

The class struggle ebbs and flows. It has a rhythm that reflects the politics of the on going economy. Mature communist parties go from the ebb to the flow and back again with the same core of cadre and a political continuity.

We had to build the foundations of our Party in a period of passivity with the lumber at hand. The contributions have been qualitatively mixed. Yet, we have been able to concentrate a group of fine revolutionaries at the core of the Party. This gave us the stability to carry on up to this point.

Today, we are not undergoing simply another quantitative change in the Party's development. It is qualitative. This motion exposes everything moribund and rotten in the Party. It also enhances everything solid and revolutionary.

One section of our Party is striving to build it into the fighting vanguard of the proletarian revolution. Another section is fighting to maintain it at its present sectarian level so they can contribute what and when they please. They want to maintain their hands off "holier than thou" attitude toward the struggle which is still in the political gutter.

Responsible bodies, especially the Central Committee, must take a clear stand on this question of change and the unity of the Party. Democratic centralism is the organizational foundation and the guarantee of unity of action for the Party. Fighting representatives of the various sectors of the class are recruited into the Party. Their political impulses, their shadings of ideology, their reasons for being communists are sometimes slightly different.

For example, the vast majority of the blacks who joined the CPUSA during the 1940s were staunch fighters for Negro liberation. They joined the Party when they intellectually understood that liberation was only possible under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, their strategic goal was liberation and the proletarian dictatorship was an instrument for that goal. During the late 1930s and 1940s a large percentage of the comrades were Jewish. Many of them had the strategic goal of defeating Hitler. Only the proletarian dictatorship could guarantee an end to Hitlerism. Many comrades joined to win the battle for unionism. Only the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat could guarantee the unions.

Should these comrades have been in the CPUSA? Yes. A communist party is a political party and anyone who accepts the

political program is welcome. The diversity of the party is overcome through an adherence to democratic centralism. This guarantees the unity of action of the party.

A tiny minority of the comrades were in the party to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. That was the only political instrument to establish democracy and begin the transition to socialism. Democratic centralism included them, and it depended upon them. When this Marxist grouping lost its monolithic character it was defeated and along with it, democratic centralism was defeated.

This somewhat simplified, but true, account of an aspect of the destruction of the CPUSA holds lessons for us. Stalin very often referred to the unity of the party as monolithic unity. Monolithic refers to a monument that is hewn out of a single stone. Looking backward we can see that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was never a monolith. The monolithic unity of the leading core led by Stalin gave that appearance to the whole Party.

The lesson is that the leading bodies, especially the Central Committee must achieve a higher level of unity, a unity of ideology and a discipline based in democratic centralism.

We must broaden the monolithic base of the Party. This is the most serious problem we face. The paralysis that sometimes grips the Party arises from the differences in ideology and goals.

What, politically, is a monolith? It is a stable collective of revolutionaries, of Marxists. We must throw the formal, official weight of the Party behind the effort to create this monolith. It must be done without purges or any form of witchhunts. It must be done by the rigid imposition of democratic centralism. This is what is meant by "iron discipline." This struggle for a monolithic central office, at minimum, is the place where the struggle to reconstruct the Party will be won or lost.

Summary

The Standing Committee called the Central Committee into session because it is necessary to make clear the legality of the changes that the Party must undergo. Comrades must understand that the good times are over. We can no longer afford to have one single comrade in the organization for any reason other than revolution. Our two edged task is to build an or-