

SWP

discussion bulletin

Published by the
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

Vol. 24 No. 25

June 1963

Contents

	<u>Page</u>
1. On The Party Discussion of the Negro Struggle, by Jean Blake	1
2. Amendments To Party Resolutions and Thesis on New Tasks and Perspectives, by C. Jarvis	4

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ON THE PARTY DISCUSSION OF THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

By Jean Blake

The pre-convention discussion of the present stage of the Negro Struggle and the Political Committee's draft resolution, "FREEDOM NOW," are a tribute to both the stimulating and inspiring effect of the Black Revolt, and the vitality and maturity of the Socialist Workers Party.

A particularly valuable contribution to the discussion was R. Vernon's piece, "WHY WHITE RADICALS ARE INCAPABLE OF UNDERSTANDING BLACK NATIONALISM," which adds depth and insight, and some important correctives, to the discussion. Anticipating adoption of the proposed resolution by the convention, I hope to see speedy publication of the resolution together with Comrade Vernon's piece, so that they may become a part of the lively discussion in the broader Negro movement.

* * *

The Political Committee draft resolution, "PREPARING FOR THE NEXT WAVE OF RADICALISM IN THE UNITED STATES," notes that the "radicalization of the Negro people constitutes the most important single political development within the country."

This summarizes a situation that has been recognized throughout the party in the past year, has affected all branch activity, and, as it should in a revolutionary socialist organization, has stimulated thought and discussion, as well as action.

Much of my own thinking on the subject has already been expressed in better form in the resolution and by Comrade Vernon, but there are two points I'd like to comment on further, and one new problem to which I'd like to call attention.

* * *

Negro nationalism today must be understood as a progressive development under the given relations in the class struggle in the United States. Its unique features must be examined specifically to differentiate progressive from the reactionary aspects of classical nationalism, and how this nationalism today among American Negroes varies from the old norms.

Two of these features which are already generally apparent should be mentioned:

1) The nationalism of the Negroes is internationalist -- in its sympathy with colonial struggles, with opposition to American and world imperialism, with the anti-capitalism in the colonial and new nations (even though this sympathy has not yet led to the adoption of a clear-cut anti-capitalist program for the movement here).

2) The nationalism of the Negroes at this point is chiefly a broad medium for self-identification or unification of a racially oppressed minority without a clearly defined geographical, language or cultural basis for differentiation from their

oppressors... with the broad aim of freeing themselves from oppression.

* * *

One of the reasons for the growth of nationalist sentiment that we have witnessed in the past few years is an acute consciousness and sensitivity among Negroes to deep-going and growing fascist trends in this country -- a much greater sensitivity than exists in the rest of the population, including the radical movement.

This is expressed in the widespread view among black artists, writers and intellectuals that perhaps they should get out of the United States while they still can -- go to Ghana or Nigeria or some Latin American country, where they would feel safer from fascist attacks than in the United States.

For the mass of Negroes, however, emigration is not feasible and their search for security takes other forms, such as defensive nationalism (as opposed to oppressive nationalism of white Americans) and even separatism.

The dominant features of Negro nationalism as it exists at this stage, however, is its independent, unifying role, for both defensive and offensive purposes in winning freedom from racial oppression.

With the growth of this nationalism, integration has receded to a means rather than the end of the civil rights struggle. The experience of Germany confirms the correctness of this development. The most integrated Jews in the world were the German Jews, but under Nazism, German's peculiar form of fascist oppression, they became the most disintegrated Jews in the world. The Negroes know integration would not save them from a similar fate in a fascist America.

* * *

The tempo of developments in the Negro struggle throughout the country, and its growing intensity, is such that the violent outbreaks in Northern cities which Baldwin and others have been predicting have already begun.

As I write this in Cleveland, "the best location in the nation" for race relations, according to Negro as well as white defenders and apologists for the status quo, a race riot has been in progress for the past four nights. According to radio reports, tonight mounted police have been added to the force sent to the area where white mobs have been attacking Negroes since a couple of white teenagers were beaten -- the girl raped -- last Wednesday night, allegedly by six Negro youths.

Curfews, arrests, stabbings, broken store and car windows, and at least one shooting have been reported. Editorials have called on the Negro community to help find the Negro youths allegedly responsible for the attack on the young couple. The NAACP has announced a reward for information leading to their arrest and conviction.

How will the Northern Negro communities respond to a race riot? Will they organize physical defense for the Negro population? Legal defense for youths picked up by the police?

These are some of the practical problems to which we now must address ourselves with an understanding of the new climate in which violence can be expected to continue to erupt in Northern cities.

June 16, 1963

END

AMENDMENTS TO PARTY RESOLUTIONS

and

THESIS ON NEW TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES

by C. Jarvis

This greatest of all revolutionary epochs is characterized by a fundamental condition which basically determines the nature of our national and international tasks.

The world-wide revolutionary political-economic development or relationship of forces has reached a high dynamic plateau which is now the point of a new departure in the character and tasks of the international revolutionary struggle.

Namely; the nature of the present epoch and the manner of manifestation and character of the permanent revolution configures around the question of the struggle for working class democracy. This takes place within the framework of revolutionary movements and revolutionary state social structures.

The task is to harmonize these democratic and revolutionary struggles within the framework of the historic tasks of the workers movement and its allies. The attainment of their conscious expression in vanguard parties loyal to the internationalist tradition of Marxism.

This historic trend towards democratization of the world-wide struggles of the revolutionary masses is itself subject to all the unevenness present in all other aspects of social development.

In revolutionary changes leading to the creation of workers states it is combined in many different forms, however, nowhere given full conscious expression free from bureaucratic distortions. Witness the different concrete manifestation of democratization and the lack thereof in the Chinese, Yugoslav and Cuban revolutions where the role of the various revolutionary classes, are combined in different forms and levels of conscious development, as well as in the political parties and regimes.

The objectives of the workers struggles in the areas of the globe that we characterize as workers states have this historic task: -- democratization. This historic task must be labelled and understood as a necessary and imperative task for all the old or previous reasons we have always advanced plus some new ones.

The level of development and general consciousness of the world class struggle has given rise to a condition that

makes these tasks historically even if they are not immediately realizable. This can be defined (and it will be the purpose of this thesis to prove) as a world relationship of forces giving rise to a condition in which there exists no stable, adequate objective and or objectively historical base for the continued existence of bureaucratic rule in the soviet bloc countries.

True, the bureaucracies of the Soviet Union, China, etc., can and do have the strength and capacity to prevent and thwart the thrust and drive of the masses striving to achieve the realization of this democratization. However, this represents historically an episodic relatively short run phenomena. Even if as seems likely that this democratization process lasts for the present epoch it still represents historically a short time. If not immediately then in the not distant future this democratization already present at certain levels of the revolutionary process will find higher concrete form and an increasingly conscious and explosive expression.

This process must be developed, not only in the workers states (e.g., Cuba) but everywhere. It must be taken at its dynamic developing full flood or find itself turned into its opposite. It is a historic law attested to by numerous historical examples that when a revolutionary process attains a certain high level of maturity approaching and equal to its historic tasks it must move forward to higher levels of attainment both nationally and internationally; else it suffers defeats and setbacks which affect the course of struggle for a long time, even decades.

The fact that a given historic task is realizable at certain levels of the democratization and class struggle process because it has attained a particular level of consciousness doesn't signify that all major tasks have or can receive concrete expression. Such concrete expression would mean the establishment of the democratic participation of the workers in the leadership in their revolution freely expressed through their vanguard soviet parties. Irregularities in the struggle; lack of mass consciousness; absence of the revolutionary vanguard, bureaucratic strangulation; -- these and more cause the struggle to develop unevenly -- all this is present in the democratization process.

This signifies that the uneven development of the democratization process is necessarily one of its main features but this doesn't invalidate the fact that it is the major trend underlying current social change and combines itself with all other requirements of revolutionary struggle given its heightened expression. It permeates and penetrates at all levels of the conscious and unconscious process seeking to link up consciously and internationally the necessary understanding of the unconscious revolutionary process.

The underlying support for this process is not limited

to any area of the globe. Nor for that matter is it completely absent regardless of the level of a given area of struggle. To the extent it is blocked in any given area it will through the development in heightened mass consciousness reflected through the activity of the revolutionary vanguard reappear in concrete form in another area of struggle.

This leads to a need to emphasize that it is the increased and heightened consciousness and maturity expressed also in progressive social institutions both political and economic on a global scale which necessitates a precise internationalist orientation. An orientation based on a concrete theory which precisely expresses not only our differences with all other political formations but of a fundamental theoretical character reflecting the nature and maturity of the class struggle in all its international aspects.

Contrariwise it needs to be a theoretical orientation that not only underlines our differences with all other political formations but one that increases and facilitates our potentialities of influencing and penetrating these political formations, parties, or superceding them as the case may have it.

Democratization of the workers struggle does not mean for Marxists a supra-historical, supra-class type democratization unrelated to the historic tasks of the revolutionary process. Consequently, when we speak of the urgent need for democratization of the revolutionary struggles prevalent throughout the world we understand as always that it is determined and conditioned by the historic needs of the class struggle; especially the needs and importance to this democratic struggle towards promoting the decisive role played by the workers struggle in the metropolitan countries. Along with this the task of building an internationalist vanguard is still the central task of our movement and an integral part of this democratization process.

In those areas of the world of colonial and semi-colonial revolution the permanent revolution has and will be confirmed again and again in the uneven and combined stages of the revolutionary struggles becoming more and more imbued with socialist aims and objectives. However, with this added important factor that along with vast economic-social change the demand for the linking up internationally of these struggles with the advanced areas will find more mass expression. It will go hand in hand with the demand for democratization (e.g., Algeria) of these struggles which will be understood as vitally necessary to relieve the burdens imposed by historically conditioned backwardness. Democratization can help relieve the burdens imposed by historically inherited conditions of backwardness, requiring state and regional planning, rationalization and industrialization, -- so as not to impose herculean, unnecessary tasks upon the small working class and their peasant

allies. This also applies in the workers state where this condition (backwardness) as elsewhere has created and led to political backwardness utilized by bureaucratic rule for self-perpetuation. The Great Debate raging now between the various Communist parties and workers states regimes to a considerable part is a direct and indirect reflection of this condition of backwardness and uneven development. In the colonial areas this will be the work of the present historical epoch and will continue until these areas and states can achieve and begin to transcend the basic requirements of their national existences.

In the United States the democratization process will greatly determine and be determined by the course and development of the Negro struggle. It will facilitate the linking up of the national and international struggles of the working class and revolutionary peasantry; -- placing more to the conscious center the main cause of their oppression -- capitalism.

Here too, in the Negro struggle, correctly understood, democratization assumes a most revolutionary aspect for it combines in uneven form historical bourgeois democratic tasks with the current struggles of the proletariat, white and black, for release from an outmoded social system. The combination of these two uneven tasks, one historically overdue, with the mature tasks in the struggle for socialism imparts to both in their inevitable combined form a many times greater dynamism and urgency. The Negro struggle is centrally located and a major key to the forthcoming struggles of the workers and their allies in the United States.

The revolutionary struggles from the East Germany uprising, the Hungarian and Polish uprising, and now the independently developing Cuban and Algerian revolutions all demonstrate the main direction and attest to the need of this democratization process. The masses while showing their attachment to soviet property forms are clearly demonstrating in action their concern for democracy in pushing these uprisings, revolutionary movements and societies in an independent direction of manifold revolutionary character; spontaneous concrete achievement and expression; and great revolutionary novelty.

Again: New Tasks and Perspectives

"Although it is thus impermissible to deny in advance the possibility, in strictly defined instances, of a "united front" with the Thermidorean section of the bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counter-revolution, the chief political task in the U.S.S.R. still remains the over-

throw of this same Thermidorean bureaucracy."

"The bureaucracy replaced the soviets as class organs with the fiction of universal electoral rights -- in the style of Hitler-Goebbels. It is necessary to return to the soviets not only their free democratic form but also their class content. As once the bourgeoisie and kulaks were not permitted to enter the soviets, so now it is necessary to drive the bureaucracy and new aristocracy out of the soviets."

"Democratization of the soviets is impossible without legalization of soviet parties. The workers and peasants themselves by their own free vote will indicate what parties they recognize as soviet parties."

(Quotes from The Transitional Program of 1938 -- original emphases.)

To return to a major aspect if not the major aspect of this thesis as it was previously stated, namely: that a world relationship of forces exists giving rise to a condition in which there exists no stable, adequate objective and or objectively historical base for the continued existence of bureaucratic rule in the soviet bloc states.

The degeneration of the workers state in the Soviet Union has always been considered by us the necessary result of its isolation. This was caused by the failure and delay of the revolution in spreading and becoming part of a more general revolutionary change, especially, in the industrially advanced countries.

Understanding this inevitable outcome has never been used as a historical or other justification of Stalinism however it has been explained and understood by us. The possibilities lay open for another outcome of the historic process, -- one that Trotsky spent a later lifetime in opposition and exile to accomplish.

What is the present significance of this common, generally accepted prognosis. It lies in this. The Soviet Union is the 2nd political-economic state in the world. It is surrounded by a periphery of more (mostly more) or less satellite workers states; co-existing with the workers states of Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Albania and the half states of North Vietnam, North Korea, and East Germany.

What follows from this is best focused upon by repeating part of previous quotes from our Transitional Program. "Democratization of the Soviets is impossible without legalization of the Soviet parties. The workers and peasants themselves by their own free vote will indicate what parties

they recognize as soviet parties."

No one can deny that improvements, especially in the economic sphere (e.g. in the Soviet Union), haven't taken place. But are we "justified" today in believing that there exists an objective historic base or "necessary" cause, -- as was the case with the Soviet Union because of its historically conditioned isolation, -- for the lack of legalized soviet parties? The reason or "necessary" cause for this lack we placed where it belonged -- Stalinism. Today, despite Stalinism, the isolation of the Soviet Union has been greatly overcome in a vast social change embracing more than one-third of mankind.

Can the responsibility for this continued lack of legalized soviet parties today be placed on a lack of revolutionary leadership and mass consciousness caused by the betrayals of Social Democracy and Stalinism? For Stalinism the answer is -- obviously **yes** -- insofar as what is meant is not just a progressive repetition of redundant ideas; or a case of reductive circular reasoning; turning phrases and intended meanings back upon themselves; -- going from the "inevitability" of the degeneration of the Soviet Union given the factors involved in its historically created isolation (enforced by lack of revolutionary success elsewhere) and back again to Stalinist betrayals in pendulum fashion.

As for Social Democracy -- again, yes -- this ideological and political tendency played an added and terrible role of betrayal with the additional factor that it was able to adapt and strengthen itself on Stalinist betrayals and visa versa. It has changed little even now.

But since World War II in overcoming the isolation of the Soviet Union the world struggle has moved into position where this situation can never be repeated in the same disadvantageous form.

Workers states have even come into existence without having solved all the problems centering around the creation of vanguard parties previously considered almost a prerequisite if not a complete prerequisite. As a matter of fact the masses, pushing through revolutionary social change against the ruling class elements, have utilized for their own ends, -- Communist parties (e.g. China), -- placing these parties in self-contradiction to themselves and opposed social class forces. Putting them in contradiction to their own practical aims of exploiting politically and theoretically for their own bureaucratic self-interest, power and privilege the historic struggle for socialism.

Our analysis of Stalinism, neo-Stalinism must contain, along with what we have developed until now, additional

qualifications leading to more concrete and precise characterization.

Certainly the continued lack of legalized soviet parties in the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc cannot be "justified," explained away, simply by capitalist encirclement, -- although no one questions the immense pressure and dangers of this capitalist counter-revolutionary pressure. It has been dramatically, dynamically confirmed that the theory of Permanent Revolution accurately describes the unfolding revolutionary process in the colonial, semi-colonial areas (Cuba, Algeria). Stalinism and bureaucratic rule can get no objective historical support here.

The theory of the Permanent Revolution also generalizes and explains integrally with the law of uneven and combined development the present world reality on the highest as well as lowest levels of the struggle and consciousness, -- especially the development in the metropolitan countries. Thus it would be unthinkable to use these laws of social development in such a way as to counterpose them in different areas of the globe. As, for example, to state that the application of these laws find application, -- more broadly, -- realization in backward areas slowing down or retarding history their development and realization in the industrial areas. At least if implications are drawn out of these theories incorrectly that are not warranted and go beyond the actual stage and condition of historical reality and social existence. Actually, -- however the advanced and retarded areas of struggle are combined in the historical struggle for socialism, -- these differently determined, variously matured areas of global struggle complement and amplify each other immensely even if for a time they develop unevenly. They find concrete form and successfully produce social revolutionary change through the weakest links of the capitalist chain. Delay only increases the forces preparing themselves for the final showdown, intensifying and strengthening the seemingly conflicting tendencies in the class struggle and drawing them together internationally. Stalinism and bureaucratic rule cannot gain **an objective** historical base of support here.

Marxists have always believed in the working class as the class whose position and role in capitalist society necessitates their leadership in the struggle for socialism. For Marxists to question this would invalidate Marxism as a social theory of real adequacy. It would be necessary, however painful, to erect a new theory. The major portion of the world's working class (and consequently world capitalism) finds itself encircled by workers states and revolutionary colonial and semi-colonial struggles. That Stalinism and bureaucratic rule in the Soviet bloc can find any adequate historic objective base here for its existence by exploiting the backwardness of this struggle is excluded.

As for the imperialists, -- who following the end of

World War II pursued a strategy of retreating back into the most viable, advanced, cultural centers of their industrial bastions together with their more dependent "pliant" colonies, -- they also view this revolutionary world process with the deepest concern. There can be no question that much of the advanced progressive revolutionary social change in the period from World War II in the more undeveloped areas of the globe can be to a great extent attributed to this withdrawal from exposed positions. This temporarily retarded the struggle in the metropolitan areas and caused great hardships and sacrifices and retarded the struggle for socialism not only affecting the major portion of the working class and its vanguard parties in metropolitan countries but it retarded the world-wide struggle for socialism. We know the causes. The immediate effect was to create the conditions and possibilities of bureaucratic distortions in the revolutionary process leading to more social caste formations of bureaucratic rule standing above and over these revolutionary changes and newly formed workers states. It also created as well, and this is more important historically, progressive social changes freeing great areas from imperialist rule.

The bureaucracies and would-be bureaucrats in the Soviet bloc (to the extent they didn't fear and oppose it) saw in this only the possibilities of greater power and privilege. They owe a tremendous debt to the world working class for these privileges, -- so far these political extortionists haven't made the down payment, -- nor are they apt to.

Viewed thusly within the framework of the present relationship of world forces the lack of legal soviet parties in the Soviet bloc can find no adequate objective or historically objective support in the current world situation.

[Cuba, while coming under the overall analysis and prognosis advanced here and necessarily proceeding within the general framework of the same world reality, will be dealt with separately, as it relates to the particular questions focused on here. It obviously presents special problems as well as special advantages for us. Workers states such as Yugoslavia, Poland, etc., also have of necessity their own peculiarities and are included here as they relate to the area and compass of this analysis.]

The question of the nature of political revolutions in workers states has also been raised in the pre-convention discussion. In as much as the case of workers states with their own national peculiarities has been mentioned above this is probably the best place to discuss the general problem of political revolution.

These peculiarities of the various workers states and the problems that arise, however they develop and relate

themselves concretely and historically in each country can be generalized within the thesis developed here.

In general the character or nature of the political revolutions in the various workers' states proceeds under the obvious fact that bureaucratic rule basically has no objective or objectively historical base for continued existence. To the extent that these bureaucracies proceed independently in a fashion preventing the existence of legal soviet parties they are in direct opposition to the needs and interests of the workers and peasants in these countries. To the extent that they are satellite dependent workers state bureaucracies, the special problems however these affect the internal struggle tactically are arranged and subordinate to the historic interests of the masses of these countries. So long as legalized soviet parties do not exist the choice of how and in what manner the political revolutions proceed are in the first instance, if not fundamentally, determined by these bureaucracies, however dependent, and their political objectives and not with the masses of these countries.

The struggle against these bureaucracies throughout the soviet bloc must be conducted without concession, -- implacably, -- for these caste structures are historically outmoded. Critical support or opposition is excluded. Beyond this point the precise nature of the political revolution cannot be pursued on an a priori basis. As an outmoded social caste structure it is for them, the bureaucrats, to explain to the working class just what they are doing.

A great deal of instability and crisis is beginning to reflect itself in concrete form in revolutionary reality. Stalinism, not only is not as monolithic, -- great party and state fissures are appearing. It still remains, however, a powerful counter-revolutionary force requiring a political revolution to remove.

Although conditions have greatly changed there remains an important, useful element in the part of our Transitional Program, stating: "Although it is impermissible to deny in advance the possibility, in strictly defined, instances of a "united front" with the thermidorean section of the bureaucracy (read, bureaucracies) against open attack by capitalist counter-revolution, the chief political task in the USSR still remains the overthrow of this thermidorean bureaucracy."

Great historic changes in the relationship of world forces makes any tactical approach by us today to these bureaucracies less "permissive" than ever before. By permissive here is meant that our tasks must be carried out under the realization of a lack of historic and objec-

tive possibilities for their basing themselves on immature social forces and the isolation of the revolution produced by the world struggle confined in one geographical area.

Whatever the subjective (meaning here that these bureaucracies have been placed by events superstructurally in these soviet social systems and in world reality and consequently of the struggles arising from them) role and strength of these bureaucracies neither the isolation of the revolutionary world struggle or the backwardness exist in sufficient degree to give them a stable base.

This fact helps to explain the underlying reasons for the Great Debate. The conditions of their existences give these bureaucracies a feeling of tremendous insecurity and perfervid fear leading to the possibility of their attempting even greater betrayals than in the past. Trotsky remarked and warned of this possibility in regard to the Soviet bureaucracy when it found itself in extremis.

Further, this condition of their existence means that their continued existence in the present relationship of world forces makes them increasingly dependent, superstructural, parasitical formations depending greatly on the forces of capitalist counter-revolution, social decay and decline for their continued existence. The distance between their base in soviet social institutions of their respective workers states and their role and function constantly increases.

Even though these bureaucracies have no intention of democratizing the base of their rule it still leaves them with insoluble problems. These problems cannot be disposed of by "leftist" (read, ultra-leftist) foreign policy (e.g. China, Albania). External policies reflect back on, grow out of internal policies and interrelate to all the problems of state, party and nation.

Marxists should defend and deepen whatever that is progressive in the contradictions and struggles between and within the Soviet bloc states and their parties. Realizing that distorted as these struggles are by bureaucratic rule they reflect, basically, progressive social struggles. Bureaucratic rule can gain no objective historical strength here.

So long as these bureaucracies refuse to democratize their countries they appear to the workers and masses of other countries either as ultra-leftists, exploiting division elsewhere but not for progressive reasons. They appear as hypocrites trying to cover-up a deplorable and inexcusable condition at home that because of power madness they wish to impose on others. To the extent that they appear a military threat, -- using great power policies

instead of class struggle principles, -- (witness: China's relationship to India) -- they appear in the old and familiar pattern of invading conquerors. To a former colonial people this is important. Aside from illustrating and confirming the old adage that people do not want to be liberated at the point of foreign bayonets, it also symbolizes the great separation between ends and means. A great subcontinent such as India must be liberated by the workers and peasants of India and cannot be imagined as democratically possible in any other way.

Driving the Indian masses in behind the Indian bourgeoisie by inciting national chauvinist attitudes between these two former colonial people hardly constitutes an example of socialist internationalism. It suggests that as far as the Chinese bureaucracy is concerned that however the question of whether or not power corrupts is decided that there can be no question that absolute power corrupts absolutely. The initial issue in dispute, whoever was right, has lost its meaning in any progressive class content important sense.

In a major war imperialism would hardly forego this opportunity to intervene and generalize this war with possible fateful consequences. Naturally this doesn't prevent China from acting in self-defense and to protect its vital interests if India is the base for counter-revolutionary attack of China. The Chinese are obligated before the workers and revolutionary masses to adequately explain and justify actions such as these. The working class and its revolutionary fraternal parties have an absolute right to this vital information. This is what genuine proletarian internationalism means.

Amendments to Party Resolutions

I. Stalinism and bureaucratic rule

As described in the thesis there no longer remains any meaningful and significant objective and/or objective historical base for the continued existence of bureaucratic rule in the workers' states. This is a fact of profound revolutionary significance. The question of political revolution which remains necessary in each of the workers' states and all other questions relate themselves to this fundamental fact of social reality. Critical support or opposition is excluded except as it is spelled out in the Transitional Program of 1938. The nature of these political revolutions cannot be predicted in advance. Progressive positions forced upon these bureaucracies in various fields reflecting as they do the mass pressure underneath, however distorted and refracted through these

bureaucracies, should be supported and utilized in struggle against these bureaucracies.

II. Some various forces of world reaction

As in the most infamous of all such cases, The Moscow Trials, the world has and is witness to a phenomenon, today known as brain-washing, that has become generalized and spread to all corners of this agonized world. The position of genuine revolutionists on this question necessitates more than a vigorous attack on this unconscious phenomenon. It must include an appeal to the conscience of mankind and whatever other steps necessary to put an immediate end to this brutal and inhuman, inquisitorial practice. It is understood that the individual has an absolute right to protect his right to defend himself from mental and moral derangement. It is not too different from the historic right not to be a witness against oneself. Mankind struggled long in defense of this basic freedom. Just as mankind and civilization has nothing to gain and everything to lose in an atomic holocaust, mankind and civilization have nothing to gain and everything to lose in a world dominated by brain-washers. Against the G.P.U. even exposure before a Congressional investigation committee was attempted and fully justified by Trotsky.

To the extent that practices such as these are carried on by states or individuals in the name of "democratic centralism" (read bureaucratic centralism) this is not only to be doubly condemned but perverts Marxist theory in the worst manner possible. Aside from the undeniable fact, hardly requiring repeating, that for genuine Marxists, -- forms of organization or organizational procedures of struggle are and have always been subordinated to our historic ends and in the standards symbolized in the struggle for socialism conducted through the highest forms of principled, programmatic and cultural concepts.

While defending Leninist organization procedures, themselves originally created and generalized in principled, programmatic concepts of struggle and representing part of the historically created arsenal of Marxism; -- genuine Marxists are eternally vigilant against those who subordinate the historic aims of Marxism by perverting means, by the pursuit of organizational fetishisms and perverted forms of bureaucratic rule in the name of "democratic centralism." This is the essence of dialectical and historical materialism.

The mentality of those who stoop to these means differs not at all with the fascist mentality. It is often closely linked in mental type to many others -- promoters of racial, national chauvinist hatreds for the purpose of

maintaining class and bureaucratic privilege and power. Capitalism's exploitation of these techniques in its divide and rule policy is the classic. It is equally reprehensible and vicious when it takes the form of Great Russianism and Great Hanism and proliferates itself together with imperialist counter-revolution into every nook and cranny of the world struggle.

III. Democracy

While this is mentioned in many ways in P.C. statements the concept needs to be broadened and generalized as proposed in this thesis. The bourgeoisie have always used the Soviet Union and today China as scare-crows to frighten off the workers of other lands from following their example. Nothing characterizes this period of history more than the numerous and varied forms of struggle which reflect the mass pressure for a more democratic existence and advanced way of life. In its propaganda and activity the party is involved to the limit in expressing this fact and pursuing the fight for civil rights. It should be generalized in our programmatic statements as one of the hallmarks of current reality which we fully endorse. It will chase away all scare-crows and help place more of the initiative in the struggle in the hands of the working class and its allies; the groups and classes that more than anyone else desire and are capable of defending and extending democratic rights. Finally it will also reduce the effectiveness of the demagoguery of the Soviet bureaucracies.

Cuba

The Cuban revolution expresses more than any other event the strength and dynamism of the international struggle. The role of our party and leaders in rallying in support of this development reflects most favorably on our capacity to respond in a vital and affirmative way to openings in the unfolding class struggle. The internationalization and democratization and maintenance of its independent course remain the chief tasks of this revolution and its leadership. As described in the amendment on the bureaucratic rule in the Soviet states that there exists no objective historical basis for their continued existence applies to Cuba as the particular to the general. With this exception, however, the newly created workers' state of Cuba has not fully generalized the future course of its development either on a state or party level.

Nevertheless the meaningful significance of such ques-

tions as: -- Whither Cuba? -- Cuba, What Next? have an urgent importance. On the fundamental questions of democratization and internationalization history will not give Cuba long to choose. The revolution must expand and develop its democratic and internationalist features and maintain the momentum of the revolutionary trends of its origin or become bureaucratized or destroyed or both. Further revolutionary successes as well as setbacks elsewhere ~~may advance or delay the date but the choice is obvious~~ and near. The strategic forms of our tactical approach to the Cuban revolution flow from the realization that historically there no longer exists any objective "justification" for bureaucratic rule. The character of this revolutionary epoch as the period of the democratization of the worldwide struggle for socialism, of which the Cuban revolution itself is the classic example, symbolizing all that this signifies, is the other half of our approach to the Cuban events.

Boston
June 2, 1963