

U. S. REDS SUGGEST 'TITOIST' PROGRAM

Proposed Party Constitution Stresses 'Independence'

By **PETER KIHSS**

American Communists made public yesterday a proposed new party constitution that said "there are various roads to socialism."

The draft called for finding a peaceful American road "within the developing constitutional process."

A 640-word preamble set forth a revised philosophical basis for the party. A "common bond" among workers of all lands, it said, "is strengthened when working class movements operate in an atmosphere of independence and equality and exercise the right of fraternal and constructive criticism."

This phrasing resembled the nationalistic line taken by Titoist Yugoslav and, recently, Polish Communists. It contrasted with the United States party's largely sweeping acceptance of Soviet Communist leadership in the era of Stalin, who has been downgraded by the current Soviet regime.

The 5,000-word document is to be submitted to majority vote of a national convention of the Communist party of the United States here on Feb. 9 to 12. It was drawn up by a fifteen-member constitution committee headed by Fred M. Fine, executive secretary of the national committee, and approved by the

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national committee last month. The new line fitted into the States party to reverse a 1953 order by the Subversive Activities Control Board requiring it to register as a "puppet of the Soviet Union."

The preamble bid for cooperation with "all socialist-minded Americans," asserting the Communist party "seeks no narrow current effort of the United partisan monopoly." This was understood to reflect an effort to get back on ballots perhaps through coalition groups.

The Communists have run no candidates under their own label since a 1949 City Council race here. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the national committee, was on the ballot as a People's Rights candidate for Congress in the Bronx in 1954.

Right to Dissent

Reports are that Soviet use of force to repress Hungarians has caused the United States party to lose "hundreds" of members even since a September statement that membership was down to between 20,000 and 25,000. The party has blamed many of its losses on Federal pressures, including Smith Act convictions of many leaders for conspiracy to teach and advocate forcible overthrow of the Government.

The constitution committee said it had tried to provide "new organizational concepts and democratic safeguards" arising from recent intraparty discussions. These appeared principally to stress a right of dissent and possible referenda on major policy changes.

Circulation of the draft, the committee said, did not pre-determine changes in "name and form" by the convention. The present constitution was adopted in 1945, amended in 1948 and reaffirmed at the last convention in 1950.

Besides the nationalistic phraseology, the preamble singled out equality for Negroes as a "basic" campaign, and included a fight against "monopoly" as a major battlefield.

Structural changes included:

¶ Dropping previous requirements that members be "active in behalf of the party program" and "duty-bound to carry out" party decisions.

¶ Allowing "the right of dissent after decisions are taken" so long as the dissenter does not hinder execution of a policy or endanger party unity. Provision is set for expressing dissenting views in party publications.

¶ Banning major policy changes by the national committee—except in emergencies—unless submitted to district or state committees or the entire membership, possibly for referendum.

¶ Providing for more widely representative national and state committees.

A disciplinary section reiterates 1948 wording calling for expulsion of anyone engaged in espionage, advocating force and violence or participating in any group conspiring to subvert American democracy.

CONSTITUTION PREAMBLE

The preamble of the draft constitution follows:

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

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

American people within the developing constitutional process.

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

the use and enjoyment of all men and women.

The Communist party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against those who would destroy democracy. It fights uncompromisingly against imperialism and colonial oppression, for curbing and breaking the power of monopoly, against racial, national and religious discrimination, anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism. It regards the struggle to wipe out the system of Jim Crow-

ism and to win immediate and full citizenship and unconditional equality for the Negro people basic to the fight for democracy.

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

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