

# 3 FACTIONS FOUND AMONG U. S. REDS

## They Emerged in 'Upheaval' of Year, Study Finds, but None Renounces Soviet

By PÉTER KIHSS

Three factions emerged in the Communist party in the United States during 1956, a year of "continuous upheaval," according to a study made by the American Jewish Committee. But the study found none of the factions yet renouncing support of the Soviet Union.

"Under the impact of de-Stalinization," the study said, "C. P. U. S. A. leadership divided into three factions: Stalinist, headed by William Z. Foster, party chairman; Khrushchevist, headed by Eugene Dennis, the general secretary, and Titoist-Gomulkaist, headed by John Gates, editor of The Daily Worker."

The thirty-one-page analysis by the fifty-year-old Jewish human rights group covered the Communist splits here over Joseph Stalin, party organization, Soviet crimes against Jews and Soviet intervention in Hungary. It was prepared as background for committee leaders in a continuing campaign of education on the menace of communism at home and abroad.

### Convention Next Month

Since completion of the study last December, the experts involved said, indications have become stronger that the Foster and Dennis groups are again drawing together. The Gates group, they said, appears to be giving way, to unify the party before its national convention here Feb. 9-12.

The study suggested that efforts might be made by Mr. Foster and Mr. Dennis "to stack

the convention with delegates from the 'left.'" Insinuations to continuous decline in membership and influence" since it broke in the Communist press "in connection with dues-payment requirements for eligibility to vote."

Most of the party's Negroes, the analysis said, seem to be behind the Foster-Dennis-Davis pro-Soviet group." This faction includes former City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis. The Negro members, it suggested, "look upon racism and traditional colonialism as the prime evils to be fought," and tend to "relative indifference about Eastern Europe."

"Jews in the party," the study went on, "seem to be split, with the workers tending to support the Russian position, while the intellectuals and Yiddish-speaking activists have deepened their concern about the Soviet position."

Despite "clear evidence of an anti-Israel policy by the Soviet Union," the document said, both The Daily Worker and Freiheit, Communist newspapers here, have "defended Israel's right to exist." It said a Freiheit editorial last Dec. 16 had reversed "previous reliance on Soviet promises" and demanded "concrete proof of a return to 'Leninist national policy'" and Government action against anti-Semitism in Russia.

### Leadership Is Silenced

However, the study said, "the continued hostile attitude of the Russian party toward Jewish problems has silenced C. P. U. S. A. leadership on this question."

The Gates group, the analysis went on, includes members of The Daily Worker editorial board; Steve Nelson, Pennsylvania leader, and most of the party's New York State, Pennsylvania and Connecticut sections. Last year, these people had favored reorganizing the party into a political action group, democratizing its structure and allowing dissent and freedom of discussion.

The study asserted the Com-

unist party had "undergone a from a "united-front strategy" at the end of World War II. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, it "practically ceased to recruit new members," the document added.

Recalling a Federal Bureau of Investigation estimate that the party was down to 20,000 members by the end of 1955, the study said the New York State organization had admitted losing "more than two-thirds of its members" in the last ten years.

Most remaining Communists, the analysis continued, are "middle-aged and older." Two-thirds of the New York members are more than 40 years of age. The party was depicted as being comprised principally of pre-World War I immigrants from Czarist Russia and those American-born members who joined in the "heyday of the Popular Front, during the Thirties."

"Only a small proportion of this hard core are industrial workers; most are small business men, storekeepers and professionals," the study said. "More than half live in New York and most of the others are concentrated in Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, Detroit and Philadelphia."