

DEFEAT OF FASCIST-MILITARIST JAPAN OUR FIRST TASK

In the current discussions carried on by our members, devoted as it is to self-criticism and criticism of our functionaries and past policies, there is a risk that our attentions may be diverted from all important political tasks as stated in Part I, Section 4 of the draft-resolution. We must keep in mind before all else the first slogan: "Defeat Fascist Militarist Japan." Indeed all the tasks outlined in the resolution require our utmost attention. This we must give to them as good Americans and good Communists before any other considerations.

The overdue criticisms which we are at this time applying to ourselves, our leaders and our policies, will be healthful for our organization only if we dig out and destroy the roots from which our present difficulties grew.

I respectfully suggest to the members at large that the main roots of our troubles are to be found in our wrong application of the principle of democratic-centralism, which when properly applied—"the minority must submit to the majority, the various organs must submit to the center, and the lower organs to the higher" (history of the CPSU). This presupposes the existence of ways and means by which the membership may make their voices heard by the National Board (center) where our policies originate. At present there is no such ways and means. The gulf that now separates the National Board from the membership is theoretically bridged by, first, the Branch, County, State and finally the National Committees, the National Board being of course, part of the last named. On the State Committees there are usually one or more members of the National Committee, but even so, the National Board is so far removed from the mass of the membership as to be actually out of touch. This remoteness, if I am correct, has created a condition where the members, because most of the policies have been correct until recently, have come to look upon the National Board as infallible, to receive its directives as laws from

some Olympus without subjecting them to Marxist scrutiny and has begot an attitude on the part of our members, toward their ideological leaders, resembling the adoration reserved for saints and prophets by religious devotees. Our unscientific, anti-critical attitude in this respect has alienated many class conscious militant workers who agreed with our line and objectives, but because of their traditions of free speech and freedom of criticism, were unable to stomach our saccharine manner toward everything pertaining to our leaders. On the other hand the separation of the members from the leaders, who were constantly subjected to our hero worship, produced the inevitable result—that it did not happen before proves great strength of character. The National Board—excepting Comrade Foster—headed by our National Secretary (now president) marched into the ivory tower, the membership had built for it, and closed the door. Isolated from the toiling masses, they gradually forgot their Marxist theory. Their world view, in time, changed from dialectic to pragmatic, and opportunism replaced principle until it came about that Earl Browder would be accepted by the National Board—except Foster—and was foisted on the membership as the prophet of the postwar world who could even order the membership to abandon their ideology—the heart and mind of communism—which Browder himself has used so valiantly in the past in the interests of the working class, and persuaded us to lend our Marxist Socialist organization for the task of "helping make capitalism work."

How else can we explain that the National Board (always excepting Foster) could be brought to the point of consenting to the complete inversion of the Marxist-Leninist theory thereby emptying it of its entire revolutionary content?

How can we otherwise explain the utter contempt for the views of the membership displayed by the Board, some 18 months ago, at the time of submitting Browder's program to us for our sufferage, at which time it suppressed the knowledge that the most able Marxist in America, William Z.

Foster, disagreed with the postwar perspectives of the program? Had we, the membership had that information we might not today be pouring ashes on our heads in full view of the workers of the entire world.

With a view of preventing the recurrence of such a tragic state of affairs in the future, without doing violence to the system of democratic centralism, I respectfully submit the following proposals to the membership at large:

While retaining our organizational structure common to and necessary for the functioning of Communist organizations everywhere, i.e., **a cadre of leaders equipped with Marxist theory, free from all occupation except party work, and maintaining continuity**; such cadres must continue to be at the cope of all our higher committees. I suggest that we broaden and strengthen our committees, especially our National Board, by adding to it a certain percentage of trade union members recognized by their fellow workers as leaders. These supplementary members be elected for terms not to exceed (2) two years after which period they return to industry and others of like qualifications take their places.

This would continually bring new people to the National Board with new ideas born of contact with changing conditions in a changing world. They would be a belt line from the members to the leadership. In this way a greater number of theoretical leaders would be matured to take the place of old ones on retirement. Last but not least this would do much to prevent bureaucratic tendencies in the future.

I suggest that our organization publish a monthly bulletin devoted exclusively to the views, comments and constructive criticisms of the membership. **The Editorial Board to be elected from members outside the National Committee.**

Lastly, I suggest a study course devoted to Communist theory, using as text books the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, be immediately instituted throughout the entire organization.

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