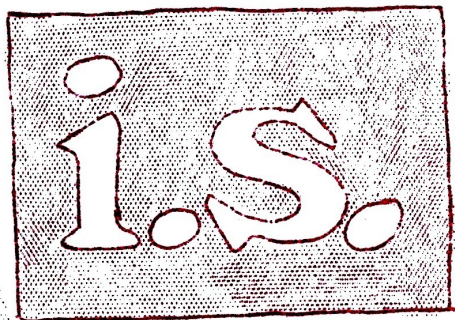


DOCUMENTS  
OF THE  
FOUNDING  
CONVENTION  
OF THE I.S.  
SEPT. 1969

INTERNATIONAL



SOCIALISTS

## INTRODUCTION

After the convention, the NAC was given the responsibility to rewrite and stylize the documents that passed the convention. However, certain difficulties developed in doing this. First, the majority of the documents considered at the convention, were passed in sense only, and not adopted as they were. Hence rewriting them meant essentially writing new documents, and having the NAC adopt them. It was not felt to be important nor proper for the NAC to do this. Secondly, with our committment to writing new documents, and external pamphlets, it was felt to be not important to have people spend time rewriting these documents. Hence we are presenting them as they are, for our members use. All documents were adopted as sense motions unless specified otherwise below.

The Haberkern document of the NLF was adopted.

The Landy section on Women was deleted.

The Landy section on Student organizing was adopted.

The section from the American Scenes document on Women was adopted as amended.

High School Perspectives document adopted as amended.

All other documents were printed in the first post-convention of the Forum, and people should refer to them. Several topics of discussion will come up again at our convention this year.



## DRAFT PERSPECTIVE ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

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[Note: sections of this document have been adapted from Hal Draper's The Independent Socialist World Outlook (Forum, 1967). The use made of them is, of course, the responsibility of the author.]

THE WORLD TODAY is in the midst of an historical crisis that has lasted for over half a century. Among the symptoms of this crisis have been two bloody world wars, the greatest economic depression in history, countless revolts and revolutions, a "cold war" that has lasted more than twenty years, and the looming possibility of a thermonuclear war. At a time when the progress of technology has made plenty for all a real possibility, the world's billions are haunted by poverty and famine. Spacecraft going to the moon orbit over wooden plows drawn by human beings.

Across the earth two great social systems--capitalism and its younger rival, bureaucratic collectivism--vie for the privilege of dominating and exploiting the peoples of the world. Yet both are faced with another enemy: the class struggle of working-class and socialist movements for freedom from both exploitative systems. Against this enemy, the two world-wide class societies are united in an uneasy embrace. In France during the May 1968 events, the last line of defense of French capitalism was the French Communist Party. In Czechoslovakia the Western bloc promoted Dubcek as an embarrassment to Russia but condemned the "anarchists" and "extremists" who sought to go beyond a liberalized bureaucratic state. In Vietnam the weak forces that represented an alternative to both systems have been suppressed both by the American puppet regime and by the leadership of the National Liberation Front. It is as true in 1969 as in 1848 that "all the powers of the old world have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this specter," the specter of revolutionary socialism.

The roots of today's crisis lie in the irreversible decline of capitalism as a social system signalled by the outbreak of World War I. When the Bolshevik Party led the working class to state power in Russia in 1917, the event touched off working-class revolts throughout the world. But everywhere these revolts were beaten back. The young Soviet Republic, isolated from the productive forces of the industrialized nations, was overthrown by an internal counterrevolution led by Stalin, a counterrevolution that established a new form of class society, bureaucratic collectivism, and exterminated the entire leadership of the world's first successful socialist revolution. Disoriented by conflicts among its leaders, battered by a worldwide depression, brutally suppressed by the forces of fascism, the working-class movement receded, with its historic tasks, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, undone.

The world today is still paying the cost of that failure. Trapped between capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism, both of which are decaying systems and neither of which can overcome the other without a lapse into barbarism or nuclear annihilation,

the world working class is struggling--now almost blindly, now consciously--toward the only human alternative: revolutionary socialism. Upon the successful outcome of that struggle rests the only hope of humanity.

#### I. The Crisis of World Capitalism

FOR TWENTY YEARS and more, the press agents of capitalism have been telling the world that the system had solved its problems (except the problem of coping with affluence and leisure). Today, as the international monetary and trade crisis threatens the stability of the economies of the most advanced capitalist nations, as runaway inflation and spiraling taxation destroy the wage gains of the "affluent society", as the little stability capitalism retains is increasingly based on the mass production of mass destruction, it is clear that, far from having solved its problems, capitalism has only raised them to a new level. Two important factors in this process have been a new stage in the collectivization of capitalism within the national economies and the evolution of new forms of imperialism in the decades since World War II.

#### The Newest Stage of Capitalism

As Marx pointed out, the corporation is a specifically capitalist form of collectivism. It is a social enterprise by which the shareholders collectivize their risks and profits, and it forms an area of planned economy within the boundaries of the unplanned chaos of capitalist production. The increasing concentration of capital into the hands of gigantic corporate monopolies has made these inroads of planning the predominate mode of production. The rise of "conglomerates," huge corporate structures that range across the entire field of capitalist production, reflects the potency of this trend.

By negating, even in a limited fashion, the anarchy of the marketplace, corporate capitalism is able to increase its ability to achieve its goal, the accumulation of more capital. However, this capital, too, must be used. A tiny amount can be splurged on sybaritic corporate headquarters; another tiny amount can be used to "influence public opinion" through grants to foundations and universities; but the vast bulk must be reinvested in such a way that it produces a profit.

This might be done by updating and rationalizing existing productive facilities. This would absorb huge quantities of capital and yield much greater efficiency. However, it would also greatly increase production, which is precisely what the world capitalist economy cannot tolerate. Productive capacity in the advanced countries already far exceeds the ability of the market to absorb production at a profit. To add further capacity would be to court disaster.

Another traditional way to use surplus capital is to export it to areas where it will produce a bigger profit; generally, to the former colonial countries. But as we shall see, the effectiveness of this method has declined to the point where the underde-

veloped countries cannot profitably absorb more than a fraction of the surplus capital produced by the industrial countries, while investment in other advanced countries is a stopgap that only serves to synchronize the onset of crisis.

What is needed, then is a way of investing capital that produces profits but does not aggravate the problem by reproducing capital. In Marx's time this function was filled by what he called Department III of the economy, the production of luxury goods. Since such goods embody social labor, selling them realizes surplus value (loosely, profits); but since they do not re-enter the process of production either as means of production (e.g. machines) or as means of consumption (e.g. food, housing), they do not increase the total amount of capital. This category retains some importance today, as shown by the fantastic speculation in works of art, but it has two disadvantages: first, there is a limit to the amount of capital that can profitably be employed in this way; and second, unless one can compel other countries to use similar proportions of capital in this way, the economy becomes unbalanced and loses its competitive position vis-a-vis other advanced economies.

This is the problem that has given rise to, and sustains, the permanent arms economy: the continuing and increasing production of the means of destruction. The permanent arms economy solves both difficulties of the classic Department III. On the one hand, it is a bottomless pit which can absorb unlimited amounts of capital at a government-guaranteed rate of profit; and on the other hand, it tends to compel the nation's economic rivals, whether they be military allies or opponents, to devote a proportionate amount of capital to the same end, thus stabilizing the position of the economy on the world market. The determination of de Gaulle to build the "force de frappe" and of Nixon to build the ABM system reflects the importance of the permanent arms economy in stabilizing modern capitalism.

However, to the same extent that the permanent arms economy has stabilized modern capitalism, it has also aggravated its internal contradictions. The state intervention represented by the arms budget retards the tendency for the rate of profit to fall, but at the same time the labor embodied in missiles and warheads does not become capital. Stability becomes identical with stagnation, requiring ever-greater amounts of state subsidization, the funds for which must come out of the earnings and living standards of the working class and the middle classes in the form of increased taxation and the inflationary spiral. In this way economic stability creates its own negation, political instability.

At the same time, the permanent arms economy requires a new synthesis of the corporate and state structures, in the form of increasing state regulation and control of the economy in the interests of the corporate monopolies. Just as the corporation collectivizes and bureaucratically plans the activities of its constituent units, so the state collectivizes and plans the activities of the great corporations. Just as the corporation, by col-

lectivizing the role of the individual capitalist, represents a negation of capitalism within its own boundaries, so the interpenetration of corporate and state structures, by collectivizing the role of the individual corporation, raises this negation to a new level. Unless this negation is in turn negated, by the overthrow of the interlocked corporate and state structures and their replacement by a new progressive society, the continued decay of capitalism will increase both the role and the degree of autonomy of the corporate-state bureaucracy. With the disintegration of capitalism, the bureaucracy will have the potential of transforming itself into the organizers and rulers of a new social barbarism.

#### The Role of Modern Imperialism

The classic analysis of capitalist imperialism was made by Lenin, who stated, briefly, that capitalism was impelled by the falling rate of profit to export capital, a need which led to the carving-up of the world into rival empires and yielded super-profits that could be used to insure social peace in the mother country. At the same time he stated that this analysis applied to the imperialism of 1900, the beginning of the decline of capitalism. Today, in the era of the decay of capitalism, the nature of imperialism has changed.

At the end of World War II, the European imperialist powers, bled white by six years of destruction, were unable to resist effectively the Russian occupation of the European heartland or the long series of national independence struggles throughout their empires. These massive blows, combined with the dependence of Europe on American capital, destroyed the old imperialist system. The European powers were forced to adopt "American-style" imperialism, relying more on economic domination than on direct military and political control.

At the same time, the advantage of manufactured goods in the world market and the advent of the permanent arms economy made investment in the underdeveloped countries somewhat less profitable than investment in advanced countries, while the rise of nationalism and anti-imperialism made such investment less safe as well. The amount of capital going to underdeveloped countries increased, but its proportion of the total capital flow decreased. In this way, one effect of the permanent arms economy is to transfer the tendency to stagnation from the advanced to the underdeveloped economies by starving them of capital.

In Lenin's time, the most common form of economic imperialism was the investment of capital by private individuals, either through stocks and bonds or by way of banks, in colonial enterprises. Since World War II, individual investment abroad has practically disappeared in all the imperialist countries. Foreign investment is carried on either by the state itself or by the corporate monopolies, and often jointly by the two. This concentration of imperialist economic power, which reflects the concentration of capital in the imperialist country, is another way in which the dollar, the pound, and the franc have filled the place left by the

governor-general, the gunboat, and the native troops.

In a sense, then, modern economic imperialism is more efficient than its colonialist predecessor. However, like colonialism, it is riddled with contradictions. First, to the extent that foreign investment has shifted to advanced economies, capitalism has internationalized and synchronized its internal crises. The weakening of any industrial economy is immediately reflected in all others. Second, the stagnation that imperialism imposes on the underdeveloped countries creates its own negation in increasingly strong nationalistic currents that threaten the imperialists with expropriation. Third, and most important, capitalist imperialism does not exist in a vacuum: it faces, all over the world, a rival imperialist system the greatest attraction of which is precisely its opposition to capitalist imperialism.

This systematic inter-imperialist struggle, between capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism, has a number of effects on the shape of capitalist imperialism. First, it tends to increase the dependence of Western Europe on the United States, the only capitalist state with the military power to defend capitalism, counteracting the tendency for the national bourgeoisies of Europe to try to break free of U.S. policies and muting the rivalries among the capitalist imperialist powers. Second, it leads to the U.S. policy of defending capitalism on a world scale, independent of specific imperialist interests. This policy helps explain American capitalism's willingness to get involved in Vietnam in spite of its very minor economic stake in that country. Third, it leads to alliances in the underdeveloped countries with the most reactionary social strata, who are the only elements in these societies who can be counted on to defend capitalism. This in turn leads to more vietnams, since these strata can retain power only with the military support of the imperialist countries.

American imperialism tried, in the Alliance for Progress, its support of anti-Diem forces in Vietnam, etc., to break out of this pattern by allying itself with bourgeois liberal forces in the underdeveloped countries. However, because of its organic links on the one hand to the feudal landowners and on the other to the foreign imperialists, the bourgeoisie in these countries is incapable of carrying out the most basic tasks of the bourgeois revolution, the breaking-up of the latifundias and the protection of local industry through tariff barriers, etc. Only the working class, in democratic alliance with the peasantry, is able to carry out these tasks, and only by transcending the limits of capitalism. Moreover, any attempt by the liberal bourgeoisie to carry out the bourgeois revolution in the era of world imperialism, even if the seriousness of the attempt is dubious as in the Dominican revolt of 1965, opens the prospect of permanent revolution. Such a prospect is, of course, unacceptable to imperialism. This deadlock gives rise to Bonapartism, dictatorship by a semi-autonomous military caste that is able to act against the immediate interests of the landowners, the national bourgeoisie, and even the foreign imperialists (as in Peru), in the interests of the system as a whole.



Many people on the left today, having failed to recognize the differences between the imperialism of 1900 and the imperialism of 1969, hold the theory that the success of national liberation struggles in the underdeveloped countries, by depriving the imperialist powers of their markets, sources of raw materials, and outlets for surplus capital, will cause capitalism to smother in its own fat. This theory is wrong. National liberation and anti-imperialist struggles rain hard blows on capitalism, draining its resources into endless wars and exacerbating its internal contradictions, but they cannot defeat it alone. Excess capital can be "plowed under" in the arms business and raw materials can be synthesized.

Moreover, this theory is usually staged by analogy to the city and the countryside, in which the city is strangled by the country. Such an analogy, by pretending that the colonial peoples "are" the working class and the peoples of the imperialist countries "are" the ruling class, is both misleading and reactionary. It ignores class interests and class antagonisms in both the colonial and the imperialist countries and leads, on the one hand, to support of anti-working class forces in the colonial country, and on the other hand, to the notion that the working class of the imperialist country is part of the imperialist ruling class. Among revolutionaries in the colonial countries, such a notion is understandable, if misguided, as a necessary boost to morale. Among those in the imperialist countries, however, it suggests a fatal lack of self-confidence and an unwillingness to undertake the task of building the revolutionary movement in their own countries.

We have shown that the tendencies in decaying capitalism lead, not to any automatic downfall, but to its potential transformation into a corporate bureaucratic state that would surpass the dreams of Mussolini's pet political theorists. Without decisive intervention by the masses in the capitalist countries themselves, that is the direction of the evolution of capitalism. For this reason, the primary task of revolutionaries in the imperialist countries is to work and organize for the day when the masses of people in their own countries begin to make their own history. To do otherwise is vampirism, living off the blood of other people's struggles.

## II. The Nature of Bureaucratic Collectivism

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION of November 1917 was one of the great liberating revolutions in history, and the second, after the Paris Commune, to bring the working class temporarily to state power. However, its success was the capture of one fortress in a war. The loss of the war--the defeat of the European revolution of 1918-1923--inevitably meant its downfall. But this downfall did not take the expected form of a military restoration of capitalism. Instead, while the Soviet state was too strong to fall prey to capitalist restoration, it was too weak in its isolation to resist increasing bureaucratic distortions that led, after Lenin's death, to an internal counterrevolution, led by Stalin. In this coun-

terrevolution, layers of the party and state bureaucracy exploited the reactionary moods among the peasantry to destroy all forms of workers' democracy, in the soviets, the party, and the trade unions, and to crush the proletarian-socialist opposition within the party. These layers then used the state power to eliminate the power of its former peasant base. In this way the state power was made autonomous of all previously-existing social classes and the bureaucracy was transformed into a new ruling class exploiting the masses in new, non-capitalist forms.

This new exploitative system is based on the property form of collectivism, state ownership and control of the means of production, and on the property relations of autonomous control of the state by the bureaucracy. Together these define the social system we have referred to as bureaucratic collectivism. Within the system, membership in the ruling class is determined by one's relationship to the centers of political power in the party and state apparatus, ranging from the member of the Central Committee down to the petty bureaucrat, just as the capitalist class ranges from the big banker down to the hole-in-the-wall sweatshop owner.

By its nature this system is one in which politics and economics are fused; that is, political and economic power are wielded by the identical institutions. This contrasts to systems, such as capitalism or classic slavery, in which there is a disjuncture between economic base and political superstructure. Such systems, because of this disjuncture, can exist either under dictatorships or under limited democracy (e.g. bourgeois democracy in the U.S., slave-democracy in ancient Athens). But a system of the fused type cannot, because the introduction of political democracy of any meaningful sort automatically means the dissolution of economic exploitation. Hence the political form of bureaucratic collectivism is necessarily not only dictatorial but totalitarian, that is, intolerant of all independent centers of power in the society; and not only oppressive but terroristic, that is, based on the free use of force not only to enforce the law but also outside of even the regime's own legal restrictions or framework.

While many of the economic categories known to modern industrial capitalism, such as wages, market-mechanisms, and profit-accounting, continue to exist in form under bureaucratic collectivism, they are no longer filled with the same content. In particular, the economy is no longer regulated by the profit motive and the mechanism of the free market, but by a system of planning-from-above. Therefore a basic contradiction of this social system is between the necessity of planning and the necessity of totalitarian control.

Under capitalism, the market mechanism provides automatic feedback, adapting supply to demand or need and adjusting disproportionalities in the process of production. The system of planning-from-above contains no such automatic mechanism, and the need to control initiative from below shuts off the possibility of feed-back. Thus the planned economy becomes the command economy. But even the wisest Central Planning Commission cannot regulate a complex industrial economy by fiat. The inevitable result

is waste on an unprecedented scale and massive disproportionalities in the production of both capital and consumer goods. The disastrous failure of the Great Leap Forward in China was the result of this contradiction, not of a sinister plot by Liu Shao-Chi. If, nonetheless, bureaucratic collectivism has raised the level of production over the course of decades, it is the result not of the "efficiency of a planned economy" but of an intensity of exploitation equalled, if at all, only by that in the dark, Satanic mills of early-19th century England.

Because of the power, prestige, and international influence of the bureaucratic class depends on the productive capacity of the society, the class goal of the bureaucracy is the continual increase in the means of production. In a planned state-owned economy, the only restraint on this increase in the short run is the need to feed, clothe, and house the workers, peasants, and "middle classes." Hence the tendency in Russia and Eastern Europe has been to concentrate the maximum resources in Department I, the production of capital goods, and the bare minimum in Department II, the production of the means of consumption. For the working class, the peasantry, and even the "middle classes," however, the goal of production is not further production, but consumption. This creates a second basic contradiction in bureaucratic collectivism, between the drive by all classes except the bureaucracy to increase the standard of living and the drive by the bureaucracy to keep the standard of living low in order to maximize capital growth.

Another contradiction that helps determine the forms of struggle under bureaucratic collectivism is between the class nature of the bureaucracy and the image of itself that it projects both for itself and for the other classes, between the ideology of communism, and the reality of class oppression. Just as, under capitalism, the ideology of democracy, if taken seriously, leads to revolutionary struggle against capitalism, so the ideology of communism, taken seriously, leads to revolutionary struggle against bureaucratic collectivism. In fact, these struggles for democracy and for communism are aspects of the single worldwide struggle for socialist freedom and socialist democracy.

Because of its fused nature, bureaucratic collectivism is necessarily more rigid than capitalism, but it retains limited flexibility. "Liberalization," by and primarily for the bureaucracy and the "middle classes" is possible, but only within fixed limits dictated by the essential need to maintain a monolithic society. Had the Russians not invaded Czechoslovakia, the liberalization could only have ended, and very quickly, either in the suppression of the popular movement by the Czech bureaucracy or in a popular revolution against the bureaucracy. It was to prevent the possibility of the latter that the Russian tanks moved in.

This implies, and the uprisings in East Berlin (1953), Poland and Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia demonstrate, that revolts against a bureaucratic collectivist regime necessarily follow the pattern of permanent revolution. Every open economic struggle must be raised to a political struggle, since the only economic

master is the state, and every democratic struggle must be raised to a socialist struggle, since the victory of democracy in a collectivist state means the socialist transformation of society.

#### Forces in Bureaucratic Collectivism Today

In addition to its basic internal contradictions, bureaucratic collectivism is wracked internally by two chief forces, nationalism and imperialism. These are parallel to, but not identical to, the tendencies within capitalism of the same name.

Once the bureaucratic collectivist system spread beyond the borders of the Soviet Union and was firmly established in Eastern Europe, the differentiation of the national bureaucracies was inevitable. Significantly, the first open break came from Yugoslavia, the only regime in Central Europe that had come to power independently of the Russian army. The Russians met this break with deep, but frustrated, hostility.

Similarly, foreseeing the dangers to its hegemony over other bureaucratic collectivist states that a second large and powerful bureaucratic collectivist state would present, the Russian bureaucracy tried from the '30s on to block the march to power of the Chinese Communist Party. This obstructionism, which continued in disguised form after the CCP took power, was intended to keep China subservient to Russia but instead helped provoke the current split.

By 1956, the rise of Gomulka in Poland indicated that the Russians were willing to allow a measure of independence to the national bureaucracies, if only to prevent the national struggle from being raised to the level of a struggle against the bureaucracy itself. It is no accident that Czechoslovakia, whose national bureaucracy refrained from stressing the question of national independence but could not control internal dissent, was invaded, while Rumania, whose bureaucracy maintains firm internal control, is able to defy Russia on national and foreign policy questions loudly and with apparent impunity.

In addition to these nationalist conflicts within the ruling class, many of the bureaucratic collectivist regimes face the possibility of self-determination struggles by national minorities within their borders. Some of the minorities within Russia, such as the Ukrainians and Georgians, have a long history of resistance to Great-Russian imperialism. The Slovak national movement played an important, if sometimes dubious, role in the Czechoslovak events of 1968. The Titoist regime this year suppressed the movement of its Albanian national minority. And it appears that Russia and China are each trying to stimulate nationalist sentiments among the other's Mongolian minority.

Russian imperialism shares some of its motives and drives with capitalist imperialism, such as the desire to grab cheap sources of raw materials and "buffer" zones of military-strategic importance. Other motives and drives, however, are specific to bureaucratic collectivism. The power and privileges of the bureau-

cratic class rest on the surplus labor it extracts from the working masses; this creates a drive to maximize the number of workers controlled by the apparatus. At the same time, since bureaucratic privileges are the reward for the ruling class and for aspirants to the ruling class, the state needs a widening base for bureaucratic posts, a need which the expanded state structure of an empire meets.

The economy of Russia as well as of the other bureaucratic collectivist states is still starved for capital. Thus while for capitalism one function of imperialism is the profitable export of excess capital, one of its functions for this period of bureaucratic collectivism is the import of capital. Russian expansion into Eastern Europe at the end of World War II was in part dictated by this need, which was fulfilled by wholesale looting, including the dismantling of entire factories for transportation to Russia. This same need underlies Russia's current economic relations with Eastern Europe and Cuba, and formerly with China.

Among the mechanisms by which capital is extracted is the levy of direct or indirect tribute on the subordinate partner. For example, Russia and Rumania participate in a joint company to exploit Rumanian oil resources but not, needless to say, Russian oil resources. By arbitrary price-setting, Russia is able to buy from her client states at below world market prices and sell at above world market prices, yielding super-profits even above the built-in advantage of exchanging manufactured goods for raw materials.

Both as a result of this tribute and as a deliberate policy, Russian imperialism subordinates the economies of its client states to its own, seriously distorting the subordinate economies. For example, Russian policy demands that the South Balkan countries continue in the role of breadbaskets, at the expense of industrialization. This policy was at the root of Tito's revolt in 1948 and is doubtless an important factor in the current anti-Russian course of the Rumanian bureaucracy. Similarly, Russian trade treaties have forced the Cuban regime to abandon its plans for economic diversification and to return to the one-crop economy.

We have concentrated on Russian imperialism because, as the most advanced bureaucratic collectivist state, Russia displays the trends of the system most clearly. However, just as every advanced capitalist state, from the U.S. to the Netherlands, is subject to the same imperialist drives, but some are more able to act on them, so the roots of bureaucratic collectivist imperialism are inherent in all advanced bureaucratic collectivist states. Thus Yugoslavia, itself the victim of Russian imperialism, has played an imperialist role toward Albania.

China, however, is a somewhat different case. Because the country is locked in the period of primitive accumulation, its imperialism remains more a matter of class choice than of class necessity. The Tibetan land-grab and the present adventures in Mongolia and along the Siberian border reflect the contradictions in Chinese society, but they do not flow inexorably from them. Hence Chinese imperialism is more political than economic; although



it may bring economic benefits, its primary purpose is to divert attention from internal political contradictions rather than to relieve intolerable economic contradictions. It follows from this that the course of Chinese imperialism is less determined than that of Russian imperialism and that it is capable of both irresponsible adventurism and conciliationism beyond that which the Russian system would permit.

#### The Future of Bureaucratic Collectivism

Classical slavery existed for hundreds of centuries before it collapsed. Feudalism dominated Europe for an entire millenium. Capitalism's heyday lasted three hundred years before the system started to decline, and the period of its death agony may consume another century. Bureaucratic collectivism, after only forty years, has begun to show the symptoms of decay.

These symptoms reflect the insoluble nature of the contradiction in the system between the need for planning and the need for totalitarian control. In Russia, the alternation between "soft" and "hard" lines [in journalese, de-Stalinization and Stalinization] represents two strategies for resolving this contradiction. Under the softs, the bureaucracy tries to stimulate feedback from below, for example by urging workers to report the incompetence of their factory managers to the local party secretary or by putting a new set of bureaucrats to oversee the activities of an older set of bureaucrats. In short, the soft strategy consists of trying to correct bureaucratic distortions by bureaucratic means. When this not only fails but leads to a loosening of control over the masses and stirrings of discontent, the hards take over and try their strategy.

This consists of clamping the lid on dissent and increasing the power of the central planners, and usually includes a more or less harsh campaign of terror against factory managers and workers who fail to meet their quota. This strategy also fails, first, because without feedback the plan introduces increasing disproportionalities into the production process, and second, because the effect of terror in small quantities is to increase corruption at every level. Thefts and diversions of resources spread throughout the economy as lower-level bureaucrats try to find the materials to meet their quotas. Production figures are falsified, introducing another wild factor into the planners' calculations. In large quantities, terror immobilizes initiative altogether, leaving the planners cut off from the economy by a fog of fear. The cumulative effect is economic disorganization, which temporarily discredits the hards and brings the softs back to power with a mandate to try their strategy again.

The newest form of the soft strategy involves the introduction of certain bourgeois devices, such as cost-accounting and an approximation of the market system. These reforms, or "Liberianism," have been interpreted by some, including the Chinese, as leading to capitalist restoration in Russia. This interpretation mistakes form for content. Just as capitalism, in the period of its decay, attempts to resolve its internal contradictions by introducing

forms typical of bureaucratic collectivism, such as the statification and plannification of the economy, but fills them with a capitalist content, the private ownership and control of the means of production, so bureaucratic collectivism attempts to resolve its internal contradictions by introducing bourgeois forms and filling them with a bureaucratic collectivist content, the state ownership and autonomous bureaucratic control of the means of production. But Libermanism, like less sophisticated soft strategies, is doomed to fail because it ultimately leads either to a resurgence of the hards or to attempts by the masses to assert control over the apparatus.

The course of events in China parallels that in Russia but with important differences. The Stalinist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union came to power in a nation that, while backward vis-a-vis the advanced capitalist countries, possessed many untapped natural resources and a small but modern industrial plant. In China, the bureaucratic revolution came to power in a country in which the most intensive agriculture barely sufficed to ward off famine and which had only one province, Manchuria, with any significant industry. The last twenty years in China can be seen as a special case of the law of combined and uneven development: while the economy is still locked in the stage of primitive accumulation, the efforts of the bureaucracy to extract capital from the working masses have accelerated and raised to a new level the basic economic contradiction. Where in Russia the alternation of "hard" and "soft" policies leads to confusion and disorganization, in China the strategy of emphasizing central planning mechanisms in the Great Leap Forward, caused economic chaos and the strategy of increasing feedback from below, in the Cultural Revolution, led to the brink of political collapse. The new emphasis, since the 1969 CCP Congress, on the role of the army and the Party indicates the strength of the centrifugal forces at work in the Chinese economy and the overwhelming need to counteract these forces by strengthening the centers. Thus bureaucratic collectivism in China has telescoped its rise and its decay into a single period, and may well experience the crisis of the system sooner and in a more mature form than Russia itself.

#### The Nature of the Communist Parties

Among those on the left who dismiss the pretensions of the Communist Parties to be the vanguard of the working class, there are two widespread views on the nature of these parties. [Maoists sometimes view the CPs as fascist agents, but this view need not be dealt with.] The first is that the CPs, especially in the West, have become reformist parties, parallel to the social democracy, and have capitulated to capitalism. The second is that the CPs are essentially political arms of Russian foreign policy and not parties in the traditional sense at all.

There is much to be said for both these views. The program and actions of the French and Italian CPs, the largest in the West, certainly appear reformist, if not capitulationist. Both parties have taken the lead in fighting against revolutionary activity by the masses, at the end of World War II and more recently during

the French crisis. At the same time, the classic flip-flops in line by the CPs in response to the lightest breeze from Moscow certainly demonstrate the subserviance of these parties to Russian policy, although the rise of independent bureaucratic collectivist centers, Peking and to a lesser extent Havana, has loosened this dependency to some extent, as demonstrated by the reactions to the Czech invasion among Western CPs.

The reformist view of the CPs, however, cannot deal with one glaring fact: the enduring and bitter hostility of the bourgeoisie to these parties. The ruling class was quick to sense that they had nothing to fear from the social democracy, quicker in fact than most social democrats, and to understand that a strong social democracy was their best protection against revolution. But their class instincts inform them that the CPs, however reformist they may sound and however useful they may be in particular crises, represent a class enemy.

In this, the bourgeois' class instincts are correct. To some extent the Communist Parties represent an arm of Russian foreign policy, but in addition they are the political arm of an embryonic national bureaucratic class. That is, their actions insofar as the bureaucracies of the CPs represent an alternative way of organizing society, are determined by the intention to replace the rule of the capitalist class by the rule of a new bureaucratic class of which they constitute the nucleus. This aspect of the CPs helps explain some of the apparent inconsistencies in their actions. For example, the line of the French CP during May 1968 was doubtless influenced by Russia's desire to maintain its detente with the U.S., but the critical factor was the inability of the CP bureaucracy to control events. Had the revolt deepened and broadened, it could have had only two outcomes: a brutal repression of the left, including the CP bureaucracy; or a proletarian revolution out of the control of the CP bureaucracy. In either case the class interest of the apparatus demanded that it prevent the revolt from reaching such a stage, as indeed it did.

This is not to say that many of the rank and file Communists are not valiant and praiseworthy militants. They are. But just as the Parisian artisans of 1789 fought and died in their own battles, only to establish the rule of their class enemy, the bourgeoisie, so the CP rank and file is fighting in the wrong cause, the cause of the bureaucracy which is an enemy of the working class.

Among traditional Communist Parties their nature as the arm of a new ruling class is disguised somewhat by their continued adherence to a prostituted Marxism. It is more clearly enunciated in the theories of Mao, Guevara, and Debray, which explicitly reject the perspective of proletarian revolution and put forward in its place a revolution based on the peasantry and led by the bureaucracy, against the urban proletariat as well as the bourgeoisie and landowners. These theories give theoretical form to the actual course of the first stage of the Stalinist counterrevolution against the Soviet state. They also stand Marx on his head, using every consideration which he pointed to as showing that the

peasantry cannot take power as a class in its own name as a reason for basing the bureaucratic revolution on the peasantry.

Because these theories touch reality only in the context of an underdeveloped country, Maoism has proved incapable of building a working-class base in any advanced capitalist country. The "orthodox" CPs of France and Italy are still largely based on the working class, but this base is steadily shrinking and reflects the reformist programs and tactics of the CPs rather than their basic opposition to capitalism. In other advanced capitalist countries the Communist Parties are able to grow, or even to survive, only to the extent that they pre-empt the position of revolutionary opposition to capitalism. In this they are immeasurably aided by bourgeois ideology, which ascribes every attempt at basic social change to "the Communists."

If the realities of bureaucratic collectivist society have made theories of bureaucratic collectivism unpalatable to the working class of the advanced countries, however, they have at the same time had a fatal attraction for many students and intellectuals. These elements, while repelled by the brutality and inhumanity of monopoly capitalism, see no social force that is able to transform society in the direction of socialism. The working class, to them, is at the same time a leaden, reactionary mass and an idealized revolutionary abstraction. Thus the only way forward that they see is an elitist revolution followed by an "educational dictatorship" that will prepare the working class for power. What they fail to see is that the only way the working class can prepare itself to exercise state power is through the concrete experience of struggle against its oppressors, through its self-organization and self-emancipation. Elitist theories use concern for workers as an ideology to mask the interests of the elites, interests that are opposed to the interests of the working class.

#### "Peaceful Coexistence"

A reactionary social system cannot co-exist indefinitely with a progressive social system, if only because the existence of the progressive system intensifies the contradictions within the reactionary system. In such a situation, war, revolution, or counterrevolution is inevitable. But the world crisis of today is not of this sort. Instead, two rival social systems, both of them reactionary, face each other and at the same time face the potentiality of a progressive system.

The three-way nature of the present struggle for the world together with the new technology of mass destruction, modifies the tendencies toward war inherent in any inter-imperialist rivalry by making the outbreak of world war pose the threat of the destruction of society as such or of what is equally abhorrent to a ruling class, the abolition of its class rule. This creates considerable pressures in the direction of detente or "peaceful coexistence," by creating a commonality of class interests between the two alternative ruling classes.

In particular situations the commonality of interests between a capitalist class and a bureaucratic class may be even stronger than the bonds of class interest between the ruling classes of two nations with the same social system. In World War II the threat of Germany's imperialist ambitions led Britain and the U.S. to ally themselves with Stalinist Russia and even to divide the world in an amicable imperialist fashion at the close of the war. Russia's imperialist gains from that war, together with the success of national independence struggles in the capitalist empires, forced the European capitalist states into the protective grasp of the U.S., creating the two great cold war blocs. But the recovery of the European capitalist economies and the rise of national-bureaucratic tendencies in the Russian bloc tended to rupture the unity of the blocs, as demonstrated on the one hand by Gaullism and on the other by Maoism.

In the present period the line-up of nations in a particular crisis cannot be predicted by the nature of their social systems except where the nature of the crisis is a direct conflict between the two social systems. In the border war between India and China, the U.S. and Russia both aided India; both Britain and Russia are aiding the Nigerians against Biafra while Portugal aids Biafra and the U.S. attempts to stay out of the conflict. Even in the direct confrontation of systems in Vietnam, the two great powers have tried to avoid a confrontation with each other. At the height of the bombing of North Vietnam, American pilots had strict orders to avoid Russian ships, and when the North was under the greatest pressure Russia declined to relieve the pressure by, for example, provoking a mini-crisis over Berlin.

Nor is it excluded that the rivalry between Russian and Chinese imperialism could lead to a war in which the capitalist powers would take a passive or active role of support to the side that seemed best to accord with their own interests. At the moment, however, despite the recent border clashes and a good deal of wishful thinking in bourgeois circles, this appears to be a remote possibility.

The possibility of peaceful co-existence does not mean the end of the cold war. These two phenomena are symmetrical reflections of the three-way struggle for the world: peaceful co-existence--of the two class systems against the potential of socialism; cold war--of the two class systems against each other. For this reason, while revolutionary socialists oppose the cold war and fight the cold war policies of both sides, they do not do so in the name of peaceful co-existence. The struggle against war demands, not an imperial peace of the two ruling classes against the oppressed, but the overthrow of the ruling classes by the oppressed.

### III. The Underdeveloped Countries

SINCE WORLD WAR II almost every ideological current has placed many of its fondest hopes on the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. For the proponents of "people's capitalism," these countries were the stage on which the West would win the battle for the hearts and minds of men. Apologists for Russia



predicted that the economic superiority of bureaucratic collectivism in developing the underdeveloped countries would prove that it was the wave of the future. And a good many radicals hoped that the "positive neutralism" and "agrarian socialism" of such nations as India, Egypt, and Indonesia would somehow restrain the missile-rattling of the two cold-war blocs and by example lead the peoples of the world to socialism.

Events have cast down all these hopes, East, West, and in between. The effect of capitalism on the underdeveloped economies has not been to set off rapid industrialization but to enforce stagnation. Nor has bureaucratic collectivism demonstrated a capacity to do any better. And neither positive neutralism nor agrarian socialism have noticeably moderated the cold war or improved the lot of the masses.

The reason for this universal disappointment is straightforward, if disheartening: there is no solution to the problems of the underdeveloped countries in the context of today's world. Both the capitalist road and the bureaucratic collectivist road lead nowhere. Symptoms of decay, in social systems as in corpses, appear first at the outer extremities, and in the underdeveloped countries the decay of both world imperialist systems is most clearly seen. If one of the criteria for the progressiveness of a social system is its ability to advance the development of the means of production, the plight of the 'Third World' demonstrates the reactionary nature of both systems.

#### The Capitalist Road

In discussing the features of capitalist imperialism it was noted that one of the effects of the permanent arms economy is to transfer the locus of stagnation inherent in decaying capitalism from the advanced to the underdeveloped economies. The extent of this stagnation can hardly be overdrawn. During the 1950's for example, the growth rates of the most advanced 'Third World' economies, such as Brazil, Argentina, Egypt, and India, were below those of the U.S. and Western Europe, which were not in good health themselves. In many cases, the rate of population increase equals or even outstrips the rate of economic growth, indicating a steady worsening of conditions. Far from "taking off," as some liberal economists pretend, the economies of these countries, in relation both to the world economy and to their own populations, are standing still or losing ground.

The reasons for this are inherent in the laws of capitalist growth. To compete successfully on the world market, an industry must function on the same level of technology and must be served by an infrastructure, power, transportation, etc., of a similar efficiency as its competitors. Today this means that industry must use a big amount of capital in relation to its use of labor, or have a high organic composition of capital. But the underdeveloped countries, almost by definition, are short on capital and long on labor power. This excludes the possibility of competing in manufacturing. The other course open is to take what native capital there is, together with foreign capital, and put it into

the exploitation of natural resources, that is, plantations, mines, oil fields.

This course, however, is not a solution. First, as the level of technology increases, the proportion of the value of manufactured goods that is attributable to raw materials declines. This means that underdeveloped countries must export an increasing volume of raw materials in order to buy the same volume of manufactured goods. Second, the demand for raw materials is relatively stable and unaffected by price changes, which means that a relatively small overproduction will drive the price down a great deal. Third, the production of industrial goods is highly monopolized, a factor that tends to stabilize prices at a high level, but the production of raw materials tends to be divided among many states and producers. All these factors contribute to a tendency for the prices of raw materials to decline relative to the prices of manufactured goods. This is especially true for agricultural products and less so for ore and oil, but in this case the dependence of the national economy on a single product (tin in Bolivia, oil in the Middle East) leaves the country at the mercy of the monopolies in the advanced countries.

The dilemma of the underdeveloped countries, then, is that the preconditions for the development of a modern industrial base do not exist and the only path by which the economy can compete on the world market bleeds the resources of the country and strengthens its ties to foreign imperialism. In a few cases in which native capitalists have tried to break out of the dilemma by taking over imperialist holdings, as in Iran in 1951 or Guatamala in 1954, the response by the CIA was prompt and effective.

The prospects for social change depends upon the relationship among class forces, which is, of course, different from country to country in the Third World. However, there are enough similarities to make it possible to analyse in general terms the dynamic of these societies.

The most important social classes in the underdeveloped countries are the landowners; the native capitalists; the comprador capitalists, or those directly in the pay of foreign imperialism; the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia; the working class; the peasantry; and the lumpen mass, concentrated in the urban slums. Change in the society is the result of the interaction of roles and interests among these classes, with the addition of the military officer caste, which sometimes plays a semi-independent role.

For many purposes, the landowners, native capitalists, and compradors can be treated as a single class. In a semi-agrarian society, much of the capital used by the native bourgeois comes either from the landowners or through the compradors from imperialist sources. The classes are also commonly linked by ties of blood and marriage. However, their class interests are by no means identical. The native capitalist may find himself in unequal competition with foreign capital to which the comprador is tied. The landowner may find his traditional power and privileges threatened by the modernization and rationalization so necessary to the native

capitalist. These class conflicts often provide openings through which the officer caste, drawn from all three upper classes but in some degree independent of their specific interests, can assert itself.

The intelligentsia in the underdeveloped countries is a far more volatile class than its counterpart in the advanced countries. The ideology of the ruling classes puts great emphasis on education as a means to progress, but the stagnation of the economy prevents the bulk of the educated from finding jobs in line with their expectations. Those with marketable skills, such as medicine, the sciences, or engineering, tend to emigrate to advanced countries. The rest stay behind, an indigestible mass of liberal-arts graduates and unpracticed lawyers. Because their hopes have been so disappointed and their futures are so bleak, many of the intellectuals become revolutionary. But because their disappointed hopes were of rising into the ruling classes, their revolutionism tends to be strongly elitist and they are drawn to the more elitist revolutionary theories such as Maoism. The strength of this tendency is inversely proportional to the strength in the particular country of a revolutionary-democratic mass movement, for such movements act as a strong check on elitist notions, while the absence of such a movement leads to a sense of futility and desperation that in turn impels the isolated intellectual toward the elitist-putschist conceptions of a Régis Debray.

The working class of an underdeveloped country, like its industrial sector, is relatively small, but this does not necessarily mean that it is backward; in many cases, quite the opposite. While the industries of the country may be few, they tend to concentrate large numbers of workers in a single plant or locale, as with the mining districts of the Congo or Bolivia, the oil fields of Venezuela or Iran, the docks of Calcutta or Buenos Aires. This coming together and working together of large numbers of workers in the country's centers of political and economic power gives the working class of an underdeveloped country a social weight far out of proportion to its numbers. As a result, the working class is able to make social and economic gains that are beyond the reach of the peasantry. This fact has led some radicals in advanced countries to believe that these workers, who through their own struggles, have reached the borderline of poverty while the peasants remain trapped in its depths, have somehow become part of the ruling classes. This is an absurd and reactionary notion. Only in the course of its own struggles can the working class test the limits of capitalist society and discover that, to preserve and extend the gains it has made, it must burst through those limits.

The peasants of the underdeveloped countries suffer all the limitations Marxists have ascribed to peasants generally: an illiterate, atomized existence, bounded by the borders of a small piece of land, isolated from the centers of power in society, and prevented from developing any consciousness of the broader questions in society. These limitations, combined with almost unimaginable poverty, make of the peasantry a class that is slow to move, but extremely volatile once in motion; capable of astonishing bursts of revolutionary enthusiasm, but incapable of sustained revolutionary activity. The centralization and modernization of agriculture by the big land-

owners puts additional pressure on the peasantry, forcing many to move to the urban slums, many to become wage-laborers on the big estates, and deepening the poverty of those who continue to cling to the land.

A huge urban lumpen population has become a feature of most underdeveloped countries, brought into being by the destruction of the independent peasantry and the inability of industry to grow rapidly. This mass of people, cast by society into the depths of hopelessness, shares many of the class characteristics of the peasantry. Their despair can lead both to apathy and to desperate action, and the conditions of their existence pit them against each other rather than in common struggle against their oppressors. But unlike the peasantry, they are located in the urban centers, giving them a social importance greater than that of the peasantry. In normal times their chief effect is to put the working class on the defensive by forming a huge reserve army of unemployed. In times of social change they, like the peasantry, tend to follow the lead of the most decisive elements of other classes, whether in a quasi-fascist, bureaucratic-collectivist, or revolutionary-democratic direction.

Because a cheap supply of labor is both an attraction for foreign capital and a necessity to native capital, the working class of the underdeveloped countries is under constant pressure from the ruling classes and the state. As long as the working class movement confines itself to reformist and trade-union forms of struggle, the urban mass and the peasantry can be used as weapons against it by the ruling classes. But when the working-class movement adopts a revolutionary perspective, it can enlist these forces, which have nothing to gain from bourgeois rule, under its banner. Hence even to defend the gains it has wrested from capitalism, the working class is pushed in the direction of a revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Because of its minority position in the society, it must attract other oppressed classes to its struggle. Because of its social weight and its experience in collective class action, it alone has the consciousness and cohesiveness to lead such a struggle to victory. For these reasons the perspective of revolutionary socialists in the underdeveloped countries, as in the advanced countries, is one of proletarian revolution.

In those underdeveloped countries that are under the domination of an imperialist power, revolutionary socialists support struggles against the foreign oppressor for self-determination and national liberation, first, because this is a democratic demand whose fulfillment is a precondition for socialism, and second, because the presence of a foreign oppressor tends to mute the class struggle in the oppressed country, locking the society together in opposition to the imperialist. Only when the imperialist is out of the way does the basic class struggle between the working class and its allies and the native bourgeoisie open up, and only this class struggle can lead to socialism.

However, the manner in which socialists support national liberation struggles varies with the nature of the political movement that is leading the struggle. At no point are socialists justified

in subordinating the interests of the working-class and socialist movement to those of representatives of other classes. When, as is usually the case, the national liberation movement is led by such representatives, whether they represent the native bourgeoisie, as in the Indian independence movement, or a bureaucratic collectivist class, as in Vietnam, the socialist approach is to actively support, by military or other means, the national struggle, but to remain in political opposition to those in the movement, including the leadership, who do not represent the interests of the working class.

In armed conflicts that do not have the character of a national liberation struggle against a foreign oppressor, the attitude of revolutionary socialists is determined by a concrete analysis of the class bases and class interests of the opposing sides. Depending on this, the revolutionary movement may lend military support to one or the other side, give critical political support to one side, or intervene in an independent role. The manner in which any of these courses is carried out depends on the relationship of forces in the conflict.

#### The Bureaucratic Collectivist Road

The predominate mode of social organization in the underdeveloped countries today is capitalism--superimposed upon feudal or even tribal social forms in many cases, but essentially capitalist. The handful of bureaucratic collectivist regimes in the Third World have had to gain power against the opposition of the existing ruling classes and the foreign imperialists, and to do this they have had to base their revolution on the peasantry. These two factors shape from the beginning the development of bureaucratic collectivism in an underdeveloped country.

The first factor, the struggle for power, means that the new regime takes over an economy that has been disorganized and perhaps partially destroyed and that essential middle-class elements, those with technical skills, may have fled. To counteract this, the Chinese CP during its march to power and for a considerable period afterwards offered broad concessions to "patriotic capitalists" and technicians, that is, those who would stay. This "solution" of course brings with it its own problems, since these elements represent a potential threat to the bureaucracy's control that must be dealt with in turn.

The second factor, the dependence of the bureaucracy on the peasants, raises both immediate and long-term problems. The class ambition of the peasant is to have enough land of his own to support his family, and it is precisely on a program of land reform that the bureaucratic collectivist is able to mobilize a mass peasant base. With the seizure of power, he is forced to carry out this program of land to the peasants. However, a system of small private landholdings is a negation of bureaucratic collectivism, first because it gives the peasantry an independent base in the economy and second because this base, the production of food, is the center of Department II, consumption, in an underdeveloped economy. As we have seen, the class goal of the bureaucracy is to develop Department I, the production of capital goods, at the expense of Department II. This



means that agriculture must be brought under the direct control of the state.

The first important crisis in the development of a bureaucratic collectivist state is for this reason the crisis of collectivization of the land. The implementation of this policy arouses widespread resistance, which may reach the level of armed revolt, as in North Vietnam in 1956-7.

Even if the regime successfully weathers the land collectivization crisis, the backward, predominantly peasant, nature of the society creates further problems and multiplies the effect of the contradiction between a planned economy and a totalitarian society. National economic planning, in addition to accurate information from below, requires both a network of effective communications throughout the country and the existence of a class that is able to think in terms of the nation as a whole. Workers are molded by the conditions of their lives into such a class, but peasants as peasants are capable at most of generalizing to the scale of a village economy. Insofar as the role of the working class in a bureaucratic revolution is limited to at most passive support for the "national liberators," the "middle classes" of the new regime--the lower-level administrators, managers, army officers, etc.--tend to be drawn precisely from the ranks of the peasantry. In itself, this would be a fairly minor problem, but when combined with the difficulty of communications in an undeveloped economy, it tends to splinter the society along regional and provincial lines, as each minor bureaucracy goes its own way.

In the absence of the automatic market mechanisms of capitalism, such provincialism leads quickly to grotesque economic problems that reflect the complete breakdown of planning. At this point, to preserve its rule, the bureaucracy must attempt to centralize and strengthen its control over the state and economic apparatus. However, such an attempt, if resisted, widens the fissures in the edifice of bureaucratic control and poses the threat that one of the factions will try to win support from the masses. The outrage of the Chinese CP at the "economism" (i.e. willingness to grant workers higher wages) of some of its dissidents during the Cultural Revolution shows that the bureaucracy is well aware of the danger that any intervention by the masses poses to its class rule.

Even if it survives these crises, a bureaucratic collectivist regime in an underdeveloped country, like its bourgeois counterpart, must face the overwhelming fact that the capital for industrialization must come from somewhere. One cannot build tractors out of mudpies. If the capital is not available from foreign imperialists (or from "fraternal socialist countries" that are themselves capital-starved), it must come from the only other available source: the backs of the peasantry. The only basis for the often-heard claim that bureaucratic collectivism, unlike capitalism, can solve the problems of the underdeveloped countries is that it is better at exploiting the peasants. Given the inherent sources of resistance, waste, and inefficiency in bureaucratic collectivism, this is a doubtful advantage, even to those for whom "exploitation" is an abstract concept of something that happens to other people.

For a Marxist, whose goal is the abolition of exploitation, it is the reverse of an advantage.

#### Toward a Revolutionary Program

We have stated that there is no solution to the crisis of the underdeveloped countries in the context of today's world. This does not mean, however, that we advise revolutionaries in the underdeveloped countries to sit back and wait for the revolution in the advanced countries. On the contrary, in an era in which the world productive forces are ripe and even over-ripe for a socialist transformation, it is the duty of revolutionary socialists everywhere to organize and struggle for the socialist revolution. At the same time we recognize that such a revolution, if it remains isolated in a single country, cannot retain power indefinitely and must fall prey to counterrevolution, either from foreign imperialism or through its own bureaucratic degeneration. For this reason, the two key-stones of a revolutionary program in such a situation are encouraging the spread of the revolution internationally and fighting a holding action internally.

In the era of the decay of capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism, the success of the socialist revolution in a single country would send shock waves through every society in the world. It might well be followed by other revolutions, and would certainly lead to a massive growth in the revolutionary movements of other countries. Such a development would be at once the best defense and the best hope of survival of the revolutionary regime.

Internally, the success of the revolution would unleash the productive forces of the country, not merely in some abstract economic sense, but in the enthusiasm of the workers and peasants for their state. Since the class goal of the state would be neither production for profit, as in capitalism, nor production for production, as in bureaucratic collectivism, but production for consumption, there would be an immediate, if necessarily limited, rise in living standards of the population. Economic growth would probably be channelled mainly into modernization of agriculture, light industry, and manufacturing directly related to the chief resources of the economy, such as food processing and packing or metal refining.

Politically, the regime would be organized on the basis of the fullest possible democracy and control from below, with special emphasis on controlling the spread of bureaucracy and elitist tendencies. In this way a socialist regime might extend its life from a matter of months to a matter of years. But in an economy of scarcity, someone must divide up the shortages, and that leads back, in Marx's words, to "the old shit." Without massive aid that can only come from a socialist revolution in an advanced industrial country, socialist democracy in an underdeveloped country cannot survive indefinitely.

A revolutionary program for the underdeveloped countries is not a panacea, because the objective situation of these economies permits no panaceas. In the short run it offers the

broad masses of people control over the state and the ability to decide for themselves the direction of the economy. In the long run it holds out only the possibility of full economic, political and social development, dependent on the success of the revolution in other countries. The difference between this and the perspectives of both capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism is that they offer only the continuation of class rule, poverty, misery and exploitation.

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[Note: Section IV, to be added, will include analyses and positions on Vietnam, the Middle East, etc.]

ISC RESOLUTION ON AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, THE NLF  
AND THE RIGHT OF THE VIETNAMESE TO SELF-DETERMINATION

As revolutionary socialists our immediate enemy is American capitalism and its imperialism. It is this American capitalism that is the immediate enemy of the Vietnamese people in their struggle for self determination. It is the immediate enemy of the Black liberation movement and the demand for a decent life by the American working class at home. It is the immediate enemy of the thousands of American soldiers who have been and are being slaughtered in its imperialist wars. The defeat of this imperialism would be a victory for all of these victims.

For socialists, however, opposition to acts of imperialist aggression from whatever source is not a total political program. Such opposition for example, does not begin to answer the question of what political attitude socialists take towards the government or political parties leading the struggle against imperialism. In fact, the defense of the right of nations to self determination only raises that question in a particularly sharp form. The right of self-determination arises in a serious way only when a government whose political and social programs you do not support is concerned. When socialists supported the Russian Revolution against foreign armies in 1918 or the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 they based their support in the main on the workers democracy that ruled in these two countries. It was this workers' democracy that socialists held up as a positive alternative to the imperialist powers. The question of self-determination arose as a primary consideration mainly in the case of assaults by imperialists on reactionary regimes. The most obvious cases being the attack on Ethiopia by Italian fascism, the attack by Japan on the China of Chiang-Kai-Shek, or the threatened invasion of Tito's Yugoslavia by Russia in 1948.

NATIONAL AND CLASS OPPRESSION

Socialists support the struggle against imperialist attack not because they consider the class struggle to be of secondary importance, even temporarily, but for precisely the opposite reason. One of the reactionary features of imperialism is its tendency to obscure and dampen the class struggle in the oppressed country. As long as it has not been decided that a country will be ruled by an indigenous social force or political grouping the question of which indigenous class will rule is clearly the second point on the agenda. The popular movement, however, fights the foreign invader because it is opposed to oppression in general whereas the native rulers or aspiring rulers fight to replace the foreign exploiter. The tensions that result in any movement for national liberation inevitably to an appeal for class peace by the local ruling classes. The answer of revolutionary socialists has been that a principled opposition to all forms of oppression is the most effective means of carrying on the fight for national liberation. The attempt to limit the struggle to the aim of driving out the foreigner tends to undermine even that struggle itself. Conversely, it is only by presenting itself as the most consistent defender of self-determination that the socialist movement can counter the demagogy of such "freedom fighters" as Chiang-Kai-Shek, Tito or Ho Chih Minh.

## THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN VIETNAM AND THE FIGHT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

The Vietnamese Communist movement has been characterized by a tenacious dedication to the Stalinist principles on which it was founded. It has held to the notion that the only salvation for Vietnam or any other underdeveloped country is its modernization and industrialization under a dictatorship which disciplines the peasantry and the working class. In a world dominated economically by a handful of imperialist states, a state of affairs which the Communist movement accepts as basically unchangeable, the only social force capable of doing this is a stalinist bureaucracy organized by and under the dictatorship of the Communist Party. This dictatorship is considered to be in the best interests of the people and indeed to be "serving the people". Such consciousness is indispensable to any ruling class but need not be taken at face value by socialists. It is from this point of view that the leadership of the CP, especially Ho Chih Minh, has judged the liberation movement. When the CP has been able to control that movement it has led it in struggle without any of the hesitations or ambiguities that have hampered the attempts of nationalists who based themselves on the comprador bourgeoisie that grew up under French colonialism. The Communist movement has no ties to this comprador class of usurers and landlords and none of its timidity in the face of imperialism. It does share with all ruling classes the fear of independent mass movement. Whenever the peasantry and working class have moved in an independent direction, developing leadership and institutions which were not controlled by the CP, especially when they were led by elements of the left, the CP under the able leadership of Ho Chih Minh has moved against them even to the point of collaboration with the imperialists. From the point of view of this new bureaucratic class any movement independent of it is incapable of defeating imperialism and is, therefore, "objectively" counter-revolutionary even when it fights imperialism.

### SOME HISTORY

In 1945, for example, the CP as a consequence of the post-war agreement between Russia and the other great powers looked towards a coalition government which would ally Indochina to the French Union as a possible road to power. It opposed as "terrorism" the movement of the peasantry from below for land reform especially when the "terrorism" was directed against "patriotic" landlords. In the cities where armed committees of workers seized power as the Japanese rule collapsed the CP called for the disarmament of the workers and used their connections with the British and Kuomintang troops to disarm the committees. They also took this opportunity to liquidate the leadership of the Trotskyist movement which opposed the attempt to disarm the movement. The French troops on their return dismissed the defenceless Republican Committees and drove the CP into the countryside.

The bankruptcy of French colonialism especially its inability to offer any serious land reform to the peasantry gave the CP another chance. After a long guerilla war against French armies demoralized by the lack of support at home and the second rate position to which French imperialism had been reduced by the U.S. the Viet Minh emerged as the new government in the north of the country. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The masses who had fought for this victory were severely disillusioned. For the peasantry the seizure of the landlords' land was the end for which they had fought. For the new regime it was the prelude to the forced collectivization which was to provide the surplus it needed to implement its program of modernization and economic integration into the Russian bloc. In 1956

a shot two years after the victory over the French, the government was faced with a massive resistance to the collectivization drive which reached the point of armed struggle in at least two provinces. It is significant that these provinces had been among the most militant in the fight against the French.

#### THE REGIME IN THE NORTH

The political and social regime in the north is similar in all important respects to those in the rest of the stalinist bloc. There is no right to strike or to form independent trade unions or political parties. Those parties which are permitted to exist may not act independently of the Communist Party whose "leading role" is as jealously guarded as it is in, say, Czechoslovakia. Internationally, the regime has defended the class interests of the bureaucracy to the point of giving up the principle of self-determination. In Czechoslovakia and Hungary the North Vietnamese government defended Russian imperialism. This betrayal of the principle of self-determination is more than a question of abstract political correctness. By defending Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe the North Vietnamese regime has given up a powerful political weapon against western imperialism in the Third World.

#### PROGRESSIVE OR REACTIONARY

Large sections of the socialist movement and "progressive minded" people in the "FREE WORLD" have been driven, by an understandable desire to identify themselves as closely as possible with the victims of Western Imperialism, to minimize and apologize for the reactionary politics of the NLF and its Communist leadership. The most serious of such attempts is the argument that defends the NLF as the progressive force which must be defended against the reactionary and pro-western remnants of feudalism. The NLF, after all, is industrializing the country and laying the basis for socialism just as capitalism in the west did. Revolutionary socialists, however, did not support capitalism in the west. Bismark in unifying the German nation and building up its industry created the prerequisites for socialism. Unfortunately German Capitalism and German industry were also the prerequisites for Imperialism and Nazism. The fact that the later and not the former actually followed Bismark's "historically progressive" work was a result of the failure of the German working class and its political leaders to build the kind of political tools that would have allowed the German people to use these marvelous prerequisites for something besides mass slaughter. In order to build such tools the German working class and its parties would have had to engage in a revolutionary struggle against Bismark and the capitalist class which he represented. Marx and Engels, and even more Lenin, always opposed the fatalistic notion of historical progress taking place in the absence of political struggle. While these revolutionary socialists often supported movements from below which were heterogeneous in composition and confused in their leadership they did not support those bonapartist regimes which choked off democratic initiative from below. It was under the aegis of such bonapartist movements that capitalism in the bourgeoisie actually triumphed in Europe and revolutionary socialism considered these movements politically reactionary despite the industrial progress they effected and despite the social demagoguery such regimes invariably used. The suppression of all democratic initiative and political life which is the hallmark of Communist movements and regimes differs from its bonapartist predecessors only in being more effective and thoroughgoing.



For most opponents of the Vietnam war, and for most of its supporters for that matter, there are only two choices in that country. Some kind of reactionary puppet of the U. S. or a stalinist dictatorship. In fact the leadership of the CP in the popular movement is in great degree a creation of western imperialism itself. It is the west and its puppets who have played the major role in wiping out all independent alternatives and left the Vietnamese peasant or worker with no one to turn to in their fight against their present exploiters but the Communists whose oppression they know only from a distance.

At a number of critical points movements independent of the Communists and Imperialism have sprung up and carried on the struggle against the invaders without the CP or even in opposition to it. There are class reasons for this development. The class base of the Communist bureaucracy is the government apparatus in the north. As long as that base is secure the class aims of the bureaucracy, which are not identical, of course, with the sympathies of individual members of that class, are realized - at least partially. For the Vietnamese peasantry and working class this is not the aim. They require not only the overthrow of the old ruling classes that ride their backs now but also its replacement by a democratic regime supported by the independent committees and councils led by the working class. The CP can accept coalition governments and partitions to a degree that no democratic movement could accept without destroying its own base. Because the CP sees the masses only as a battering ram with which to assault the old regime it can, and must, dispense with the popular movement as soon as a sufficient toehold is obtained for its apparatus. When the CP actually obtains power it is an even more ferocious opponent of democratic institutions than the old rulers.

#### SOME MORE HISTORY

At several stages of the struggle, therefore, in 1955-56, in the period from 1963 to 1966 and in the period immediately preceding the formation of the NLF in 1960, while the CP was consolidating its power or even, in 1956, defending that power from the attack of the North Vietnamese peasantry, independent mass movements have sprung up. It was such a movement resting on revolutionary committees that forced the emperor Bao Dai out of power in 1955. At that time Ngo Dinh Diem who had been chosen by the Americans as their counterweight to the French puppet emperor was politically paralyzed. He was unable to get rid of the emperor whose premier he was without awakening a popular movement he could not control. His vacillation gave the revolutionary committees the leadership of such elements as the Cao Dai their opportunity. It was their revolutionary congress that called for a republic and forced Diem and the Americans to dump the emperor as the only way of forestalling the popular movement. Similarly, in the period from the fall of Diem to the victory of the Thieu-Ky junta it was the independent Struggle Movement led by the Buddhists that led the fight in the cities which the NLF had failed to organize.

#### WHAT KIND OF MOVEMENT

The character of these movements is very heterogeneous. Since the political destruction of the Trotskyist movement in 1945-46 by the CP and the French no revolutionary socialist leadership has come into existence. The tendency of both the stalinists and the imperialists to murder their political opponents has helped prevent the development of such a leadership. Instead the masses, denied any open independent organization of their own, have used whatever independent organizations did exist for their own purposes. The analogy with the American South, where the

The analogy with the American South, where the Black churches became the first organizational vehicle of the Black Liberation struggle despite the political conservatism of the ministers themselves, is clear. The leadership of groups like the Hoa-Hao, Cao Dai and the Buddhists is unreliable and can easily end up as American stooges or NLF fig laaves as easily as spokesmen for the masses. In fact, most of these leaders that are still alive are filling just such positions. Nevertheless, it is the movements they lead that are important for us and the failings of the leaders are important only because they weaken and dilute the movement. Our support for these movements whether they develop before or after the victory of the Communists stems from the support we give the class forces they represent ( or misrepresent) at least temporarily. We do not demand of mass movements anywhere that they understand their political position and the correct political line before they begin to fight. There would be no need for a revolutionary socialist movement if democratic mass movements invariably understood from the beginning their role and power.

#### OUR POSITION

Whatever course the struggle against American Imperialism takes, whether the NLF is forced to come to some sort of agreement such as a new partition of the country or some sort of coalition government, or whether the military victory of the NLF leads to the establishment of a bureaucratic dictatorship in the south, the aspirations of the Vietnamese peasantry and working class will find their expression in some form or another. The masses not yet organized by the NLF (though sympathetic to it), the elements in the NLF who are in it because it represents an alternative to the Americans but who cannot be integrated into a stalinist regime, all of these represent potential opposition to the establishment of a bureaucratic dictatorship. Whatever form this opposition takes it represents our alternative.

The CP has behind it the moral and material support of the Russian bloc. The Vietnamese people have only their own physical strength and moral courage to oppose to the CP and American Imperialism. It is these resources which have been the target of American explosives and napalm. It is the Vietnamese people whom American Imperialism has tried to destroy in order to save them. Not the least of the crimes of U.S. imperialism is that it has made the victory of stalinism in Vietnam easier by undermining the morale and devastating the physical resources of the Vietnamese.

The building of an independent, democratic alternative in Vietnam would have been immeasurably easier if the imperialists had been driven out in 1945, 1954, 1963 or 1966. But American Imperialism must be driven out in any case. At the present that means it will be driven out by the Vietnamese under the leadership of the NLF. Our support for the military victory of the Vietnamese in that conflict in no way contradicts our political support for the fight of the Vietnamese working class and peasant against their new rulers.

submitted 8/7/69 by ERNIE HABERKERN

## THE AMERICAN SCENE

Kim Moody, NY ISC  
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After nearly twenty years of apparent stability, American capitalism has entered a period of growing crisis. In the past decade, the growing movements of black people and students have exposed the superficiality of the "post-war prosperity and liberal capitalist policy at home and abroad, while the traditional economic techniques for sustaining capitalism have proven inadequate. In place of fiscal and welfare measures, American capitalism has turned increasingly to vast expenditures on armaments as a means of guaranteeing stability. Even foreign trade and investment, though expanding, have taken a back seat to the permanent arms economy. Although arms production began as a by-product of imperialist policy in the Cold War, the stabilizing and planning functions of the arms budget soon became apparent. Faced with intensified international competition, America's large corporations relied more and more, during the 1950's, on the guaranteed annual profits offered by arms budget subsidized largely by the working class and the public in general through taxes. By the mid-1960's, the permanent arms economy had become the primary stabilizing mechanism of American capitalism: a murderous tribute to the decay of capitalism.

From the early 1950's to the early 1960's, even while American capitalism appeared to be producing superfluous wealth for the upper classes and real advances in the incomes of the majority of the working class, the inability of capitalism to provide genuine prosperity for the entire population became clear. Poverty continued to plague millions of people, while the relative economic position of black and other minority peoples and women declined. Even though changes in technology and other aspects of the economy stunted the growth of jobs in industrial production and created new technical and professional jobs, most of the new jobs available to working class people were in low paying service and clerical occupations. These trends brought millions of women and minority peoples into the work force permanently, at the same time locking both groups into the lowest paying jobs: white women in clerical jobs and black men and women in the lowest service and industrial jobs.

The last massive emigration of poor black and white workers from the rural South to the urban North, combined with the system's inability to provide decent employment or to plan for urban expansion, created or enlarged enormous urban slums and ghettos, accelerating urban decay. The intolerable conditions under which black and Spanish speaking people were forced to live, though not new, became concentrated, massive, and visible. Politically unorganized, or subordinated to white dominated machines, and largely outside of unionized jobs, black workers and unemployed had no organized way to fight these conditions.

During the same period, the trade unions, the only working class organizations of resistance in the United States, became even more bureaucratic and conservative. The union bureaucracy was able to win increases in real wages only at the cost of deteriorating working conditions, increasing speed-up, and technological displacement. Not interested in organizing the new service and clerical jobs, the unions did nothing for workers in these low paying occupations.

Caught in a complex web of legal limitations, partly of their own making, integrated into managerial functions through contract enforcement, and bureaucratic in structure, the unions became a less and less viable instrument of struggle even for their members. Workers in industry turned increasingly to "unofficial" forms of struggle, such as wildcats, sabotage, slow down, etc. Struggles were, and are, often directed against the union bureaucracy as well as management.

But even while struggle continued, throughout the period, it remained local and fragmented, for the most part. Thus, even among organized workers, class struggle failed to emerge on a national, political basis and usually remained limited to the shop or company level. So long as the unions could win real wage gains for their members, which was the case up to the mid-1960's, the need for national struggle was not apparent. Thus, by the early 1960's, the working class was deeply fragmented: between organized and unorganized, black and white, male and female, and by company and locality. The first signs of resistance to the system and its most blatant inequities came not from workers but from the professional and middle classes, black and white.

#### FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO BLACK LIBERATION

The civil rights movement began as an essentially liberal protest against the more obvious symptoms of racism, but the barriers to success imposed by American capitalism soon resulted in splits within that movement and the radicalization of large sections of it. Even as legal and legislative victories were won, the structural and systemic nature of racism became apparent: legal victories against overt discrimination had little or no effect on the conditions of the black masses because of the failure of the early civil rights movement to challenge the economic system. The coalition between liberal white Democrats, elements of southern business, and the black civil rights movement, which had been necessary to win the early victories, limited the scope of the civil rights movement, and the interests of blacks began to be sacrificed to the needs of the Democratic Party, as signaled by the "moratorium" on demonstrations before the 1964 elections.

The failures of the civil rights movement to answer the needs of the black masses led to the development of the black power movement. Based on black consciousness and the concept of

independent organization, the new black movement was able to reach beyond its originally middle class base and activate sections of the black poor and working class. The first signs of growing consciousness among the black masses were the urban uprisings that began in 1965. These rebellions were limited by their spontaneous and apolitical nature, but they were a clear indication of the growing insistence of the black masses to surpass the middle class civil rights leaders and mold their own destiny. The leadership of the new black power movement was clearly more in tune with this consciousness, but it was itself largely middle class. For this reason, the black power movement failed to turn, in any organizational way, to the black working class and instead oriented toward the unemployed and most down-trodden elements of the black community.

The centrifugal and fragmenting nature of slum life, however, has made it difficult to organize these sections of the black community on any stable, independent basis. Various movements from rent strikes to welfare protests have been unable to mobilize slum residents into ongoing organizations, both because of their limited goals and because of the atomization of slum life, and have deteriorated into powerless bureaucracies. The recent struggle for community control of schools, while providing possibilities for organizing large segments of the ghetto around the more central institutions of the schools, has failed because it has not expanded the struggle on a political basis. Due to its cross-class nature, furthermore, it has at best served to aid the careers of professional black educators, rather than building an ongoing movement of the poor. With the failure of their attempts to organize a mass movement among the poor, many black power leaders have turned to elitist solutions: class collaboration within the black community, permeation and black capitalism, on the one hand, and urban guerillaism and neo-Stalinism, on the other.

The first successful attempt to build an independent radical organization in the black community was the Black Panther Party. The combination of armed self-defense and political organization, as well as its ability to recruit in the ghetto, made the BPP a crucial new stage in the development of the black liberation struggle. In effect, the Panthers created the first national black radical organization that was more than an organizing staff, such as SNCC had been. The Black Panther Party not only spoke to black consciousness as it was, but helped to lift that consciousness to a new level. They raised the notion of political independence to a principle, gave black consciousness a radical political content, dounterposed organized, armed self-defense to both non-violence and unorganized uprisings. They distinguished between "political black nationalists", such as themselves, and "cultural black nationalists", who really cooperated with the ruling class. Both in theory and practice, they opposed anti-white racism, including an alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party.



Lacking a clear-cut class analysis, however, the BPP's politics contained a duality between elitist organizational forms and a mass orientation. The basic orientation of the Panthers toward the more unstable elements of the poor, combined with the relentless repression faced by the party leaders, tended to push the male chauvinist, authoritarian, and elitist aspect to the fore, as the need to deal with the tremendous repression left them unable to intervene effectively in ongoing struggles in the ghetto. In attempts to increase the effectiveness of their organization, the Panther leadership turned from mass organization to internal purges. Similarly, the original revolutionary conception of coalitions with white radical and revolutionary groups degenerated into the reformist (and Stalinist) conception of the popular front, open even to bourgeois politicians if they endorse the Panthers' "community control" demand. The Panthers' rhetoric has become increasingly hysterical and irrational, succumbing to Maoism, reformist "revolution", and attacks on any group which makes the least criticisms. (They have never given in to anti-white racism.) At the present they have verbally attacked in the crudest form literally every group on the left: SWP, PLP, RYM, CP...and the ISC, while simultaneously failing to build significant support among blacks. Unless the upsurge in the black working class seriously reorients them, the Panthers will be isolated and reduced to insignificance and destruction.

Many black workers, in the context of general working class unrest, have taken their militancy back to the point of their exploitation, the workplace. Although the older civil right leadership made alliances with liberal union bureaucrats to support such struggles as the garbage strike in Memphis and the hospital strikes in Charleston, it was not the bureaucracies but the workers, male and female, who initiated and propelled these struggles. As a result of their efforts, the unionization of the South has become possible again for the first time since World War II. In the North, the black workers' struggle is mainly expressed against established union leaderships as well as against the bosses. The organizational forms which these struggles take are extremely diverse, ranging from the Detroit auto plants' League of Revolutionary Black Workers (DRUM et. al.) to the attempt at a dual union of Chicago's Concerned Transit Workers, to the rank-and-file organization of the United Black Brothers at the Mahwah, New Jersey Ford plant, to all kinds of informal "black caucuses" throughout industry. At the present time, there is no nation-wide group with a really working class revolutionary socialist ideology. On the other hand, the workshop groups have organized greater numbers than has ever been done at any one place before. The workplace, unlike the "community", does not tend to split up and disorient people but to unite them. It also tends to drive black workers toward seeing the need for alliances with white workers without giving up their independence--and to drive the white workers to see the need to ally with the blacks, not out of "love" but mutual self-interest.

As a stable social strata with the unique power possessed by industrial workers, black workers offer a potential leadership



to the black liberation movement far more effective than can be offered by either the middle class or dispossessed elements of the black community.

#### THE ANTI-WAR AND STUDENT MOVEMENTS

The sweeping changes that have taken place in the labor requirements of capitalism have proletarianized significant sections of the traditional professional and middle classes. Those sections of the middle class that have remained outside of the working class have become propertyless as monopoly capital has gradually reserved the right to own income-bearing property for itself. At the same time many of the formerly independent professions have been subordinated to corporate priorities and various state functions. Thus, on the one hand the traditional middle class no longer possesses any sort of common denominator or social power, while the newly proletarianized groups still harbor middle class illusions and much of the trappings of middle class life-style. In general, the middle class and professions are socially weaker than in the past. The moralistic method of thinking that characterizes the educated sections of these social elements, however, has led significant numbers of middle class and professional people to protest the more glaring symptoms of capitalist decay, such as the war in Vietnam.

Since the early 1960's the anti-war movement has grown significantly among middle class people. Although this movement has moved to the left in the past decade, it has not had the same impetus to radical politics as the black movement since it has lacked a clear cut or unified conception of self-interest, a reflection of its social reality. In addition, its social impotence and idealist view of the world have prevented this middle class movement from drawing other layers of society into the anti-war struggle, even though anti-war sentiment has grown in all classes of society.

Inherently weak and vacillating, the middle class anti-war movement has invariably capitulated to one or another tendency within ruling class politics, the most recent example being McCarthy. More than any other strata of society the middle classes must attach themselves to one of the two most powerful classes, the working class or the capitalist class. The absence of any independent, political working class movement has meant that middle class liberals and even radicals have, as a group, drifted toward the "left wing" of capitalist politics, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. The only significant exception to this has been the student movement.

Unlike any other mass group originating in the middle classes, students share a common institutional and functional relationship. While students are not a class, they experience similar conditions in the universities and colleges and, to an increasing degree, look forward to a similar social destiny. Furthermore, the vast expansion of higher education in the past twenty

ty years has created a genuine mass student population. Far from experiencing creative education, millions of students come under a bureaucratic system of socialization and training directed at filling the ranks of the white collar (technical and professional) working class with docile workers. Thus, at least some of the basic elements for an independent mass movement, so lacking in the middle class itself, exist for students.

At the same time, the ability to deal in abstract concepts and interpretation, the stock in trade of academia, has meant that student rebellion most often occurs around general social and political issues, rather than around immediate conditions per se. It is for this reason that the "student power" phase of the movement was short lived and ineffective. The growth of the student movement, from its liberal origins to its attempt to develop revolutionary politics, has been based on issues such as the arms race, the Vietnam war, racism and imperialism in general; students in fact, have been the activist base and left wing of the anti-war movement throughout the 1960's.

Two reasons for the ease with which these various issues were picked up were first, that the university has been a singular example of the bureaucratization and integration with the state of many institutions of our society, and secondly, that the contradiction between liberal rhetoric and social reality is particularly vivid on campus. This, plus the channeling that dominates the student's life, make him relatively quick to see the connection between his misery and that of others (also imposed by a bureaucratic, militarized society) and make it easy for him to identify with movements for social reform.

In many respects, the student movement has received its inspiration, ideas, and rhetoric from these movements, both at home and abroad. The downturn (temporary, we hope) in the level of organized mass activity amongst blacks and the continuing absence of political struggle amongst the white workers has left Stalinist countries and movement as the main objects of identification and has helped to facilitate the spread of Stalinist ideas in the movement.

The danger inherent in this vicarious identification of the student movement was seen clearly in the recent actions on the campus around black studies, and third-world open-admissions demands. Where the leadership of the black and third world student oriented toward mass struggle, the actions were significant and radicalizing experiences for the white and black students. On the other hand, where the leadership was pessimistic about winning support of white students and oriented toward hit-and-run terrorist tactics designed to pressure the administration into negotiations, the movement was isolated, fragmented along class, race, and ideological lines, and caught between its commitment to radical politics and its desire to support uncritically the struggle of the black students.

The student movement by itself, however is ultimately declassé and wrought with many of the characteristics of the middle classes. Students, for example, tend to pose their politics in moral terms rather than on the basis of a materialist analysis. This fact, combined with the factors mentioned above, has led to the growth of elitism, even to the point of overt Stalinism, a lack of program, and splintering factionalism. Although the working class has become part of the rhetoric of most of the student movement, the deep rooted belief that the working class is incapable of leading a revolution in its own name still dominates the practice and politics of much of the student movement. Most recently, this belief expresses itself in the various attempts to translate the ideas of Mao and other Stalinist rulers into terms applicable to an industrial nation. In general, this dependence on authoritarian and elitist ideas drawn from existing centers of world power -- whether it is the Chinese, Russian, or American ruling class -- is characteristic of declassé movements isolated from the process of class struggle.

In the absence of visible working class motion and struggle, the one thing that could solidify the student movement is a genuine Marxist working class orientation, which is precisely the most difficult to obtain given the present level of working class activity. This is reflected in the recent developments in SDS. Having become a mass organization, clearly the leadership of the student movement, SDS has splintered in several directions, with the two leading tendencies, RYM (Revolutionary Youth Movement) and PL-WSA (Progressive Labor and its satellite Worker-Student Alliance), having openly Stalinist politics.

Progressive Labor, representing an extension of traditional American Stalinism and demanding subordination to authoritarian (as opposed to democratic centralist) discipline, is not likely to become the dominant tendency in the student movement. RYM, while it lauds authoritarian discipline and other Stalinist ideas, is more clearly a classic petty bourgeois tendency -- ultra-left in rhetoric, but moralistic and erratic in politics. Scarcely before the new "Maoist" rhetoric had been learned by the leaders and cadre, RYM leapt, uncritically, into the UFAF, a popular front operation open to Democrats and Republicans and heavily influenced by Communist Party opportunists. Whatever direction the RYM leadership takes, it seems unlikely that they can rebuild a mass student organization of the proportions of the pre-split SDS. It is more likely that SDS will splinter further, with smaller groups attempting to define their politics more clearly. This may be the necessary period of political consolidation before the emergence of strong student movement with a genuine working class orientation.

#### THE GROWTH OF WOMEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS

The momentum of the black and student movements has tended to make other social groups more conscious of their own oppression, as the institutionalized inequality of American soci-

ety and the possibilities of struggle become more apparent. The most recent group to begin struggling against their own oppression has been women. The reemergence of the women's movement, dormant since the early part of the 20th century, has originated among the middle classes, like the black and student movements; it has received much of its impetus from movement activists. The growing awareness by women of their oppression as women has been spurred by a number of factors -- a recognition that they are subordinated within the radical movement, a growing understanding that their personal crises have roots in the social and political system, and by certain objective changes in the roles played by women in America's capitalist economy.

The oppression of women -- their exclusion from socially important roles of production and decision-making, their forced dependence on men, and their relegation to roles determined by their physiology, i.e. childrearing and the maintenance of the family and consequent limitations on their freedom and ability to develop themselves -- is a phenomenon which can be found in varying degrees in every country in the world today. Originally deriving from a primitive division of labor based on woman's role in bearing children, and the subsequent monogamy and economic dependence which followed with the development of more complex societies, the subordination of women has lasted through various forms of class society and changes in the family structure. An ideological superstructure of male chauvinism, describing women as inferior beings unsuited for "male" occupations, has developed alongside the material conditions subordinating women. In the United States today, in spite of numerous advances made by the earlier "equal rights" movements, women are still oppressed by the ideology of male chauvinism, by an educational system which channels them into "feminine roles", by their atomization and isolation within the private family structure, and by being treated as a reserve labor pool.

Women workers in the United States today form an essential, growing part of the working class. The changing requirements of American capitalism have resulted in the integration of millions of women, the vast majority of whom are married, into the labor force since World War II; this vast, unparalleled increase in the number of women workers is a result of the coincidence of the need of wives to work because of increasing pressure on working class living standards with the large expansion of non-industrial, especially clerical jobs. The inclusion of women into the work force, however, has been at a visibly lower level of income than men, the income of working women being about 60% of men. Furthermore, male chauvinist assumptions and overt discrimination have meant additional exploitation of women workers -- unequal pay, loss of seniority for maternity leave, lack of adequate child care facilities, lack of access to training, and, most pervasive, virtual segregation into "female" jobs, due to fears of competition or dominance of women. The result of this is that women workers are locked into low-paying, insecure, primarily unionized jobs -- especially in clerical and service work.

This change in the work-role of American women, however, has not resulted in any fundamental change in women's position in the family. The massive employment, now a necessity for American capitalism, has laid the objective basis for undermining the economic dependence of women on men, technological improvements have lessened the burden of housework, and social mobility and availability of birth control lessened the dominance of family responsibilities, but the working woman still faces the double burden of assuming two roles. The institution of the private family is undergoing strains, but survives, along with its necessary counterpart -- the subordination of women because of the primary identification of woman with the home. Although the family no longer acts as an economically productive unit, it still plays invaluable roles for the maintenance of American capitalism, in its function of reproducing labor power and placing responsibility for many social functions in the private home, instead of on the society at large, its preservation of class distinctions, and its transmission of authoritarian values.

As with the early civil rights movement, it was natural that those women with the greatest aspirations should be the first to move against their own oppression -- women who because of their greater education most clearly recognized the contradictions between their aspirations and the opportunities. The growing crisis of identity among the middle classes has affected women to a greater degree, in a sense, because of their inability to find jobs commensurate with their educational level, and their recognition that their opportunities for individual development would be stunted not only by proletarianized jobs but by the dulling routine of housework and their atomization within the family.

Because of social base of this movement, the early women's liberation movement has contained a number of contradictory tendencies which are now only beginning to sort themselves out. The first large organization of women, the National Organization of Women (NOW), had an essentially liberal, professional base, and has limited its struggles to "equal rights" and the advancement of professional women, even at the expense of women of other classes. The recent development of women's liberation groups among radicals and students has also suffered from conflicts mirroring the various trends among disaffected youth: because so much of the impetus for the movement has been male chauvinism within the left, some elements have turned their back on the left and advocated a separatist movement, while others have extended their search for personal liberation into women's "consciousness raising" therapy groups, communes, and the like. A growing section of the radical women's movement, however, is recognizing the need to overcome the isolation and elitism of the left and attempting to develop radical analyses and link up the struggle for women's liberation with the anti-capitalist struggles in the U.S. The movement is wracked with divisions emanating from the splits in the student movement, but offers potential for the development of a serious, radical women's movement for the first time in over 50 years.



The need to orient towards working women is perhaps even more crucial for the women's liberation movement than is a working class orientation for the movement as a whole, since the thrust of the women's movement must be the demand for women to become equal members of the work force and thus of society as a whole. Furthermore, the atomization of most women makes it unlikely that a strong women's movement can develop without working women, who are the only women sufficiently concentrated and organized to lead an effective movement. And since the liberation of women ultimately depends on the building of a socialist society in which women will be equal and free to control their bodies and their lives, the potential of the women's liberation movement lies in its link-up with the struggle of the working class as a whole.

Women workers have played a militant and crucial role in those industries where they are employed in significant numbers, such as in the General Electric strike of 1967 and in numerous public employee strikes in recent years; black women recently have led the struggle of the hospital workers in New York and Charleston for union recognition. So far, this militancy has been of a trade union sort, limited in nearly all cases to the priorities set by the (male) union bureaucracies. The obvious disparity between male and female jobs, wages, and conditions and the male chauvinist practices of the unions, however, combined with the tension produced by women workers assuming their dual role of workers and housewives and mothers, however, may be the basis for increased awareness of women's oppression by women workers. Because of the prevalent ideology of male chauvinism, and the lack of struggle among the class as a whole in the recent past, the consciousness of women workers is low, but could well be spurred as both the women's liberation movement and the struggle of the class grow in scope and intensity.

#### THE GROWING CRISIS AND THE RULING CLASS

American capitalism, indeed world capitalism, has been faced with a growing crisis rooted in its own system of production. Capitalist expansion, the prerequisite for stability, requires a growing mass of profits. Traditionally, foreign trade and investment served as both a source of profits and a market for expanded production. While this form of economic imperialism is still operative, sharp international competition and political instability have made exploitation abroad inadequate as a means of expanding production. The U.S. has been forced to look for profits abroad to make up for its internal stagnation and has been increasingly aggressive in its efforts to keep the underdeveloped world open to exploitation. But outside of the extractive industries which have traditionally returned high earnings, the low level of productivity in the backward countries sets limits to the possibilities of exploitation; attempts to "modernize" these countries would tend to set in motion social forces which undermine the class structure necessary for capitalist expansion.



Similarly, the various "welfare" techniques for market maintenance have failed continually since the 1930's and, at any rate, represent only a deduction from total production rather than a means of expansion in themselves. Unable to generate productive investment, American capital has relied increasingly on arms production (i.e. waste production) to absorb capital and sustain profits. Although arms production, like Marx's Department III, has no effect on the rate of profit in itself, it does provide a nearly bottomless "market" for the increased production resulting from an intensified exploitation of labor.

By relying more heavily on, and more directly controlling government expenditure, capital has been able to stabilize itself for nearly two decades. At the same time, however, arms production does not add to the national wealth but is counted as an increase in monetary terms, and it subsidizes the most monopolized sectors of the economy; it thereby creates an irreversible inflationary trend. This further hurts American Capital's competitive position on the world market and has contributed to growing international monetary instability. The drastic increase in arms production spurred by the Vietnam war has sent prices soaring and intensifies many of the contradictions inherent in capitalism and the arms economy. Thus, the problems of maintaining stability have become more and more difficult to manage.

The growth of the permanent arms economy and the increased importance of expensive technology have brought about a greater need for long-range corporate planning and a growing interpenetration of the state and capital. Thus political and economic decisions, always mutually dependent, have tended to become identical or at least more obviously interrelated. This structural fact together with the growing social and economic crisis have made the problems of political strategy and tactics more critical and more difficult for the capitalist class and their political representatives. The traditional division of capitalist politics into liberal and conservative has become inadequate and the number of political tendencies within the ruling class has multiplied, even as the shared goal is embraced more tenaciously.

New Deal liberalism, the dominant ideology of the Democratic Party for nearly three decades, has splintered in a number of directions, from the more or less traditional statism of Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, to the more sophisticated corporate liberalism of the late Robert F. Kennedy. Similarly, the middle-of-the-road conservatism dominant in the Republican party in the 1950's has given way to a mere statist approach on the part of the Nixon administration, scarcely distinguishable from the Johnson administration in matters of basic economic policy and pseudo anti-statism on the other end of the Republican spectrum. The most dramatic split in ruling class politics has been the bolt of Wallace from the Democratic Party and his attempt to

build a plebian movement on the basis of a revived populo-conservativism, long limited to southern local politics. Each of these tendencies is based on one or another section of the ruling class and each is an attempt, realistic or not, to pose a "new" solution to the current crisis within the context of the capitalist system. Thus, for all the differences between these tendencies, each has struggled to outbid the others as the true "law and order" tendency (with or without "justice") in the national and local elections of the past two years. All are agreed on the need to repress the "extremists", i.e. the left.

Those differing political tendencies within ruling class politics are also attempting to mobilize social forces outside of the ruling class, for the purpose of cooping dissatisfied sectors and as tools in their attempts to rationalize the system according to their particular conceptions. In this respect, the two most dynamic tendencies, though not the largest, are undoubtedly the corporate liberalism associated with the younger Kennedys, but by no means limited to them, and the Wallace movement. Both attempt to pose different (new and even "radical") solutions than those dominant in the twin parties, and both have a significant appeal to various sections of the working class.

Kennedy-style liberalism, based largely on giant corporations and particularly financial and foundation capital, appeals to large sections of the black community and even the white working class, as well as to middle class intellectuals. In this sense, it is an attempt to reestablish the old Roosevelt coalition on a more up to date basis. It differs from new deal liberalism primarily in its direct reliance on corporate intervention in social affairs and a more political approach to imperialist strategy. Given the interpenetration of the state and capital, it is no less statist than new deal liberalism, it simply approaches the question of social planning from a different angle. This tendency, like most, cuts across party lines.

Wallace's movement is based largely on southern small and extractive capital and involves none of the sophistication of corporate liberalism in matters of preserving the system. It is rather a straight-forward attempt to attract a dissatisfied plebian base on the basis of social demagogery. It, nonetheless, serves a vital function for the ruling class as a whole, even if most of that class does not recognize it; that of siphoning white working class discontent away from potential anti-capitalist consciousness.

None of the growing number of ruling class political tendencies is clearly ideological or well defined. To a certain degree they are ad hoc formations, and in some cases they rise only in response to a particular problem or need, such as the McCarthy movement in relation to anti-war sentiment. Whether stable or not, however, these tendencies provide a pole of attraction to the growing movements of opposition. Just as McCarthy was able to stifle the independent political potential of the

middle class movement, so Wallace was able to provide an organized (reactionary) political expression for white working class insecurity and discontent. Similarly, the corporate liberalism of Kennedy has had considerable influence on the politics of the leadership of many black community control struggles. It is from the point of view of the development of a genuine revolutionary working class movement that these splits in the ruling class become important, and the need to analyse and expose them crucial.

#### THE CRISIS AND THE WORKING CLASS

The continued expansion and stability of American capitalism, underwritten by the arms economy, has depended on the increasing relative exploitation of labor, without which the profits required for expansion would not be available. The enormously expanded production created by increased technology, however, has allowed real increases in income even as the rate of surplus value was sustained or pushed up. The price paid by the working class was largely in speed-up and other means of labor intensification associated with technology which have led to a deterioration of working conditions. The independent struggles of the working class during the period up to the mid-1960's, therefore, were concentrated on working conditions, although it was still necessary to win wage gains by struggle. Working class living standards also rose because of the large increase in the number of working wives, a phenomenon which further contributed to the lack of militancy among the working class in this period.

Since the beginning of the Vietnam War, however, the inflation and increased taxes brought about by a stepped up arms production have virtually wiped out all the wage gains made since 1965. Thus, the attack on the living and working standards of the working class has become simultaneous and total. The gains made since 1965 have been wiped out, and the living standards of the working class have been brought back to the level of the mid-1950's.

The organized working class has responded to this by intensified industrial and union struggle. The number, size, and length of strikes rose continually from 1965 through 1968. Tied to long-term contracts, however, even the gains won in these strikes are soon obliterated. Both in terms of working conditions and income, the trade unions and collective bargaining have become inadequate forms of struggle and security. At the same time, the arms economy and the interpenetration of the state and capital have given the economic problems of the working class an increasingly political character. Objectively, this fact has laid the basis for overcoming the fragmentation, localization, and depoliticization that has plagued the working class since the mid-1950's.

The past couple of years have seen the gradual revival of political consciousness in some sections of the working class, on the one hand, and a growing tendency toward broader solidarity and alliances in struggle, on the other hand. Black workers, because of their double oppression, have been the first to organize industrial groups with a political approach to the problems

facing workers. Ranging from groups such as those affiliated with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit, to less radical black caucuses, such as the Steel Workers for Equality in Baltimore, these groups have integrated an understanding of the general social crisis with industrial struggle.

While the future direction of the groups is as yet unclear, they have pioneered important organizational-political concepts applicable to the class as a whole. Essentially, the new black industrial groups are both political (whatever their politics) and economic. They are independent of the union structure, yet, in general, are able to function politically within the union when that is appropriate, or strike out independently when that is necessary. Given the fact that the unions, though incapable of carrying the struggle to the level required for real victories, are still the only mass organizations of workers in America, this sort of autonomous industrial-political organization and strategy offers a realistic way of reaching workers in a period of transition from economic-reformist struggle to political-revolutionary struggle. These industrial groups correspond both to the dominant forms of shop struggle and to the need for a more political approach. Because they are organizations and not simply ad hoc formations, they hold out the possibility of coordination beyond one shop or industry.

The unifying factor in the black industrial groups has necessarily been racial consciousness. Nonetheless, such a conception of independent political-industrial organizations speaks to the needs of the struggle emerging among white workers and workers in general. Not only has the number of official strikes grown, but continually these official actions are preceded or followed by unofficial strikes protesting the inadequacies of the contract. Wildcat strikes between contract opening periods have also become more common. Furthermore, unlike most wildcats in the past 15 years, many of these in the past year have involved support from other groups of workers. In a growing number of cases, striking workers have sought or accepted help from radical students. Although exceptional in many respects, 1969 also saw the first political mass strike in decades, the West Virginia Miners' Black Lung strike. In all these instances the awareness of the need for broader solidarity or alliances indicates a growing consciousness. In all cases, independent workers organizations could have, or did help carry the struggle a step further.

The support gained by Wallace among northern industrial workers is a further indication, though an ambiguous one, of the awareness among workers of the political nature of the attack on their living standards. While the Wallace phenomenon raised the possibility that large sections of the white working class may opt for a racist "solution" to their problems it also indicated a widespread disillusionment with the efficacy of the trade unions and of traditional liberal-labor politics. The unions appear incapable of doing anything about inflation or taxes, while liberalism in power has carried out the policies that produced these. Industrial struggle by itself cannot do anything about taxes, ur-

ban decay, inflation, etc., political action based on industrial power can. Industrial struggle is necessary, however, in the fight against speed-up, etc. Thus, the long standing fragmentation and separation between political and industrial struggle is being undermined by the simultaneous need for both. Furthermore, the fight over working conditions always implies a fight for workers control and is, at the same time rooted in the same economic facts as inflation, taxes, etc. Furthermore, the same contradictions now producing inflation and tax increases and the drives toward planning, point toward even more open techniques of dunning working class income in favor of capital. As taxes and fiscal policies fail to end inflation, attempts to directly regulate wages or wage increases will become necessary, as they have already in Great Britain. Indeed, already in the United States, government intervention in strikes has become more systematic and common since 1965. What formerly seemed to be merely the economic "invisible hand" becomes ever more obviously the hand of the state under the direction of capital.

Therefore political consciousness is more likely to arise as the understanding of the need for power, rather than a need for reforms in themselves. While it is impossible to say what stages of development this consciousness will go through, or ultimately even what direction it will finally take, it is clear that the possibility for revived mass political struggle and for the rooting of revolutionary ideas within the working class exists.

#### TOWARD A WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

The decay of capitalism is nearly as old as the twentieth century, first becoming obvious on an international scale with the outbreak of WW I. The economic motor of capitalism has been kept running only at the expense of human life, through imperialism, through endless wars, and through social oppression at home. Decade after decade, the essential economic processes have broken down of their own weight and have been replaced or propped up by new techniques of stabilization, usually through some sort of state intervention, and decade after decade these techniques too have failed. This decline has left in its wake a monstrous bureaucratic state, on the one hand, and a growing collection of social problems, on the other hand. The period we are now entering is, so to speak, the reckoning for these decades of decay.

On the one side, the unfolding of social crises and the exposure of new layers of oppression. Beginning with the movement of protest among black people in the late 1950's, each year has brought forth a larger movement of opposition among a broader section of the population. Now the social crisis has been augmented by the growing instability of the economy itself, which in turn promises to bring new layers of society into motion and opposition.



On the other side of the crisis stands an over-financed, over-burdened, and oversized state, more clearly than ever nothing but an extension of the capitalist class. The difficulty and complexity of managing this apparatus, in order to manage the economy, has led to greater fissures within the ruling class, even as that class has become more desperate in its defense of the system. The job of making this state attractive to the people has become impossible, which is why every new tendency in ruling class politics, from Kennedy to Wallace, attempts to offer solutions outside the framework of the state. Neither right-wing anti-statism nor corporate liberal social engineering offer real solutions -- capitalism must have state subsidy and direction even to hold on. That is, only the state is powerful enough to extract still further surplus value from the working class as a whole.

In such a situation the objective possibility of meaningful reform is severely limited. Thus, each fight for economic or social gains of necessity becomes a fight for power. It is partially this fact which has so frustrated the existing movements of opposition, which, by themselves, do not have the social power to contest the ruling class. It is also this fact which may help to transform the growing militancy and political awareness of the working class into a mass movement pitted against the state and the system.

The reawakening of the working class comes at a time when the whole of society is already in turmoil and when a visible, if divided and weak, anti-capitalist movement already exists. This confluence of social struggles and the working class movement offers hope for the existing movements in the form of the social power of the working class. At the same time, the existence of these social and political movements, and the crisis from which they sprang, portend a more or less rapid political development for the emerging working class movement. No emerging movement, of course, springs forth with revolutionary socialist politics. A process of development, uneven within the class at any given time, is unavoidable. Indeed, it is this development through struggle that makes the working class both willing and able to run society itself. Yet, the depth of capitalist decay and the rapidity of events indicate a telescoped and combined development. Both a mass working class movement of opposition, transitional in nature, and the reintroduction of revolutionary socialism into the ranks of the workers are no longer merely a potential, but a possibility.

The rebirth of an independent working class movement, from the struggle against the power of the capitalist class in industry and politics, is the next great step toward the final confrontation between labor and capital and the destruction of capitalism. It is this struggle that can pull together the fragmented movements that have been struggling for the past decade and turn an experience of frustration into the victory of a new society based on the democratic power of the vast majority of the people.

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Amendment to the Section on Women in the Moody American  
Scenes document. Ilene Winkler

Socialists have long recognized (although often without acting on their understanding), that women will not be able to play an equal role in society until they are able to play an equal role in production and are liberated from the drudgery and atomization of the private family. In capitalist and Stalinist societies, women often do play a numerically important role in production (when they are needed), but this alone has not resulted in significant improvements in their condition. The barriers preventing women from playing an equal role in production must be traced not only to their exploitation at the workplace and to the production relationships of the society but, at base, to those factors which prevent them from playing an equal role in society as a whole -- the private family structure and the ideology of male chauvinism which accompanies it -- structures which cause and reinforce the particular exploitation of women as workers.

Because women's oppression in modern societies is so closely tied to the structure of the family, it is worth glancing at the role the family plays in contemporary society. In peasant and rural societies, the private "nuclear" family played an important productive economic role; this is no longer true in modern industrial societies, and at first glance the private family structure might appear to be an anachronism today. But in fact the nuclear family serves to reinforce reactionary social systems, a fact which is clearly illustrated by the Bolsheviks' willingness to abolish many of the underpinnings of the family -- legal abortions, abolishment of illegitimacy, recognition of de facto marriage, simple divorce procedures, and so on -- and by the subsequent strengthening of the Russian family under Stalin.

## BLACK AND OTHER MINORITY PEOPLES' PERSPECTIVES

1. The struggle by Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other minority peoples in the United States has been an instrumental factor in shaking up the entire status quo society.
2. We support Black Consciousness (as well as the aspirations of the other groups) as a necessary step in the liberation not only of minority groups but all the working people of the United States. Black people, as others, cannot be freed except by their own struggles.
3. The subjection of Black people in the United States featured not only material deprivation and relegation to the bottom of the class heap, but a persistent ideological brainwashing which sought to create the image of the black as inferior not only amongst whites but amongst blacks themselves.
4. Blacks are not a class but a race. As such in American society capitalism has imposed a class system upon Blacks much more bottom heavy than in the white community and who's bourgeoisie at the top is narrower and tied firmly to the capitalist class around it- overwhelmingly white in composition. As the struggle for Black liberation deepens and radicalizes those layers who are more tied to the status quo than to Black liberation are exfoliated many of the people within these strata go over to the side of capitalism directly. Others, as do many counterrevolutionary and/or conservative movements, pick up the rhetoric and peripheral demands of a revolutionary movement, and seek to direct the movement into less dangerous channels for the society, the old integration movement, Black capitalists and cultural nationalists, the poverty politicians and the like speaking demagogically in radical terms represent a dead end for those black people who still look toward them for leadership.
5. As Black consciousness develops it meshes with working class consciousness. The Black worker views his plight in America at this point as being due to the subordination of himself for being black. Grappling with this he also begins to grapple with his condition as worker. We see this in practice as the organizing center of the Black Power movement shifts dramatically into the factories of the nation. As with white workers the factory provides the concentration, and the mechanisms for cooperative action that the "neighborhood" lacks or hinders.
6. Given the fact that Blacks and other minorities labor under special disabilities and are discriminated against in terms of income, hiring, nature of work, skills job security, treatment by foremen, etc.- black caucuses frequently organize around these special grievances. Given the fact that white workers frequently resist expanded opportunities for blacks as injurious to their own unstable conditions, whites view the blacks as their most apparent enemy and a threat to the material advantages won by them from the system. Given the racism and hostility of white workers and their comparative monopoly of the better jobs, blacks can easily view white workers as the major enemy.

Socialists support demands by blacks for equality in wages, jobs, access to skills and upgrading. We view the formation of black caucuses as legitimate and desirable. To reject their demands as do some "socialists" on the grounds of class unity is to support not unity but subordination of one layer of the class to another. However to uncritically support Black caucus demands even when they have as their major focus deliberate alienation of white workers is to play into the hands of the bosses.

Revolutionary socialists support legitimate Black demands and see as their special function the addition of demands against the capitalists which can create the basis for class unity and alliance of Black and white workers. For example, Blacks recently picketed construction sites in New York City demanding construction jobs for Blacks which have been systematically denied them. We support the demand and add a demand for more construction and jobs for all workers. White workers in New York are in desperate need of work too and such a demand has the potential of alliance based upon the real interests of both black and white workers as opposed to the system which pits one against the other.

7. Community control of the schools and other institutions has been raised as a demand with the black community. We generally support this demand while pointing out that it represents no final solution to the problem Blacks face in terms of capitalist institutions ruling their lives. Within community control movement the various classes within the black community separate themselves out as the struggle deepens. Black and white socialists point out to the militants that while the surrounding class society controls the purse strings and sets the milieu, community institutions will not really be under the control of the revolutionary forces. Therefore a broader alliance of mutual self-interest is necessary before the nature of education can be transformed.

8. Given both police brutality against blacks and the lack of the protection for black citizens that the police are supposed to provide, armed self-defense is a necessity for blacks and black movements. The repression currently under way in America is aimed most heavily at militant black organizations such as the Panthers. A minimal task for all revolutionaries is the defense and support of these groups against the repressive state apparatus.

9. In the recent past the Black Panther Party in addition to being the chief victim of repression has distinguished itself in a number of important respects. It demonstrated the need for organization in the ghetto; it showed that the alliances of mutual self-interest with radical whites could be built in which the black ally was not subordinated; it pointed to a working class orientation; it threw down the gauntlet to cultural nationalists and black capitalists. At the same time as it made these gains it has increasingly made its organization into an autocracy; it has increasingly developed a Stalist ideology. At this juncture, it has thrown itself into an alliance with the Communist Party and seems to be embarked upon a

conservative line somewhere between creating a C.P. type front and a popular front. Such a line can only subordinate the needs of black workers and revolutionaries to the program of liberalism. An anti-repression front cannot be built on a program of support to those forces whose policies have led to the buildup of the current repression and damning of black upsurge. The Black Panthers by their current policies are forfeiting both their past leadership and their present ability to reach the black masses.

10. On the campus, black and third world students have taken the initiative with demands for blacks and third world studies programs, open admissions for minorities and related demands. We support these demands while critical of some of the tactics when they are primarily aimed at white students rather than at the university administration or the state. In some cases where black moderates have taken leadership deals with the administration and/or black politicians have resulted thereby betraying the black struggle in particular and the revolutionary struggle in general. In most instances however, the struggles have had an excellent impact and deepened radicalization. We support black demands and regard the open admissions demand as the most fruitful in that it begins to forge links between black students and the community. To the demand for more black and third world students we add the generalized demand for universal free and open education for all. What is now a privilege should be a right for all. We demand that those who cannot afford the time for school be subsidized; that tracking be ended in pre-college schooling; that the money for this be paid for by taxation of the upper income brackets who most profit from the schools.

11. While we see the movement for black consciousness as one which can provide the basis for a meaningful black-white working class alliance this does not mean that once such a generalized class consciousness is reached, blacks should abandon self-organization. History and the deep roots of racism dictate a constant need for vigilance and self-organization.

#### WOMEN'S LIBERATION PERSPECTIVES

(Given the recent development of the modern women's liberation movement and the recent development of women's caucuses in our own ranks, ISC's overall perspective on this question will be highly general. More detailed and defined statements are forthcoming from the caucus itself.)

1. Women constitute an oppressed group in American society. Sensitivity toward and understanding of the nature of this oppression is still in a formative stage amongst socialists.

2. Women's consciousness and their struggle not only for equality but for freedom is the only thing that can achieve those goals. Women must free themselves by their own fight and by their own independent movement.

3. Just as with black consciousness as the struggle deepens those elements within the women's movement who are more tied to the status quo than to liberation will begin to go over to reaction. Women are not a class but a sex which is dichotomized

by class lines. In the last analysis women's liberation can only be achieved through a working class revolution ushering in a society in which it is possible.

4. Therefore the ISC women work in their movement with an orientation toward reaching working class women and raise such demands as day care centers, equal pay for equal work. They aim at the formation of women's caucuses and organizations. The role of revolutionary socialists is not only to support these demands even over the objection of male workers, but to add generalized slogans that can unite male and female workers. Where the brunt of the women's demands are aimed at alienating male workers rather than at the capitalists we oppose those demands.

5. For the women's movement, separatism is as much a backward step as is cultural nationalism to the black movement. The enemy is capitalism and not men in general, who are themselves victims of the system and of their male supremacist ideas and actions as well.

6. Achievement of a class conscious working class movement in which women play an equal rather than subordinate role does not mean the end of the need for an independent women's movement. In the last analysis that will be the best safeguard women's rights can have.

#### STUDENT PERSPECTIVES

The split in SDS between RYM-SDS and WSA-SDS (largely PL controlled) was part of an inevitable pattern. The student movement has been largely isolated from a mass working class movement which could have given it meaning and direction. Under such circumstances, the political polarization which has taken place reinforced the elitist conceptions inherent in the liberal intelligentsia background of the present student radicals. Both RYM's and PL operated to stultify rank and file discussion and initiative. Both sought bureaucratically to impose top-down lines upon SDS.

The student movement like the Black and anti-war movements are caught up in a general polarization trend within American politics. Years of militant, but pragmatic and non-working class oriented actions have resulted in both increased radicalism and increased frustration, not only for the students organized into SDS but for the campus left in general. It is significant that liberal organization does not exist on the campus. It is significant that the droves of students who oriented toward SDS at the beginning of each term and were repelled have found no organized expression. Most of these students are looking for an ideology that makes some sense to them; a group which has program that looks as if it could connect up with some concrete actions in terms of actually affecting real world.

The ISC projects the idea of a reconstituted student movement. It suggests that a new student movement will have to be profoundly radical (or as the movement uses the term, revolutionary). It cannot be simply a return to an earlier SDS for the apolitical, anti-intellectual and non-working class oriented politics of that SDS was the seed bed of the present satire. It will have to be democratic so that the various polarized currents can co-exist. It will have to orient toward the working class, black and white, so that it can have direction and meaning.

While calling for a new student movement we are quick to point out that the prospects for such a development on a national basis are long term and problematical. The next period will see local organization predominating, ad hoc action, regional configurations. We orient toward the rank and file groupings which are emerging around the country in the form of groups, caucuses and collectives, many of whom are democratic and pro-working class in politics. We urge them to engage in intense political discussion, to rebuild on a more solid basis than in the past; to exchange ideas and experiences, to effect lines of communication. We urge them to organize independent of the radical student establishment in either of its two forms - the RYM NO or the WSA NO. While it is obvious that in a polarizing situation these groups must clarify their politics and determine a role it is clear that many of these groupings will be unable to remain viable for much of what defines them at the moment is not yet far reaching considerations, but opposition to PL and RYM on varying bases.

These considerations lead us to the position that ISC on campus wherever possible should place its primary emphasis on acting in its own name, aggressively pushing its own programs. This does not have to be sectarian in character. We welcome and will push for united fronts with independent groupings and even RYM and WSA chapters where agreement exists. We will involve ourselves in ad hoc groups as well in order to effectuate our demands. But the ISC will try as much as possible to develop its own program and actions to promote such larger groupings. This does not mean we should abandon work in the broader groups. It means that such work will be auxiliary to the ISC acting and leading in its own name. If we are caught in the factional mire of SDS debris and fail to reach with relevant programs, the bulk of radicalizing students on the campus, we will have surrendered a major chance.

The most fundamental reason is that while we encourage the formation of a student movement with broader politics than our own, it is our understanding that such a movement by its nature is sporadic and segmented. A truly revolutionary group capable of giving direction must be created containing student militants, black militants, women militants, etc. revolving around a basic core of the working class and oriented to politics in the interest of that class. Given that goal and that priority, the ISC must act in its own name to gather more forces and to play a more significant role.

The ISC's on campuses have to establish a presence both through intellectual and activist channels. We indicate our transitional-programs and immediate demands are focused toward stimulating movements which in order to attain their goals will have to transcend capitalism in our opinion.

Within this context we support the anti-imperialist and black liberation struggles which have featured campus action. (Our criteria for support or type of support is dealt with in other sections of this document).

While supporting these demands we seek as the particular role of a socialist group the addition of demands to give the struggles a working class orientation and to help generalize the fight. We seek to link the student movement with radical working-class action. On campuses we seek to demonstrate the linkage of the university to imperialism, to racism and to the ruling class. Many colleges and universities are now doing free research for business and industry out of tax money: directly or indirectly - paid by workers. We will seek to publicize



and terminate this service, countering them with demands for facilities radical students and faculty to issue material aimed at servicing workers, blacks and third worlders and demonstrating their position and needs to society. The most blatant examples are the university aid given the agricultural growers in California and the aid and comfort rendered by schools to the mine owners of West Virginia. The university also subsidizes the capitalist class by turning out trained technicians, business students, researchers, etc. etc. Students who are fighting on various fronts have had to face hostility from workers who regard the struggles as hostile to their needs. This should indicate to students that out of their own needs they should engage in struggles which tend to create working class alliances. Students should begin to support working class demands for lower taxes by demanding that money for education come from the upper income brackets since they receive the benefits therefrom as indicated above.

Students are beginning to wage campaigns over housing. Socialists participating in such actions and supporting student demands for inexpensive and better housing have to link to those demands at least educationally for expansion of inexpensive housing for all.

Students are beginning to relate to workers by supporting strikes and wildcats. For revolutionary students support is not enough, contact not enough. Revolutionary students and workers in such situations have to formulate programs and open horizons beyond the immediate issues of the strikes.

#### ANTI-WAR PERSPECTIVES

1. The large demonstrations that have featured as the major actions of the anti-war movement have gone through significant changes in the last period. The composition of the marchers and the slogans they put on their placards indicate a more radical attack on the war. Indeed, in spite of the efforts of some political currents, the linkage between the black and anti-war struggles now features many of the anti-war demonstrations. The polarization of American politics is noticeable in such actions. Sections of the anti-war movement have been torn by those advocating the most minimal programs for the anti-war movement on the one hand and those bent upon confrontations for the sake of confrontations.

2. The ISC does not object to the broad character of the anti-war movement and does not try to demand conformity of slogans within the mass demonstrations. However, within that context it will attempt to forge unified fronts with other groups willing to push programatically for anti-imperialist and working class orientations. ICS's task is to explain that the Vietnamese war is part of a deeper world stance by the United States which means that our "foreign policy" will continue to land us in war after war until the big one unless it is fundamentally altered. It is our contention that America's "foreign policy" is rooted in imperialism in the very nature of our social system and to change the foreign conduct the system itself must be overthrown. This conception leads to the idea that the black struggle, the student struggle and the women's struggle have the same enemy in common as the anti-war struggle and that unity of these movements on mutually self-interested lines is a necessity. Further the only real unity that can overcome the social system is by uniting with the working class. Programs directed toward such an alliance will be pushed by the ISC within the anti-war movement.

3. Given this context we will press for a direct appeal to the working class by the anti-war movement. Instead of the general demonstration line which is oriented toward the liberal and radical intelligentsia we will push for campaigns and slogans addressed to the self interest of the class which pays for the war through its taxes, labor, and sons.

4. While aiming at class goals and widening understanding that a patchwork solution to this war will not end war either in the world nor in the long run in Vietnam we will still use the slogans "Immediate Withdrawal" and "Bring the Troops Home Now."

5. While many Americans still believe that the Paris negotiations will end the war our basic stance on this issue is that America has no legitimate rights to bargain with over Vietnam. We stand for immediate and total withdrawal and for the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their own fate. While pointing this out, since the Vietnamese and the Americans are negotiating we address demands on them to strengthen the movement and to help clarify the issues for it. We demand of the negotiators full and total withdrawal of all foreign presence in Vietnam. We demand that no coalition governments be installed without the freely given consent and choice of the Vietnamese people. We demand unification of Vietnam with the guaranteed right for all Vietnamese to participate in the choosing of their own government. We make these demands in the full knowledge that the negotiators will not and cannot carry them out, yet they are the most minimal assurances that yet another war will not occur in Vietnam.

6. While we support the NLF in so far as it is the leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam our support is only for its victory against imperialism. We reject support of its Stalinist leadership and its political program which openly proclaims its intent to subordinate the working class.

#### ISC PERSPECTIVES

The ISC is a revolutionary socialist organization, Marxist in outlook and methodology. ISC does not consider itself to be a vanguard or leadership party of the working class but one nucleus of such a future development. No significant section of the working class identifies with the revolutionary movement or any of its organizations at this point, therefore to talk of vanguards in this period is an exercise in self-hypnosis.

The ISC is intent on building a revolutionary cadre seasoned in both struggle and ideas. The strength of our ideas coupled with the willingness to put them into practice, educationally and/or agitationaly is the test for our organization. A working class leadership party will not grow by simple accretion in numbers to the ISC. An alive, intellectually venturesome party demands a multiplicity of tendencies. Our contribution will be built around the centrality of the idea that socialism can only be achieved by a working class, revolutionary in consciousness, which democratically controls both its own revolution and the society that flows from it. No bureaucracy, well-intentioned or otherwise, can bring socialism.

The period we are entering will be one of crisis and repression. While we are most definitely not in a revolutionary time in the United States, never the less, a sharp polarization is occurring. The student, anti-war and black movements are rapidly separating out revolutionary tendencies from reformist ones as part of the general drift toward political polarity. Even the relatively new and mostly nascent women's movement enters a scene in which differentiation will occur much more sharply than if the movement had started in the early sixties.

An over-riding characteristic of the movements against the status quo is their separateness and parochialism in front of the real enemy, the capitalist system. This parochialism does not grow simply from the tendencies within movements as much as it does from the underlying material divisions already existing within the society. We support these movements from the vantage point of increasing their orientation toward the working class and the unity of program and action that a class conscious workers movement could give to the struggle. We oppose within these movements tendencies and programs that seek to counter a working class orientation.

Until now the working class has not fought as a movement and its political consciousness has been low. Its struggles, which have been increasing in intensity, have not yet reached the degree of frustration which it feels. Black workers through agencies such as the Drum type caucuses in Detroit and the United Black Brothers in Mahwah to name only a few have been in the vanguard of militancy although they vary in program and attitude toward white workers. Other upsurges recently have been the Richmond oil wildcat, the Sterling wildcat, the West Virginia miners massive upsurge, the Laurel, Mississippi strike and political action, etc. The struggle has not yet generalized. The increased intervention of the state into all aspects of the economy and into virtually every strike will be even further accelerated in the coming period with the probable imposition of wage-price (read "wage") freezes or equivalent substitutes.

Under these pressures plus the inflation and other societal methods for reduction of real wages, the union movement is fast becoming antedated. It is not simply the question of sell out bureaucracies but the institution of the union itself that is unsuited to the needs of workers both in the long run and the immediate period as well. The concept of collective bargaining on a national scale is insufficient to meet the real needs of workers on the shop floor or to cope with political intervention and the major social weapons being used against the class in the form of taxation, inflation, et

Under these circumstances the traditional rank and file caucus approach - that is simply opposition groups within the extent union structures - seems to be insufficient to present a real vehicle. We would predict that rank and file upsurges will tend to be built around mechanisms closer to the workers - shop stewards councils. We would predict that given the types of problems workers will face that the opposition groups will function as extra-union forces as well as tactically running candidates and projecting programs within the structure. In short the next period will see the growth of militant dual organizations. This should not be confused with dual unions which would only duplicate the present difficulties. These new

institutions would combine both economic bargaining, grievance handling and political-combatting the state.

Tendencies toward this development are to be sure, in the absence of generalized class consciousness, to be seen in only atypical situations thus far: West Virginia, Laurel, the black caucuses.

Within this context the ISC projects a role for itself - not as the builders of these groups but as a left wing voice. We do not have nor will we in the near future, the forces to emerge as a serious combatant but we can engage in educational and propagandistic work and in a few local areas play a more real role. It is our task to project programs and demands built around ideas like 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, escalator clauses to combat inflation, and so forth

On a macro or social level we present demands for removing the tax burden from workers and more heavy taxation of the upper income brackets. We call for guaranteed full employment, anti-inflation measures and the like. Our demands are arranged into transitional programs which cannot be met by the system but which fulfill needs of workers. As revolutionaries we make it clear that we do not believe that our transitional programs can be carried out by this system. We relate to current levels of working class consciousness in the following manner, "Let us work together for the things we agree upon, in the course of the struggle we think it will become apparent that capitalist society cannot deliver and you'll see the need to revolutionize it."

Our over-riding approach, educationally, is to call for workers control of production and to make it clear that this can be done only with worker's control of the state, ie: smashing this one and creating another. While masses of workers are certainly not going to adopt this program now, it does lead to a positive approach to the shop floor fights over control of job, job requirements, speed up, etc. that go on every day.

Within this context we call for independent political action by the dual organizations and workers in general. If the fighting front is more clearly all the time the capitalist state, this is the only mechanism short of the political general strike and the revolution open to working class action. By an independent class party we do not simply mean electoral action but all forms of political attack.

In calling for such a party we seek to give direction to the class and to clear its sights for a struggle against the state for power. We seek to raise the level of attack beyond the single factory or industry to the seat of bourgeois direction of society - its "executive committee" - the state. We seek to raise the attack beyond the police who are deliberately put in the position of the old "master at arms" on shipboard - the crackers of the whip and the obsorbers of hositili while the captain appeared as the unapproachable.

While calling for such a party we make clear that it is only a step, that a revolutionary party and a revolutionary seizure of power by the class is the only real answer. (By analogy, national independence is the equivilent slogan for an internationalist in a colonial countr

In order to crystallize this perspective we will do the following:

1. Set up a national labor fraction the work of which shall be to give guidance to local club labor fractions and to serve as a national vehicle for their discussions.

2. The National Labor Fraction shall review our past working class programs plus transitional programs and demands submitted by members to this convention and afterward and prepare an ISC wide discussion on the question which shall be our major intellectual concern for the following year. The discussion is mandatory for all clubs and members and not just the Labor Fraction which shall initiate it. Adoption of a final program will be by the organization as a whole, through its committees not just by the fraction itself.

3. The National Labor Fraction shall publish a journal aimed at ISC'ers in general, those active in fractions in particular, plus friends from the movement in general and the working class in particular. It should contain not only discussion of program but theory and practice discussions related to current trends in the working class.

4. The fraction shall act through the local fractions to ensure a realistic program of industrialization for a significant portion of our cadre. It shall campaign throughout our younger members for them to consider entering the work force as a life perspective. It shall encourage even temporary industrialization experience. The major industries we seek to enter are auto, electronic, steel, oil and chemical, printing, secretarial, and teaching. The fraction shall ensure that comrades who do or who have already entered shops are in full communication with each other and with the rest of the organization.

#### THE OTHER AREAS OF WORK

We view the black, student, women's and anti-war movements as different fronts in the struggle against capitalism, the basic cause of their present grievances. We see the only road for these movements to succeed in a basic fashion is through alliances with a working class struggle against capitalism. We therefore press those programs like Universal Free Education, full employment, war taxes to come from war profiteers, and similar demands which can link the disparate movements to each other on a working class basis.

In organizing we point out that the only really lasting movement organization that can be built on democratic basis will be in industry itself. Housing movements, tax movements, price reduction movements can only gather real strength beyond the education or project level once they are based upon a real factory inspired working class movement. This does not mean that such programs should be abandoned. They should be seen as catalytic, educational and in some cases as bridge builders between students, anti-war elements, etc. and the working class, at least propagandistically.

The independent political action slogan - the call for a creation of a working class based party may very well have agitational and organizational value within areas of the working class in the next wave of upsurge. However within the non-working class movements the process of polarization renders such demands as purely educative.

Our former position that these movements could catalyze a working class party has proven wrong. The political process within these groups has proven that they cannot act transitionally. Being middle class in ideology if not in composition (although that is mostly true)



they can only act on the basis of minimal programs and maximum program. As they become more radical they relate to political questions and positions with the question, "Do these define what my politics are?" and not "Is this a good method for reaching broader masses which is consistent with what I believe?" Therefore these movements gyrate wildly between utterly reformist acts and revolutionary rhetoric and isolative actions. In such a milieu the task is to educate toward revolutionary politics and as part of the adoption of those transitional slogans such as independent political action. As such, within these movements Independent Political Action is not a forefront demand but an educational one, alongside others.

One of the things which the IS should see itself doing beginning with this school year is working in high school arenas. Already, most large cities have some sort of high school movement. Most of these have been started by a few high school students listening to older people (like SDS members near them) and then attempting to organize around opposition to the war, or around issues in the school, or both. As these movements have grown in numbers and militancy, they have attracted increased repression from the schools and increased interest from the rest of the movement. The Bay Area High School Conference, for example, which was to form a Bay Area high school student movement was effectively placed under the control of the Maoists, in particular the Young Partisans. While the conference made a fatal mistake by deciding that the mass student union would be a closed collective run by democratic centralism, there were many good people there who were united on their opposition to the undemocratic policies of the Maoists. An effort must be made by IS to offer opposition to the fully developed politics put forth by groups like the Revolutionary Union.

The IS should see its role in these organizations (high school student unions, etc.) as establishing contact with people in these groups, aiding the students in the development of their politics if such aid is requested, and putting forth a program of demands. One of the ways of establishing contact is through teachers. Teachers can either raise politics in their classes (especially history classes) or attend and participate in any sort of radical activity or meetings in the school.

Non-high school people must be very careful about their relations with high school students. When people come on in either a patronizing manner or with the idea that they are necessarily right on everything, the result is likely to be either the total alienation of the students from politics or the demand on their part that they be left alone by older people. While the first is very bad, the second should be seen as probably being a very healthy sign. ISer's should stress a pro-working class orientation both in politics and, whenever possible, in recruitment to the mass organization. Stress should be placed on both actions and on theoretical development.

The demands of any broad-based student group should include demands like the following:

1. First amendment rights, such as, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press, etc., must be granted in the high schools.
2. An end to the use of expulsions and suspensions as punishment by the administration. All cops out of the schools.
3. Control of the school by the students, faculty, and community. The administration to have the sole function of keep-

ing records and maintaining the school.

4. Change the grading system to pass-non-pass. No non-academic records to be kept. Records shown only with the permission of the student.

5. A curriculum which is relevant. Not only such things as black history must be taught, but also the history of the labor movement of this country.

6. An end to the oppression of women in the school. End the funneling of women into home economics classes and the spreading of the notion that women are inferior in any way which counts. An end to women being expelled for pregnancy and marriage; institute courses in sex education and birth control.

7. End the tracking system. The tracking system serves the state by placing people into their future economic classes.

8. Open admissions. All students who graduate from high school must be allowed to enter a four-year college and specifically a college near them if they so choose.

In addition to these demands, ISer's should see themselves urging the student movement to unite with and take stans on the anti-war movement, the black liberation movement, workers' struggles, etc.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS CONSTITUTION

### Article I. Name

The name of this organization shall be the International Socialists (I.S.).

### Article II. Political Principles

The basic political principles of the IS are those contained in the "Program in Brief." The Program in Brief may be amended only by the National Convention by majority vote. Proposed amendments must be circulated to all chapters at least 60 days prior to the National Convention which is to act on the amendments.

### Article III. Membership

All individuals who are in general agreement with the Political Principles and meet other requirements of this constitution are eligible for membership in IS.

The IS is an activist organization. Its members are expected to maintain a high level of activity, and joining the organization should be seen as a serious commitment to work either within the organization helping to build it, or in arena work, helping to advance its politics. Members are expected to accept political assignments on a regular basis, taking into account their personal situations. Members are required to be paid up in dues according to Article IX.

A chapter may accept into membership by majority vote, or by an alternate procedure adopted by majority vote any applicant meeting the requirements herein. Members at large who live in an area in which the IS does not have a branch may be accepted into membership by the National Secretary or by other procedures adopted by the NAC, subject to the approval of the NC. In areas in which an IS branch exists, there shall be no MALS without the specific permission of the NAC subject to the approval of the NC. In the event that a Chapter refuses membership, applicant may appeal to the NAC and NC.

Members who are unable to maintain regular political activity for periods of time may apply to the chapter executive committee for a Leave-of-Absence. Members on leave-of-absence are not entitled to vote at membership meetings but retain speaking rights. Members who do not meet chapter requirements for political activity may be placed on an involuntary Leave-of-Absence by the membership. Such decisions may be appealed to the NAC and NC. Members on leave of absence must pay full dues, must still coordinate their political activities through the IS, and are still subject to its discipline.

### Article IV. National Convention

The National Convnetion shall be the highest governing body of the Organization.

The NC shall call a National Convention every year.

The NC shall issue a call for the National Convention 90 days prior to the date set for the Convention. This period may be shortened by a 2/3 vote of the NC.

Special Conventions of the Organization may be called by the NC or by 25% of the membership.

Apportionment of delegates from the chapters and unorganized areas shall be proportionately determined by the NAC on the basis of the size of chapters and the Organization as a whole as of 90 days prior to the opening of the Convention.

The NC shall determine the delegate-membership ratio. Each chapter and organizing committee shall be entitled to at least one vote. Chapters may elect as delegates members of the IS who are not members of that chapter.

If the delegate-member ratio is 1 to n (so that each delegate represents n members) then each MAL who attends the Convention shall have 1/n votes. Or, what amounts to the same thing, each delegate shall have n votes and each MAL 1 vote.

Major documents for decision at the Convention shall be distributed to branches at least 4 weeks prior to the Convention. Counter-documents shall be distributed at least 2 weeks prior to the Convention.

#### Article V. National Committee

The National Committee and alternates shall be elected by the National Convention. No more than 1/3 of the members may be from any specific chapter.

The National Committee shall meet at least three times per year or upon call by the NAC, or upon request of 1/3 of the membership of the NC.

A quorum of the NC shall be equal to a majority of the NC and shall consist of members and alternates with written designations from absent NC members. Remaining vacancies shall be filled by alternates present in the order of election except where political division shall have been used in election in which case vacancies shall be filled only with alternates from the same political grouping.

Between Conventions the NC shall be governing body of the Organization and may make all political and organizational decision for the organization in between Conventions except those specifically excluded by this Constitution.

The NC shall appoint all national officers and the National Action Committee by majority vote and may remove them in the same way.

Any member of the NC who fails to attend two consecutive meetings of the NC is automatically removed from office unless action to the contrary is taken by the NO.

#### Article VI. National Action Committee

The National Action Committee shall be elected by the NC and may be replaced or changed at any time by the NC



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The NAC may act for the organization on all political and organizational matters except as otherwise provided for herein between meetings of the NC.

Any two members of the NAC or five members of the NC may request a mail vote of the NC on any action of the NAC within 10 days of the action.

Article VII. National Officers

The NC shall at its first meeting following a convention elect a National Secretary, Publications Editors, and any other national officers as it may deem necessary. These officers, if not elected members of the NC, shall be Fraternal members of the NC with voice but no vote. These officers may be replaced by the NC at any time. Officers shall be politically responsible to the NAC between NC meetings, although recallable only by the NC.

Article VIII. Organization.

Members at Large shall be responsible to the NAC for the conduct of political activity.

Five or more members in any locality may be chartered as a chapter upon application to the NAC. Chapters have the right and duty to perform all IS activity in that locality. The National Organization retains the power to supercede any decision of a local branch regarding its external functioning.

Three or more members in an unorganized area may be constituted an organizing committee upon application to the NAC and carry on activities subject to review by the NAC.

Where more than one chapter exists in any locale, a district organization may be chartered by the NAC in which case the district organization shall be the highest governing body within the locale. This district organization will be elected by a district convention called at the initiative of the chapters in the locale.

National fractions of members involved in common political work may be initiated by the members themselves or by the NC or NAC. These fractions may elect their own officers and committees. These fractions are responsible in their political work to the National Organization as a whole through the National Convention, NC, and NAC. The NC and NAC may establish any procedures deemed necessary to insure political responsibility.

Article IX. Finances

The NC shall have the power to set national dues. Chapters shall be responsible for the national dues of their members.

Local chapters and districts may assess such additional dues as deemed necessary.

The NC may set special assessments and organize special fund drives.

Only members in good standing may vote or hold office at any level in the I.S. A member who is more than three months arrears in dues and has not made satisfactory arrangements with the appropriate executive committee shall be deprived of the right to vote or hold any office. Members who are more than 6 months arrears in dues and who have not made satisfactory arrangements with the appropriate executive committee shall be dropped from membership two weeks following a letter of warning.

Article X. Referenda

Motions, proposed constitutional amendments or resolutions to be voted on by referendum shall be submitted to the membership upon request of 1/3 of the NC, 25% of the membership of the organized chapters.

The vote on each referendum shall close 30 days after submission to the membership. A majority vote of those voting (not including abstentions) shall determine the result except that no referendum shall be valid unless 1/3 of the membership in good standing vote.

Article XI. Membership Rights

The NAC shall establish a year-round information and discussion bulletin where all political and organizational disagreements may be expressed fully. Reasonable space and technical requirements may be imposed by the editor of the discussion bulletin. The NAC may refuse to publish in the discussion bulletin any article which lists the names or actions of specific individuals or groups when publication would subject them to repression from the state apparatus or seriously impair an individual or organization's political functioning. Such decisions by the NAC may be appealed to the NC.

There shall be no secret balloting on any committee of the IS. All votes shall be recorded and minutes of meetings except those in executive session shall be made available to all members who request them. All meetings of the NC and NAC are open to all members except when the bodies vote by 2/3 to go into executive session.

The rights of the majority shall be protected:

All members of the organization shall be guided in all their politically relevant actions by the decisions of the IS. No member shall externally organize against or oppose through public activity in any mass work any decision of the IS which has been specifically determined by the organization to be a disciplined matter. If a member disagrees with a decision of the organization, he may abstain from activity on that question.

No votes, substantive or procedural, shall require more than a simple majority of those voting (not including abstentions) for determination except for those specified in this Constitution.

The rights of the minorities shall be protected:

There shall be no restriction on the formation of caucuses within the organization.

There shall be no restriction on the rights of individuals or caucuses to publish their own points of view for distribution solely within the organization, except that the editorial restriction applying to the discussion bulletin also apply to all other publications.

Minorities are free to express their differences with an IS position outside the organization. This includes the right to publish opposition bulletins or journals. Specifically, members or caucuses may publish their own point of view in non-IS publications except in particular cases where such publication would in a substantial, immediate, and concrete way undermine the effectiveness of the organization's action program. This decision shall be made by the appropriate group, fraction, or leading body and may be appealed to the NAC or NC. Also, members may publish in external IS publications without limitations. Pamphlets and special supplements of the IS may be limited to the majority point of view.

No individual or chapter may be suspended or expelled from membership in the IS for political positions. The only basis for suspension or expulsion shall be political activity contrary to the decisions of the organization or actions which seriously threaten or discredit the organization. Disciplinary proceeding against an individual must be sent in writing to him and notification of discipline proceedings must be sent to all chapter members and the NAC at least two weeks prior to the general chapter meeting called to act on the discipline. A member has full rights to defend himself at the chapter meeting. An individual may appeal disciplinary action of a chapter to the NAC and NC.

The NAC may initiate disciplinary proceedings against Members-at-Large or chapters. The NAC shall notify the individual or chapter of charges and evidence and allow reasonable time to arrange for the individual or chapter to be present at the NAC meeting which will consider disciplinary action. The individual or chapter has full rights to defend himself at this meeting. The decision of the NAC may be appealed to the NC. In the case of disciplinary action against chapters, the decision may be appealed to the National Convention.

During the entire proceedings and appeal procedures, individuals and chapters have full rights to the use of the discussion bulletin and other procedures for internal communication.

Minority political views shall have full rights of representation on all committees of the organization. The outgoing NC and the executive committees shall submit in nomination a slate of candidates for the election of the new committee after consulting the different political tendencies within the organization. If any political tendency believes that it is or may be unrepresented or underrepresented on any committee of the organization, it is entitled, by submitting a motion or resolution as the basis for political representation, to that proportion of the seats on the committee as the proportion of those voting in favor of the

motion or resolution as a basis for political representation, to those voting at the meeting where the election is carried out.

Political tendencies also have the right to the procedure of political division in the election of delegates to the National Convention.

#### Article XII. Amendments

This constitution may be amended by membership referendum as described above, or by Convention in the same manner as the Program in Brief.

#### Article XIII. Recall of National Committee

A motion for the recall of one or more members of the national committee shall have the status of a referendum, and the procedures and requirements shall be those of Article X of this constitution. The NAC shall organize the referendum so that the various points of view are available to the membership before balloting. If new elections are required, alternate slates will be provided for.