

What Calif. CP Leaders Reject as "Trotskyist"

[The passages published below form part of a criticism of the Draft Resolution of the CP National Committee written and widely circulated in mimeograph form during the pre-convention discussion by the Section Organizational Secretary of the 46th Assembly District of the Los Angeles Communist Party. Its ideas have had widespread influence among CP militants. The document was repudiated as "Trotskyist" by its author in her Stalinist-style "confession" at the Southern California District Convention of the CP, April 13. At that time she also charged seven CP members who advocated views similar to those she repudiated with being "agents of the Socialist Workers Party." (Full details were published in last week's issue of the Militant.) — Ed.]

"While the Resolution spends considerable time analyzing the errors of the past period, it fails to single out adequately the main error which gave rise to these mistakes: our dependence upon the Communist Party of the USSR and our failure to build in the United States an independent Party, based upon Marxism and interpreting the history, special conditions, and problems of winning Socialism here under vastly different conditions than were in existence in the USSR.

"The problem of building Socialism in the Soviet Union, a backward country politically, with a heritage from Czarism of primitive productive capacities, and a low labor productivity (incapable of bringing economic gains which would guarantee political democracy to the Russian people), isolated in an encircling ring of enemy capitalist states, gave rise to distortions and crimes as outlined in the Khrushchev report. Instead of the advent of Socialism bringing its full potential to the people of the Soviet Union, such benefits were denied by the rise of a bureaucratic caste who fought to maintain their privilege by denying the full development of Socialism. This was due in part to the fusion of the CP of the USSR with the state apparatus and in part to the problems of building socialism in a country like Russia without

the support of the world working class in the form of extending the socialist sector of the world.

"Our errors here flow from our subordination of the class struggle on the American scene in order to 'defend' the USSR, without realizing that the real defense of the socialist countries lies in the extending of Socialism to other states, including the U.S.A. . . .

"The working class, in order to achieve socialism, must have an advanced, class conscious, socialist-oriented vanguard to lead it. While it should draw on the traditions and forms familiar to the American people in its organizational structure, it must, because it recognizes the class forces which will continue to be lined up against it until socialism is achieved, be so organized as to provide safeguards for united action once a program is arrived upon, by democratic discussion and majority decision, and provide further for the right to dissent, conduct full and free discussion on varying points of view, be disciplined by voluntary understanding and loyalty, and fight constantly for raising the understanding of its members on the basic principles, strategy for achieving socialism, and the tactics that will advance the struggle most rapidly. . . .

"Peaceful co-existence subordinates the struggles of the colonial peoples against imperialism to that of maintaining the status quo on a world scale. Peaceful co-existence therefore is a betrayal of the struggle for socialism because it implies the right of continuing existence to capitalist states, without recognizing that the only true defense of the Soviet Union and other Socialist states is the extension of socialism through the entire world. . . .

"The draft resolution projects the 'anti-monopoly coalition' as the main strategy to advance the interests of the working class and implies that this is the path to socialism in the U.S. Such a formulation is a betrayal of socialism because it fails to make the basic point that fundamentally the enemy is capitalism. To propose an 'anti-monopoly coalition' is to desert the basic class position for the achievement of socialism be-

cause it implies that the working class must continue to 'live' with capitalism and does not clarify the fact that while monopoly is the more advanced stage of capitalism, capitalism is the root enemy. . . .

"On the question of our formulation in the draft resolution regarding the Democratic Party: . . . The existence of a mass labor movement of 17 million organized workers, together with the existence of a mass Negro peoples' movement are significant factors which make possible the realization of the organization of an independent party of labor and farmers if we fight for such a line instead of 'dead-ending' the energies of these workers in the Democratic Party.

"The Democratic Party cannot be this instrument in the hands of the working class because it is a party of capitalism, dedicated to the continuance of capitalism. The problem is one of convincing the workers that they must move away from instruments of the capitalists and form their party based on their own class interests. Democratic Party candidates are the creatures of the capitalists and stand for that class and that system. They represent the interests of the ruling class in the last analysis. Working class candidates, running on a working class program, in a party controlled by the working class, are the only guarantees of the class interests of the workers. . . .

"An effective regroupment of the left can only be achieved by free association and inter-change of all points of view of socialist minded groupings and the holding of varied types of activities which may lead to the eventual organization of a mass party of socialism."

Los Angeles

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