forward. We can help action against recognition of the main

enemy of the people, i.e. Monopoly. We can, by participating in action with the people for our common interest, help them better understand present events, and on the basis of certain of these events and issues, help advance their thinking in a socialist direction.

The Party of Communists always places uppermost the interests of the entire working class and all the oppressed people, rather than any special sectional or group interests. It dedicates itself to helping the working class and its allies gain, step by step, ever greater victories leading toward their historic goal of ending class exploitation. This is the essence of the leadership role which we seek to fulfill.

(Referred to National Convention without action. Lack of time prevented action on this draft amendment at State Convention.)

The right to dissent

AMENDMENT Section 2, ARTICLE VI, Draft Constitution:

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. Every member shall have the right to hold and express a dissenting opinion on Party policy even after a decision has been made, provided the member does not engage in any activity which hinders or impedes the execution of such policy. Dissenting members may abstain from carrying out such policy pending appeal to higher body.

(Vote: YES, 131; NO, 13; Abstaining 5)

The National Draft Resolution

On the National Draft Resolution
Adopted by the State Convention
Jan. 20, 1957

The discussion on the Draft Resolution of the National Committee has brought forward many important and stimulating contributions. A huge number of resolutions from clubs and other county bodies have been placed before the County and States Conventions, too numerous to get adequate attention.

The discussion has centered primarily around part four of the resolution dealing with the Party. The sense and common direction of most of the county convention resolutions dealing with this question indicate a desire by the big majority of our membership to express support for what we understand to be the underlying concepts of Part Four of the resolution, namely: for making basic changes in our Party; for retaining its character as a working class party of action; for applying Marxism-Leninism creatively to the American scene; for functioning with a maximum of democracy and unity.

At the same time, the discussion and the county conventions have stressed the many and serious inadequacies of the Resolution on important questions. Some points which have been especially singled out as requiring much more fundamental discussion before a position could be fully formulated are: 1) the inevitability of war; 2) the peaceful transition to socialism; 3)

economic analysis; 4) analysis of the nature and source of our errors; 5) Negro work and the Negro question itself; 6) our role and work in relation to labor; 7) the Mexican question.

It is our belief that on many of these questions a much more thorough discussion of a searching nature is needed in order to achieve understanding and unity on these matters. A hasty and unsatisfactory statement on some questions, without such further analysis, would not lead to greater clarity and might be harmful to party unity.

Nevertheless, while sharing the conviction that the Draft Resolution is inadequate on many questions, and contains much that is still subject to debate, we believe that it represents a step forward in the attempt to break through our isolation and sectarianism, and contains much that is new and valid for the coming period.

Therefore we propose that:

1) We express our recognition of the essential forward direction of the Draft Resolution as amended, recognizing the role it has played in stimulating the current discussions, and rejecting any characterization of the Resolution as revisionist or right opportunist in its overall content, and further rejecting the characterization that it represents no break with the past.

2) That we urge the National Convention to act only on those questions in the Resolution which have had sufficient discussion to be an adequate expression of the views of the membership, and sufficient time to reach valid conclusions, leaving the other questions open for further examination. On all other questions the National Convention should strive to reach positions subject to the approval of the membership and organizations of the Party.

3) That we urge the National Convention to act in the spirit expressed in that section of the Open Letter of the National Committee to the State Conventions which says:

"We are deeply concerned over certain aspects that mar the discussion and may do harm to the unity and effectiveness of the Party.

This is certainly true of some tendencies to substitute invective for serious argument . . .

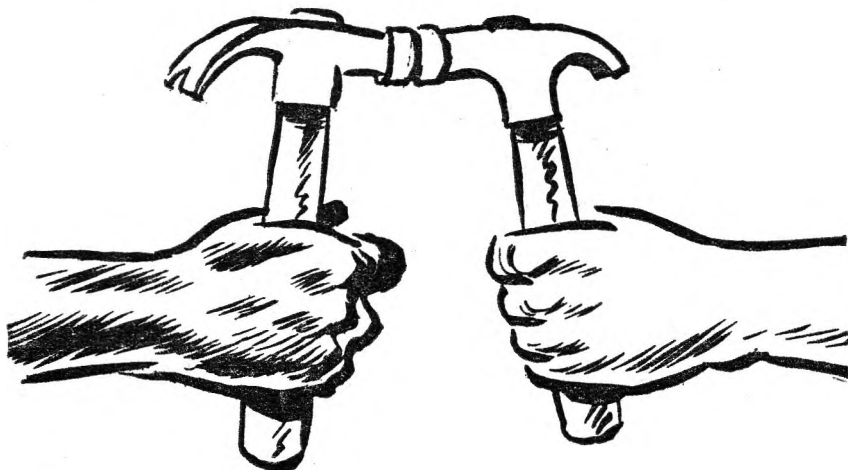
"Clearly many fundamental matters

of theory and program will remain, even matters on which we have and may for some time continue to have widely divergent views. It is therefore important that we seek the establishment of full inner-party democracy including the right to dissent as essential also to our ability after this Convention to continue discussing many questions while moving forward unitedly to implement the decisions of the Convention. "Yet we wish to achieve this within the framework of basic unity within the Party. Party unity is one of our big assets and should surely be sought with energy. It is timely to restate that we do not wish to prescribe the expression of opinion in this discussion. We want to read no one out of the Party for their views. We know by now that none of us has a monopoly on wisdom and none of us is immune to error. We should consider the motives of all comrades as honest and that we all share an equal regard for our Party.

4) That we forward to the National Convention and its preparatory committees all resolutions submitted to the County and State Conventions and urge that they be given careful consideration in the convention committees and in those preparing convention materials.

5) That a specific plan be worked out with all speed by the incoming National, State and County Committees for conducting the organized research and discussion necessary so that we can proceed to reach conclusions on the remaining theoretical, programmatic, and tactical questions before us.

(Vote: YES, 128; NO, 1, Abstaining, 1.)



Draft Resolution on Negro Question

(Referred to National Convention)

The National Draft Resolution of the Party emphasized the necessity to examine new developments and trends in American life, and to shape our policies to conform to the changes in our nation. No development in the United States since the Civil War and reconstruction period has shaken long standing social and political relationships as has the present upsurge in the determination of the Negro people to destroy Jim Crow and win 1st class citizenship rights.

The changes in the status of the Negro people in the U.S. and the new developments in the struggle for equal rights makes it incumbent upon the party to re-examine all important phases of work to determine their relationship to the Negro question. Full understanding of the factors underlying the new level of maturity and struggle of the Negro peoples' movement will enable the Party to make more effective contribution, not only to the field of Negro work, but to all aspects of Party and mass work. Such an understanding of the Negro question will increase our ability to advance democracy for the American working class and the people generally.

In 1857, one hundred years ago, a book appeared titled "The Impending Crisis of the South." It was written by Hilton R. Helper a poor white from North Carolina. The book dealt with the backwardness of the South and the poverty of the poor whites resulting from the slave system, and among other things it stated: "Never were the poorer classes of a people . . . so basely duped, so adroitly swindled or so damnably outraged."

Today the South is again in "crisis", growing out of the fact that slavery was not completely uprooted after the Civil War. Negroes were returned to semi-slavery on the plantations of the South, robbed of civil rights by Jim Crow laws, denied fair trial before the courts, outlawed at the polls, exploited wherever he was permitted to work, barred from equal education and stripped of human dignity by every form of mental, moral and physical degradation. The main cause of Negro oppression in the United States has always been the billions in super profits stolen from the toil of the Negro people and the sub-standard wages paid to Southern white workers by the plantation owners and Northern industrialists. But it is also true that this brutal oppression has been made easier, that the South has remained backward and the white masses have lived for generations in poverty because they continue to allow themselves to be "duped" ideologically and "swindled" economically by the poison of racial prejudice and anti-Negro hatred.

The crisis exists in the South today because some of the conditions that are hangovers from slavery are undergoing change. The plantation system, with its evils of sharecropping and semipeonage, is in some instances, giving way to industrial manufacturing. Thousands of Negroes, who were tenant farmers and sharecroppers a few years ago are industrial workers today. Other thousands who lived in rural communities a short time ago now live in the cities of the South. The struggle against oppression carried on by the Negro people over the years, especially since World War II has slowly but continuously made progress in the fight for freedom. Advances had been made in the fights for jobs; the bitter struggle for the right to vote did away with the "white primaries" and has achieved other important results in the South. The long effort to secure equal education for the Negro people has been crowned by the desegregation decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. The assault against Jim Crow generally by the Negro people has shaken the very foundation of the social-political relationships in the Deep South.

Overshadowing all developments in the South in the recent period has been the spirit, the strength and courage of the Negro peoples' movement, that has thrown the South in crisis. While it is normal that the Negro people would supply the main power and drive to achieve their own freedom, it is indeed deplorable that other important sections of the American

people lag so very far behind in their support of the Negro people in this fight. The most important ingredient that must be added to this historic struggle for 1st class citizenship for the Negro people is an understanding by white workers of their stake in the struggle.

When white workers understand that the forces opposing equal right for Negroes are the same forces who stand in the way of their (the workers) own economic and political advancement, they will come forward in support of the Negro peoples' movement. Recent struggles in Clinton, Tennessee around the school integration demonstrated the potential democratic force among white people, even in the South. The white minister in Clinton who had the courage and conviction to escort the Negro children to school in spite of the threats and hostility of the White Citizens Council mob and who was beaten by the mob, set off the spark that welded together the majority of white people in Clinton in support of integration of the high school there.

There is no doubt that some people in Clinton were moved by humanitarian principles, but we believe it is safe to assume that the majority of the people decided to support integration of the school because it was now the law of the Land and they realized that those who were blocking integration were threatening their interest in some real way.

The example of the minister of Clinton Tennessee, should be emulated by all progressives and especially by Communists, who should understand that the solution of the Negro question is fundamental to all social, economic and political advance in America today. For the Communist Party of America the projection of the Negro question in relation to all other important aspects of work is essential to the success of any phase of our progress.

The general crisis in the party today takes on additional significance when we begin to examine the various specific fields of work and where we are in relation to them. In the light of the present level of development of the Negro peoples' movement, a full evaluation of our past position and program with regard for the struggle for Negro rights calls for an examination of the basic thesis of the Party position — that the Negro people constitute a Nation. We have to determine whether the prerequisites set down by Stalin are still scientifically correct. It would be a serious error for us to try to conclude this question in haste without the fullest scientific study of the present status of the Negro people. We also have to determine whether the Negro people fit into the definition heretofore used: "A nation is an historically evolved, stable community of economic life, language, territory and

psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture". (Stalin; Marxism and the National Question.)

To guarantee that an anti-monopoly coalition, led by labor, will be built, the big question facing the progressive movement in the U.S. today is determining what are the main obstacles preventing such a development, the fact of the incompleteness of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the South and the resulting curtailment of citizenship rights of the Negro people, within the confine of a bourgeois democratic society existent in the rest of the country constitutes a principle obstacle in the building of an anti-monopoly coalition.

The class forces reflected in this contradiction are Wall Street monopolies, the reactionary section of the Republican party and the anti-labor, anti-Negro Dixiecrat plantation owners of the South, on one hand and the Negro people and their allies on the other.

The increased influence of industry upon the economy of the South and the intensity of the struggle for first class citizenship has resulted in weakening the racial barriers to the point that the whole Jim Crow edifice is threatened with destruction.

It is in the process of resolving this key contradiction in American life that many other contradictions will be transferred into a more favorable position for labor and its allies, and the anti-monopoly coalition can be built.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

We should unequivocally place the Negro struggle for first class citizenship in the center of all our activities in American life today. We should seek an orientation and approach that recognizes it as a key around which all of our activities revolve.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the final conclusion of the theoretical programmatic and tactical aspects of this question be left for further study.



Amendments to Negro question resolutions

(Not Acted upon. Voted to refer to National Convention)

1. Add to 12th paragraph, after "Republican party" "and Democratic party."
2. That the ultimate solution of the Negro problem is socialism, but in the interim, to improve the situation, it should be positively stated that the building of a coalition of Labor, Negroes, and allies is imperative. (Substitute or add.)
3. Resolution by C. B. (document printed on next page).
4. Therefore be it resolved, that before any action be taken in regard to the Negro people or any other group, that they be consulted and if possible obtain their consent.
5. Delete from 12th paragraph, after "South," the rest of the sentence beginning "on one hand" and ending "on the other."
6. Delete from 11th paragraph, after "such a development," the rest of the sentence beginning "the fact" to end of sentence.

7. To be inserted as the next to the last paragraph of document: "Be it furthermore resolved that our party take all organizational steps necessary to make our maximum contribution to the Negro liberation movement."
8. From 6th paragraph, strike out second sentence: "It is the force of that movement that has thrown the South in crisis."
9. Paragraph 14 to read as follows: "We consider the struggle for Negro rights as one of the key questions in American life."
10. Delete the word "crisis" in reference to the situation in the South today wherever it appears in the resolution. Substitute a more appropriate term.
11. Influence of the world colonial liberation movement on the Negro peoples' movement. (Add to resolution).
12. A re-dedication to class perspective of CP in regard to Negro-white unity. (Add to resolution).

Resolution Submitted on Negro Work

(Submitted by C. B. at State Convention)

The Party has yet to properly utilize its Negro forces. There has been a marked decrease in recent years in the deployment of these forces in leading position on a national scale, despite the urgent need to develop Negro cadres for leadership in the Party, trade unions and the burgeoning Negro freedom struggle . . .

We condemn both the Left sectarian excesses committed in the fight against white chauvinism in the 1949-52 period and the right opportunist passivity that today infests our work in the Negro field. We agree with the National Committee's draft Resolution that ". . . in upholding the correct principle that white chauvinism is incompatible with membership in the Party, arbitrary administrative excesses occurred which distorted and hampered the effective-

ness" of the struggle against racist ideologies. That struggle, in our opinion, was so distorted at times as to give it a farcical aspect.

However, the fact that the Party made serious errors on this question at that time is, as Ben Davis points out in his Report, "no excuse for abandoning the necessary struggle against white chauvinism either internally, nor for permitting an ideological vacuum to obtain around the question."

The Draft Resolution of the National Committee also warns:

"To weaken the fight against white supremacy ideas or practices within the mass movement or against the remnants of white chauvinist influence that may exist in the Party, on the plea of fighting left sectarian mistakes of the past, would constitute abandonment of principle, destruction of the foundation of Negro-white unity and

the lowering of the Party's proud banner of equality and comradeship."

One of the gravest shortcomings of our Party today is the lag in our Negro work, our passivity in the struggle on a community level for Negro rights, both on economic and cultural issues, such as fair employment, wiping out ghetto conditions, and removal from the public schools of text books which slander the Negro people, foster pseudo-scientific concepts of race and inculcate in Negro children a sense of inferiority and frustration . . .

Our Party has written many glorious pages in the struggles of the Negro people and the American people generally. It needs no apology for its existence. Indeed, its continued existence as a Marxist-Leninist party is, in our opinion, a prerequisite for the development of a mass socialist movement in our country, as well as a guarantee for the further advance of the Negro liberation movement . . .

In his report, Comrade Davis pinpoints a serious weakness in the Negro freedom movement, to wit, that "it hasn't sufficiently merged the economic and civil rights issues of the Negroes in the North with those of the Negroes in the South." Negroes in the North, he points out, are today mainly playing a supporting role in the bus boycott, right-to-vote, and anti-lynch upsurge of the Southern Negroes. We fully agree with him that "Communists have a vital role to play in helping to join these issues in one mainstream, and in helping to give the whole a conscious anti-monopoly outlook and a socialist perspective . . ."

We must constantly seek ways and means of bringing forward the Party's face and independent position while at the same time giving maximum support to the leaders of the Negro people's movement and rallying the widest section of the white population to their support.

