

YOUNG SOCIALIST

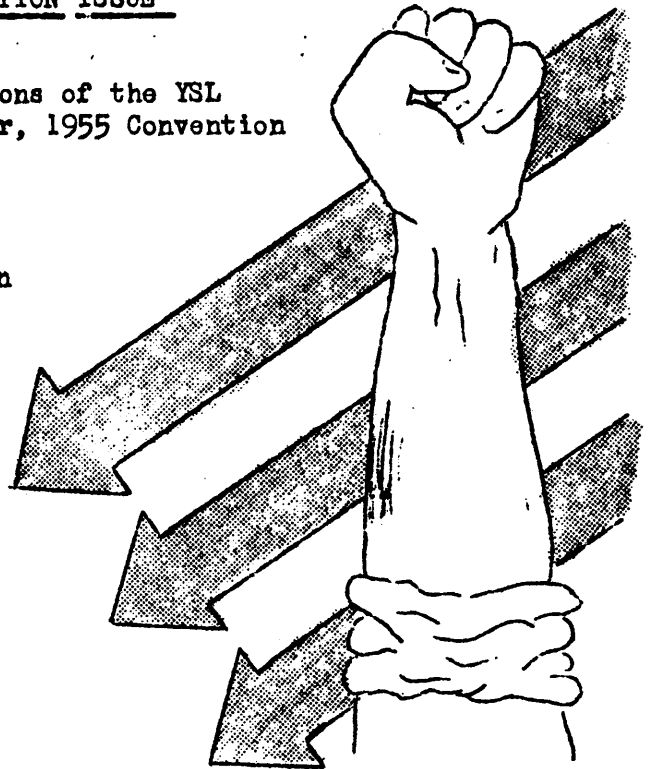
REVIEW

SPECIAL CONVENTION ISSUE

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September, 1955 Convention

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SPECIAL
CONVENTION ISSUE

Vol. 2 No. 4

October, 21

1955
70¢

INFORMATION AND
DISCUSSION BULLETIN
OF
THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

EDITORIAL NOTES

WHAT THE YSR IS

The Young Socialist Review is the information and discussion bulletin of the Young Socialist League. The YSR is prepared by the YSL National Office and is edited by Joan Morris.

The aim of the YSR is to constitute a forum for the expression of all points of view within the YSL. It is, therefore, completely open to any member or group of members who may wish to contribute their views. Contributions from non-members will be accepted, if of sufficiently high interest. (The editor reserves the right to decide on the case of each such article.)

For obvious reasons it should be understood that articles signed by individuals do not necessarily represent the views of the YSL. Any material that is "official" will be clearly labelled as such.

Copy should be submitted to the YSL National office, Third Floor, 114 W. 14th St., New York 11, N.Y. If at all possible, submit copy stenciled, single spaced. If this is not possible, then submit material type-written, double spaced. Non typewritten copy will not be accepted.

It should be clear that the YSR is not restricted to members of the YSL. Though issued primarily for members it is open to all friends and other interested individuals. Members should make every effort to get copies into the hands of this wider audience. Send in your bundle orders now.

All labor expended in the publication of the YSR is donated by the members of the NY Unit of YSL.

THIS ISSUE

This and the next issue of the YSR will cover business transacted at the 1955 YSL Convention held in Chicago. For practical purposes only, this issue is devoted exclusively to the main resolutions and the revised YSL Constitution passed as amended at the Convention. The following issue, which is slated for publication within two weeks, will contain motions and resolutions that were defeated at the Convention and some post-Convention discussion.

All articles dealing with the second Convention issue will have to be into the National Office no later than Monday, October 10.

The editor of YSR intends to publish regularly with a goal of no less than once a month, and possibly every three weeks, if YSL members cooperate. YSR will be published with no leniency on deadlines and this means you, comrades.

DEADLINE SCHEDULE FOR NEXT THREE ISSUES OF YSR

1955
October 10
October 31
November 21

(Copy into N.O.,
not publication
date)

RESOLUTION ON TASKS AND ORIENTATION OF THE YSL

The Young Socialist League is the only American youth organization that speaks out against both American and Russian imperialism and for the Third Camp of peace and socialism. Although there is little prospect of a mass radicalisation of American youth, the YSL, nevertheless, can increase its size and influence among those youth who become increasingly aware of the dilemma that capitalism and stalinism have brought to the entire world.

The main task of the YSL is to fully exploit the growing opportunity to extend its influence. Today's thin strata of politically conscious youth will penetrate deeper and deeper into the fabric of American life tomorrow. It is among the younger people that the YSL must concentrate its appeal.

Our generation is growing up under the threat of a Third World War. It can be said that the past two generations have known little else, but war or the threat of war. The preparation for war has seeped into every pore of American life and its consequences are of daily importance.

The prosperity of the nine years since the end of World War II is still with us, but now it is the Permanent War Economy. It is still easy to get jobs when schooling is over, the take-home pay is high compared to other countries, but there is an existing and threatening price to pay for this "prosperity" -- the draft, UMT and the constant threat of a world war. However, the forces of war and reaction have not yet come into full play and American youth is only beginning to become aware of its future under capitalism. The economic prosperity of the richest and most powerful capitalist country in the world strengthens the traditional lack of widespread interest in radical politics or even of politics in general.

The problems which confront the socialist movement today are more complex and difficult than those of the Thirties. Then the primary problems were unemployment and war, the solution was socialism and it was not too difficult to convince young people of it. Because of past failures, the task of the socialist movement and of the socialist youth is that much greater. Where the interest in politics does come forth, it is often in search for the quick and easy "solution", the elusive magic formula that will provide for a "peaceful co-existence" of the rival imperialism.

It is the task of the YSL to convince young people of the futility of such "solutions" to their problems. It is to teach them to go to the root of the matter, to convince them that radical politics are realistic politics in a world threatened by destruction and barbarism and to reject the politics of the "crackpot realists". It is to instill in them a feeling of self-reliance, an understanding that the way out of the present impasse lies only through their activity, understanding and organization - and ultimately in their devotion to the fight for socialism. There is the need for the idealism of youth, an awareness that the socialist reorganization of society is the only realistic hope for a world of peace and freedom and the realization that in the labor movement lies the strongest force to accomplish this goal. It is necessary to point out that there must be a consistent and continued fight for the preservation and extension of our democratic rights and against compromising these rights in the interests of the fight against "communism". And at the same time, it is important to clearly differentiate ourselves from the Stalinists and Stalinism.

To facilitate reaching these objectives, the YSL must grow into an organization that can take the leadership among young people. The devotion and loyalty to the fight for socialism and to the YSL are prerequisites for our developing into an organization with recognized leadership among radical youth. It is necessary to

develop a leadership within the YSL and to stimulate maximum membership participation in the internal life of the YSL. No organization can function in a truly democratic manner without the full participation by the rank and file in its life and activity. A democratic structure can only lay the necessary foundation, but it is the responsibility of the membership as a whole to give this democracy an organic character through their participation. The YSL today is in a position to carry its program to a greater number of young people than ever before. But to be able to carry on in the most effective way, it is necessary to develop politically stable cadres, idealistic and devoted to the cause of socialist democracy.

1) The past year and a half since the founding of the YSL, there has not been the revival of political interest and activity in the arenas of youth activity. In general the situations and objective circumstances that hold back a revival of the socialist movement, affects the YSL and the Independent Socialist Movement as well as other radical and socialist tendencies. The country has passed from the recession of late 1953-54, to an unprecedented boom; the war crisis in Indochina and the Formosa straits have at least temporarily suspended leading into the Bif 4 meeting at Geneva; the power and influence of McCarthy has receded, although McCarthyism, the politics of the witch-hunt remains, and there has also been a receding from the heights and "excesses" of the anti-democratic trend. However, while national and world situation broadly limits what we can do, there, nevertheless, remains considerable area for political activity and recruitment.

2) The YSL occupies a unique position among radical youth today. It is the only socialist youth organization that functions, carries out activity and presents itself to American youth. The merger of the Socialist Youth League and the Young People's Socialist League was a complete success from every point of view. It halted the decline in both organizations, and in the period since its founding, the YSL has increased its membership and activity. It is not that the YSL is an all inclusive organization, with only a vague and nebulous point of view, and therefore there is no need for another socialist youth organization. It is rather a tribute to the strength and vitality of the ideas and politics of our movement and the devotion to the cause of socialism of the membership that has carried the YSL forward in a period most, if not all, youth organizations declined. While we recognize that it is a sign of the times when only one socialist youth organization exists, but it also provides an opportunity for greater recruitment and growth.

3) It is well recognized that the crisis of the socialist movement is based upon the objective nature of the political situation in which we find ourselves in the United States. There is no section that has not been tragically decimated by the loss of members and failure to recruit. This is true both of the revolutionary as well as the reformist tendencies, - it cuts across all political lines. However, a youth organization does not feel its effects in the same way and to the same extent. The reason is to be found in the nature of youth activity itself. Youth is naturally the idealistic and radical in tendency, and not weighted down by the cynicism and defeatism usually prevalent among the older generations. The effect of this general fact is to bring a constant influx of new contacts into the periphery of socialist youth organizations. Therefore, even in those periods of the greatest weight of unfavorable circumstances, a youth organization never loses its arena of activity in quite the same way an adult group does. This is true today, especially for a movement which consciously strives to build a youth group.

4) The main arena of activity for the YSL will continue to be the campus. It is this perspective which has enabled the YSL to make the gains of the past period. The founding convention of the YSL did not believe that a period of large scale political activity or revival of interest in socialist ideas was in the offering, and this has proved correct. Nevertheless, the campus has not been barren. And while

we do not anticipate a development enabling the socialist youth movement to break out of its isolation, we do expect the campus to remain the most meaningful arena in terms of activity and recruitment. Without this orientation, it is likely that the YSL would have suffered a serious decline.

5) In a period when there are narrow restrictions on the activity and influence of the socialist movement, they do not affect the campus with the same intensity. It is one of the few phases in American society where a socialist group can function openly in its own name and receive a serious audience as a legitimate and meaningful political alternative, at least among the politically conscious strata of students. If the YSL can not function openly in its own name, at least a socialist club or avowedly radical club is often possible. The members of such a club should, of course, strive toward creating a more democratic situation where the Y.S.L. can openly function.

6) The campus, however, along with other areas of American activity, is an area of political quiescence. The last really significant large scale political activity and interest occurred during the 1948 presidential campaign. Since then there has been a steady decline with only slight upturns for short periods. The major reason for this decline has been and is the witch-hunt - both the officially government sponsored variety inaugurated by the reactionary subversive list and the McCarthy variety. Students became more interested in their own private careers and eschewed contact with socialist groups and politics in general. Politics because it was meaningless in the sense that the world problems were so large and complex. From this flows a feeling of impotence and incompetence to achieve a goal which they feel may be desirable. Although there seems to be easing in the general situation in recent months, it is still too early to see what effects it will have on the campus. A slight revival in political interest does seem to be likely, however, if, for no other reason, than the 1956 presidential campaign. It is bound to create an opportunity to pose our socialist point of view, to criticize the reactionary politics of both the Democratic and Republican parties and to argue for the necessity of a labor Party and a democratic foreign policy.

7) It will remain one of the main tasks of the YSL to concentrate on re-establishing roots on campus. In the past year and a half we have extended our activities to colleges where we formerly did not exist or had the most tenuous of contact. We also managed to consolidate some contacts which were on the verge of disappearing. However, our position is certainly not one where we have stabilized our influence. Toward this end, units should give special attention to the problems faced by our campus fractions. This has in the past and will in the coming period remain, our main area of recruitment, directly and indirectly. It is also important that we seek out younger students to provide a base of activity when older members graduate.

8) It should be the responsibility of every comrade on campus to participate in the political life of the campus. The organization form will have to depend on the circumstances in each particular situation. On a campus where there exists real tradition of political freedom or at least toleration of dissent political points of view, it is not excluded that, if there are the minimum number of YSLers, a YSL club may be organized. However, this will not be the typical situation. Far more common will be the opportunity to form a socialist or socialist-orientated club where we can openly present our socialist ideas. A broader group will provide an arena of activity for those students who are not ready or willing to join a socialist organization. It is often through participation in a broader campus club that we are able to recruit. In these situations where the reactionary nature of the administration or the apathy of the student body is such that it would be impossible to form a socialist-orientated club, YSLers should join such liberal groups, such as SDA and NAACP

if they exist. The main objective is to find or create a political arena in which to operate. One of the factors limiting our freedom of choice is the small size of our campus fractions. However, we have seen examples where even an isolated member is able to build a periphery, form a socialist club and create a center of political activity. The subjective factor of organizational ability affords a considerable degree of maneuverability which can spell the difference between the campus club or an isolated comrade. But whatever the particular situation, it is the responsibility of every active YSLer to be known as a Third Camp socialist and the most articulate defender of our democratic rights.

9) The main emphasis of our campus political work centers about the struggles over the attacks on our democratic rights and against the imperialist politics of both war blocs. In a period such as the present, when both blocs desire an easing of the heights of the war tensions and a detente in order to consolidate their positions for the next phase of the struggle for world dominion, we must not relax our political criticism of the politics of the struggle. We should not fall into the mood of confusion surrounding the task of peaceful co-existence and the feeling of a developing era of good feeling. We would be abandoning the meaningfulness of our role as socialists if we did not point to the reason for this present respite, what are the politics behind it and the fact that it is impossible to achieve peace through the method of a deal between the imperialist powers. At the same time we must avoid giving the impression that we are critical of the present period because it is an easing of tensions. We must constantly take the lead in the advocacy of peace, especially in the era of nuclear weapons. But we must point out that peace can not be achieved through any means. We must point out that only a truly democratic government - working class government which has broken with bourgeois politics can rally the people all over the world to defeat the twin dangers to peace - capitalism and Stalinism.

10) In the course of our campus work, one of our main tasks is to attempt to involve broader sections of the student body in political activity. We seek to break out of the isolation of the anti-political mood and anti-socialist prejudices. Toward this purpose, we seek to join in united front activities with liberal, pacifist and other socialist tendencies. While there are wide gulfs of political and theoretical differences separating us, there are also immediate political issues where we are in agreement.

11) The particular situation where this is possible varies. Such united front activities in no way imply an abandonment of our point of view or concessions to opposing tendencies. Rather we attempt to convince them of the need for a consistent and principled defense of civil liberties. YSLers through their militant position can often create a periphery on campus which will look to the YSL and YSLers for leadership. We attempt to force the liberals to fight consistently for their point of view where the results would lead toward a consistently democratic position. Part of this is connected to our criticism of their failure to tie up the anti-democratic reaction of the post-war period with the cold war itself and their tendency to compromise with reaction.

12) YSLers in their campus activities come in contact with other political tendencies. The exact nature of these groups vary from campus to campus. Today, given the decline of organized political groups, we still seek to enter into united fronts and cooperation with liberal groups on civil liberties and democratic issues.

Although the Stalinist youth and Stalinist tendencies have born the heaviest blows in the present years, it is not at all unlikely that they will gain significantly in the coming period. The atmosphere of a cold war detente, real or apparent, even

for a brief period, will be conducive to their growth. Illusions of peaceful co-existence and an era of cooperation between the U.S. and Russia will naturally develop among those with least political experience and the Stalinists have already made a turn in the direction exploiting this sentiment. To a certain extent, many who would naturally tend toward liberal organizations will be attracted into the Stalinist periphery or there may be an overlapping. It is not excluded that a period of closer cooperation of liberal and Stalinist organizations may be at hand, especially as the Stalinists become more "liberalistic". In the past we often had to argue to convince the liberals that they should defend the Stalinists' civil rights, now we may be arguing against united front cooperation between the two tendencies.

13) While we call for united fronts generally with liberal groups, this attitude does not generally extend to Stalinist groups. We do not call for united fronts with the LYL or Stalinist-controlled organizations. Rather we seek to isolate them politically and organizationally. The Stalinists have suffered the same set-backs experienced by other groups. But compared to other organized tendencies, they still remain a major force. Rarely will we find a LYL, YPA or a Marxist Study group; instead they will attempt to form a "peace" committee or a group organized around specific issues. While the Stalinists may have a periphery of "innocents" or those with Stalinoid attitudes our basic position remains unchanged. This does not mean that we abandon this periphery to the Stalinists for they are oftenthe same group we attempt to recruit. We seek to win them away through political discussion and by demonstrating in action that we are the most militant and consistant partisans of peace and democracy.

14) While liberals are the defenders of the imperialist policies of one side in the cold war, and the Stalinists of the other it does not follow that we adopt the same attitude toward both. The liberals when they enter into a particular action to protest the firing of a teacher, join an anti-ROTC campaign or oppose the sending of U.S. troops to Indo-China do not demonstrate the same meaning and consequences as when the Stalinists propose the same thing. The liberal is opposing a particular action of the cold war policies at home or abroad from what is objectively a democratic position, and not from the point of view of defending or justifying a totalitarian force. It is a step toward our point of view or it is a step we can support because if carried to its logical conclusion it would lead closer to our position - for civil liberties and a democratic foreign policy. Not so with the Stalinists. The objective meaning and consequence of their actions leads to or is part of their support of the Stalinist camp.

It is not tactically excluded that a local YSL may wish to call for a united front with either a stalinist youth group (LYL, YPA) or a more limited stalinist front group on occasion. Such a move might be useful in embarrassing the stalinists, since they are often afraid to bring their younger elements around the YSL for fear of losing them. A united front with a stalinist front group might profitably be pushed where the Stalinist program is not part of the limited aims of such a group (civil liberties group). By recommending programmatic planks that oppose the Stalinist real politics (e.g. civil liberties everywhere, for Troskyists, too, etc.) it might be possible to expose the real character of these front groups to good elements who were unaware of the Stalinist's power or of the nature of U.S. Stalinism's anti-civil-liberties stand.

15) There are many times, however, when liberals insist that the Stalinist be included in a united front, often out of the mistaken notion that it is undemocratic to exclude anybody. This may be a greater likelihood in the present situation where the Stalinists have reduced their "program" to the absolute minimum - "peace". Where this is the case we do not isolate ourselves by refusing to participate in the action. We have the responsibility of participating in the united front which includes the

Stalinists to advance the particular action and to educate liberals to the need of operating without cooperating with Stalinism. We should raise political criteria such as opposition to totalitarian regimes, in both Fascist Spain or in Russia - in the attempt to exclude the Stalinists. Often this will be sufficient to force the Stalinists to exclude themselves. However, it is not ruled out that we move to expell a Stalinist organization from a united front under circumstances where their presence would perilously compromise the objectives of the particular campaign or action. It is sometimes possible to isolate and expose the role of stalinists in a united front best by not moving to expell them, but by continued political exposure of them within the united front. This "educational" role can be used to win over the weaker Stalinists and Stalinoids, and should not be excluded by making it a universal tactic for the YSL to move to expell Stalinists from every united front. While we do not propose cooperation with the Stalinists, we, nevertheless defend their civil liberties. The attack against them is carried out as part of the attack against radical and democratic ideas. We defend the right of the Stalinists to advocate their ideas and attack the reactionary forces subverting our democratic rights.

16) While the general student orientation must continue, it is important to remember that building a student YSL movement is not an end in itself. The YSL can become a significant youth organization only if it develops a proletarian basis. It is the present task of the YSL to develop and educate sufficient members to provide a cadre for a working class youth movement. Towards implementing this policy of having post-college youth going into factory situations there should be conscious effort by local units and the NAC to emphasize that such work is the most important manner in which a young socialist can give weight to his socialist convictions. Newer and older YSL comrades should be urged to consider real local situations, and they should be aided in this by the few existing comrades in industry in that area. Unit organizers and older comrades in industry in cooperation with the NAC should seek in every way to integrate interested YSL comrades into the industrial activity of the comrades of the Independent Socialist League. But it is important to remember that the continued vitality of the YSL and its predecessor organization is due to the campus orientation.

17) It is necessary to prepare for a time when YSLers leave school by encouraging individual and group preparation for an industrial occupation, and enable the YSL to participate in the life of working class youth. This does not mean that the YSL should abandon its campus work and prepare to go into the shop, but rather that we should simultaneously engage in industrial training and encourage YSLers to learn an industrial skill and seek employment in a union shop.

18) The YSL has established the Young Socialist Review, a combination discussion bulletin and magazine. However, it has not played the role in the YSL's political life that it should. It has appeared too infrequently, primarily due to the lack of material. Members should be encouraged to write articles on general political topics as well as discussing the problems of youth and the youth movements. The frequency of appearance and the nature of the articles in the YSR are an important index to the vitality of political discussion in the organization.

19) Our weekly publication, the Young Socialist Challenge, appearing as part of Labor Action, is a real accomplishment since our founding convention. A weekly organ plays an important educational and agitational role in bringing the YSL to larger groups of youth. However, there is need for wider distribution of our press and the failure to do so will not be caused by any short supply of Challenge.

20) There is the need to educate the membership in both the theory and politics of the socialist movement. The NAC after our founding convention set itself the task of writing a series of educational pamphlets and study outlines. This has not been done but the need remains. By having a series of basic pamphlets we can recruit people to a definite set of ideas, instead of sending them into the vast storehouse of socialist literature. They will have clear views about the YSL attitude on War, Capitalism, Stalinism, etc., which are necessary to theoretically armor members to stand the pressures directed at an anti-war youth movement. This is especially necessary outside of the New York center where outside speakers are not usually available to give educational meetings. In the last analysis self-education through extensive reading is how comrades politically develop, but such pamphlets if legibly and attractively done on a good intellectual level, can immeasurably aid in directing comrades on to further reading by whetting their intellectual appetites. It should be the task of the incoming NAC to set up an educational committee to carry out this job.

21) Inside of the limitations of the objective situation we recognize that we have not fully exploited our potentialities for growth. A great part of the reason is the size of the YSL which limits our ability to utilize or even make contact with many areas or campuses. In the past year and a half, to the extent that we were able to send out tours, they were successful. It should be our aim to send out as many tours as possible. A tour or a visit by a YSLer from one of our larger units often serves as a morale booster to an isolated member or sympathizer, and if followed up can result in recruitment.

(a) Another important form of education for YSLers lies in the kinds of tactics the YSE selects. Since the YSL wants to prepare young socialists to participate in anti-war work, and consequently to be prepared to resist community pressures and even intimidation efforts of the authorities, it should self consciously select more militant tactics in its activities as a way to give the preparation and organizational elan for undertaking mass activities later. We want to attract militant youth who will be able to stand up for their ideas, and not simply to train "parliamentarians" or "senile youth". Therefore, such activities as picket lines, leaflet and Challenge distributions, street speeches, sidewalk stenciling of slogans, etc., should be encouraged where they are meaningful. Without making a fetish of these activities by mechanical use of them under all conditions, it must be a part of NAC direction and consideration of YSL problems and influence to establish the YSL as a resolute, numerically overestimated force in the community or situations where it is engaged by virtue of such imaginative and bold tactics.

22) While attending YSL meetings is an important function of membership, each member should participate in at least one outside activity. It can be a campus club, a trade union, a liberal organization or a NAACP chapter. For those members who have left campus, are unable to function in the student movement, the YSL should attempt to direct them into activity in other political and social areas in which youth and young adults can be reached. Such areas are to be found in unions, civil liberties and liberal organizations, community service, fraternal and social organizations. We must, of course, draw the line between spreading ourselves out too thin everywhere resulting in the inability to concentrate an effective group of members anywhere, and mere internal functioning. But at the same time, we have to build a periphery for the YSL. Wherever we do function, YSLers have to develop a recruitment consciousness. There is a special need to recruit younger members who will form the cadres tomorrow. To the extent that we recruit, then to that extent we break out of our isolation, and provide the basis for further growth.

In accordance with the YPSL-SYL unity agreement and by the decision of its founding convention, the YSL was established as an independent socialist youth organization unaffiliated to any adult or general socialist party or organization. This decision flowed from certain very concrete considerations and not from any theory that the independence of socialist youth organizations in general and the YSL in particular is permanently desirable.

On the contrary, the YSL did not and does not hold that an organization of socialist youth should in general be an independent group. Such independence leads to the youth organization itself becoming a "youth party", that is, a general socialist organization which sets itself up as the socialist party or organization in the country, as a separate socialist tendency which seeks the adherence of the workers to its banners, as opposed to the banners of other socialist groups. For a section of the working class and socialist movement based on an age group and its special problems and needs (that is on the younger members of the working class and population), to attempt to become the socialist organization of the working class as a whole, is absurd.

In general, and where specific factors do not indicate the contrary, a socialist youth organization has to be the youth section of a general or adult organization. Youth groups of adult organizations or parties do, and where they do not, they should have autonomy with respect to the adult party in certain respects, but nevertheless they are the arms of general socialist organizations among the young workers and students.

That the above was the viewpoint of the founding convention of the YSL is demonstrated by the fact that the convention decided to have the question of the unaffiliated status of the League brought up again at the second convention of the organization; the YPSL-SYL unity agreement had specified that any proposals to affiliate the YSL to an adult socialist group could not be raised until then.

There can be no doubt that the only organization to which the YSL could affiliate, if that were to be its decision now, is the Independent Socialist League. At the same time that it declared itself to be an independent group, the YSL made clear that it is not neutral or indifferent with respect to the various socialist parties and organizations. It declared itself to be in the closest possible fraternal relationship with the ISL and implemented this statement by endorsing an exchange of fraternal representatives between the leading committees of the two organizations and between YSL Units and ISL branches where this is feasible, by announcing its support of the Independent Socialist weekly, Labor Action, and by making practical arrangements for the publication of the YSL organ, Challenge, which is independently edited and published by the YSL in the pages of Labor Action, and for the League's sharing office space with the ISL. These relations and arrangements have worked very well during the past period and have been a source of gratification to the YSL, and have constituted evidence, if any is needed, that the YSL attitude towards the ISL is correct.

In this connection we wish also to note the aid which the ISL has rendered the YSL in the organization of several new YSL units, in the day to daywork of the YSL, and in other ways. Likewise, YSL-ISL cooperation on specific tasks in various localities has been beneficial to

both organizations and to the cause of socialism.

The estimation which the ISL enjoys in the eyes of the YSL and the arrangements and relations flowing from it are not accidental; they rest on a firm political foundation. The YSL and the ISL are the sole organizations of revolutionary democratic socialism in the United States. They, and they alone, are united in their opposition to imperialist war, to the two imperialist war camps, and to the regimes and social systems of these camps. They stand for the struggle of the Third Camp of international labor against capitalism and Stalinism and for a socialist world of peace, freedom and plenty. They, and they alone, stand for full civil liberties in the face of the witchhunt now raging in the land.

In addition, the two organizations are in substantial agreement on most major political questions of the day. For these reasons it is accurate to say that in a political sense the YSL and ISL are parts of one movement and that together they constitute one tendency in the working-class movement.

We wish to make clear, however, that the YSL is open to all young socialists who agree with the principles and program of the YSL and accept its discipline, whether or not they share our estimation of the ISL and our attitude towards it. Further, closeness to, or even membership in other adult socialist organizations than the ISL does not necessarily preclude membership in the YSL. In this respect, as in others, the YSL is a broad organization and opposes the conception of a monolithic organization.

The decision on whether or not members of socialist organizations which are hostile to the politics and organization of the YSL are to be invited or admitted to YSL membership, when such a question arises, has to be based on a flexible attitude and depends upon the concrete circumstances.

II

The second convention of the Young Socialist League decides to continue its independent and unaffiliated character for the coming period. It takes this decision, despite the general views it holds on the question of "independent youth organization", which are outlined above, because of a number of considerations that pertain at this time. The most important ones are as follows:

A. The YSL is and aims to be a broad Third Camp socialist youth organization, embracing students and young workers who adhere to the ideas of socialism, regardless of the differences which may obtain between them on certain theoretical and historical questions. Now while youth sections of adult or general socialist organizations are always broader and less homogeneous than their adult parties, the independence of the YSL enables it to have a still broader stamp and character. There can be no doubt that in the eyes of the students and young workers who form the arenas for YSL work, affiliation to the ISL would be regarded as a narrowing of the nature of the YSL.

B. The formation of the YSL involved the merging of two ideo-

ogical tendencies, the Marxian socialism of the SYL and the more general left-socialism of the YPSL. The resultant of this is that the SYL combines these two tendencies as its ideological life. Affiliation of the YSL to the ISL at this time would give the YSL's audience the impression that one of these tendencies had disappeared from the SYL, which is not the case.

C. Above all, the fact that the YSL is the only national organization of socialist youth in the country, the fact that the ISL, SWP, CP, SLP, SDF, etc. do not have national youth organizations, enables the YSL to be the socialist youth organization in the country, creates for it the role of the organization of all socialist youth, despite the YSL's pronounced and definite views on the outstanding political problems of our period.

III

While remaining independent, the YSL reaffirms its closest fraternal relations with the ISL and looks forward to a period of even closer collaboration and joint work. The YSL endorses and supports Labor Action and the New International; it declares its firmest solidarity with the ISL in its efforts to be removed from the Attorney General's so-called Subversive List and to end all other witchhunting measures against it.

Therefore, the YSL looks forward to a continuation of the closest fraternal cooperation with the ISL in their common struggle for socialist democracy.

AMERICAN RESOLUTION

The main characteristics of American social and political life following World War II derive their origin from causes stemming from the cold war between world capitalism (at the head of which stands the United States) and stalinism, and from the accompanying Permanent War Economy. These two factors will continue to influence future developments in a decisive manner, although not in the form of a continuous development of tendencies which have hitherto been dominant. The past period has witnessed a continuous movement in a single direction; in the economy an increase of production and rise in living standards; in social life a growing conservatism and amelioration of social conflict; in politics a strengthening of all forms of bourgeois ideology and their petty bourgeois variants; in public affairs a growth of the Garrison State and an unprecedented attack on civil liberties; in the labor movement the entrenchment of a conservative bureaucracy and decline of militant and left-wing tendencies; among the youth a turn from social to individual interests. Within this context socialism has become an isolated movement, without influence or broad appeal. The prospects for building a socialist movement in the future depend upon a change in the objective economic, social and political conditions now prevailing. This resolution will attempt to establish the basis and nature of such a change, and the tasks and problems that will be posed.

Contrary to the expectations of both capitalist and socialist economists, the American economy did not revert to the condition of semi-paralysis of the pre-war decade following World War II. Instead of unused industrial capacity, a vast expansion of facilities; instead of mass unemployment, over sixty million employed; instead of chronic crisis, an almost continuous boom; instead of mass misery, a general increase in the standard of living. On the basis of this record the defenders of capitalism have claimed that capitalism has overcome its traditional barriers--that it has found ways to prevent depression and insure a continuous improvement in the well-being of the masses of people. With a certain measure of truth it is claimed that the government has been able to maintain economic stability by direct intervention in the economy.

The primary form of such intervention, however, and the one form without which all others would have but slight effect, has been the vast extent of government spending for military purposes and foreign aid. At the height of New Deal "pump priming" the entire government budget never amounted to much over six billion dollars a year. Since 1946, on the other hand, military spending has been at the rate of 10 to 40 billion per year, and at the present time it has stabilized at a figure of about 35 billions. In addition, since 1946 over 50 billion have been spent on foreign aid. The artificial market thus created has served as the outlet for the overproduction of commodities which is the particular characteristic of capitalism, and the origin of its tendency to develop crises.

The origin of present American prosperity is not to be sought, then, in the "exceptional" character of American capitalism as such, but in its internationally derived position as the world organizer of the capitalist struggle against stalinism, and in particular, as the leading military opponent of stalinism. And inasmuch as this primary conflict cannot be eliminated, whatever steps the contending powers may take to bring about a lessening of tension, the Permanent War Economy

can be expected to continue. All discussions of the prospects of the American economy must take into account the fact that military and para-military spending will not cease abruptly, or undergo any significant decline. As long as this is the case, an economic crisis of the depth and degree experienced in 1929 must be excluded. The improbability of such a crisis is not the same as guaranteeing a continuation of present economic conditions. Rather, even with the continuation of the Permanent War Economy, there are indications that the tendency toward overproduction will assert itself. Rather than a general industrial crisis, however, this crisis will most likely take the form of a slowing down in growth, collapse of certain sectors of industry (most prominently the consumers goods industries), a moderate but growing number of unemployed, etc. There are indications that in the past period the conditions for such a decline have been accumulating. While military spending continues to provide an important sustaining effect, it has ceased to be the source of expansion. Instead, the expansion of economic activity in the immediate past period has been based upon those "normal" means which become prominent during periods of capitalist upswing, but which eventually exhaust themselves and become sources of collapse.

The first of these means is private business spending on improving efficiency by introduction of machinery. In this area, the most spectacular development is the widespread introduction of automation, the aim of which is not only to reduce labor costs, but to eliminate labor completely, wherever this is possible. While the degree of displacement remains concealed while the process is taking place, once the limits imposed by technical development and profitability are reached, the reduction in the working force necessary becomes evident through an increase in unemployment.

The second source of present prosperity is an even more unhealthy sign, namely the enormous expansion of consumer credit. The housing boom, one of the mainstays of the economy, has been financed by a 75 billion dollar mortgage. Autos and household appliances, the other main prop under the civilian economy, have been sold only with the aid of a 30 billion dollar installment credit bill. Particularly in the last year the increase of credit over repayments represents a danger sign for the economy. Another such sign can be seen in the absence of general inflation during a period of business expansion. Only in the speculative market have inflationary tendencies been evident. While the length and durability of the present prosperity cannot be definitely limited, neither can it be excluded that all of these and other factors will assert themselves in the next year or two, with consequences of an important political significance. Whatever the timetable, however, barring a vast increase in military outlays beyond present levels, the American economy must run up against the limits imposed by the inability of the market to absorb the total amount of goods produced under free enterprise conditions.

Since the general condition for business prosperity is the maintenance of profitability, it is necessary to note not only the fact that profits have reached extraordinary levels, but also the form of their distribution. Even during a period of general prosperity, it has been the largest, most advanced and highly monopolized industries which have been the leading beneficiaries. And in the past three years it is those corporations which have increased their share of the total profits from 69 to 81 per cent.* The struggle of smaller business to

*These corporations represent the 3,440 corporations (out of about 500,000) which own 50 per cent of total assets.

maintain themselves, and of large corporations to increase their profits, has led in the past period to a wave of mergers, the sole effect of which is to carry further the high degree of concentration already dominant in all major sectors of industry, and a decline in the relative economic (and hence social) importance of small and medium-sized enterprises. A similar trend, although at a slower pace, has been taking place in the agricultural sphere, where the family farm is being continually replaced by capitalist type "factories in the fields" which are completely entangled in the net of control exercised by finance capital, and hence entirely dependent upon the maintenance of general prosperity, to provide a market. In addition, as a relatively "free" and competitive area, agriculture depends also upon direct governmental subsidy through the price-fixing and crop-limitation programs.

The situation in American agriculture is significant, not of the general success which necessarily attends state intervention in the economy (which in this case is derived from the political power of a small group due to its widespread geographical distribution, and the over-representation of farmers and rural population in our electoral system), but of the basic acceptance of the intimate relation between government policy and economic life, and the transformation of political life which this acceptance implies. For if we cannot expect a sudden and catastrophic collapse of the economy, we can be sure that even a moderate, limited decline in the economy will produce important political consequences. It is such a decline that we expect. Particularly if it should assume a chronic form, the most profound change in the character of political life would occur. With this, it is necessary to turn to an analysis of the major political forces in America, always keeping in mind the basic problems which will be posed by an economic recession.

For twenty years the Democratic party maintained itself in power by claiming to stand for the interests of the "little people" as against the selfish and reactionary interests of big business represented by the Republican party. Standing firmly for the maintenance of capitalism, and defending it against both international threats and attacks by the American workers, it nevertheless sought to overcome the past flagrant injustices of capitalism as a means of restoring confidence in a system overcome by depression. Thus it enacted a series of social welfare measures, sought and succeeded in harnessing a militant labor movement by making it a "partner," and campaigned against economic royalists, big business and the Republican party. Very early in its career it exhausted the resources of a social reform program available to a capitalist party, limiting itself henceforth mainly to appeals to special groups (farmers, Negroes, organized labor) on behalf of very limited appeals, but particularly to the deep and widespread fears of depression and misery which the Republican party was the focus of. The depth of these fears was proved in 1948 when Truman played upon them with consummate skill. Fifteen years of war and war-spending induced prosperity, together with the inability of the Democratic Party to go beyond its early program, served both to weaken the basis of its negative appeal, and dissipate its political capital as the party of progress and social advance.

The election of the Eisenhower Republican administration signified the restoration of confidence, particularly by the middle classes, in the stability of the system, and the political fitness of big business to resume direct control of the state. The administration responded by installing a business man's government, rewarding special interests by a whole series of legislative measures (tax reduction for the rich,

give-away programs for national resources, administrative rulings hampering the labor movement, etc.) and otherwise attempting to give free sway to its business supporters. Yet despite this blatant favoritism, the significant aspect of the Republican return to power was that it did not seek the revocation of any basic New Deal measures, contrary to the fond hopes of its more reactionary wing, and in a few insignificant sectors (minimum wage legislation) even presented the appearance of carrying on a program of reform under the slogan of "dynamic conservatism." In the field of public power, while it abstained from expanding government owned facilities, and sought indirectly to undermine the position of TVA, it quickly retreated on Dixon-Yates rather than fight for the "principle" of free enterprise. Thus, in their cautious and timid way, Eisenhower's policies recognized the extremely tentative and hesitant degree of confidence invested in his party, which publically admits the degree to which its success depends upon not its program, but its individual leader.

In its failure to develop the "maximum program" of big business (which is expounded in the latest report of the Hoover Commission) the Republican party has recognized the fact of its tenuous position as the majority party (a position reversed only two years later in the congressional elections of 1954) but it has also revealed its own lack of confidence in the factors which restored it to power, namely the bases of the current prosperity. It understands that its tenure depends upon the perpetuation of prosperity; even the specter of a depression in the form of a sharp rise in unemployment would undercut its political position. There is every indication that the Republican party is prepared to undertake major steps to bolster any economic decline. Thus it is preparing a major road building program, talks about expansion of public works, etc. In preparing such measures, the government recognizes the truth of a leading "elder statesman" that "our way of life" could not survive either a war or another depression. And while such a consciousness cannot prevent the occurrence of either, it will determine the approach of the bourgeoisie in the initial stages of a recession.

Government policy in the face of a recession would be influenced not only by domestic considerations of minimizing its social effects, but also upon its international political position vis a vis stalinism. Even five million unemployed would constitute a powerful political deficit in America's propaganda in Western Europe and Asia, and one which would be quickly exploited by native anti-capitalist and stalinist movements against the United States.

If military spending excludes a major collapse, and the government is prepared to combat any recession, it does not follow that such a recession can be successfully surmounted, or be accompanied by only minor political consequences. Objectively, any form of economic intervention would be limited by the necessity of not encroaching upon the fundamental property rights and interests of the bourgeoisie. It was such considerations which limited the New Deal to its largely ineffectual measures. Further, the major steps which the state has at its disposal involve various forms of financial support to selected areas of the economy, and those create the basis for struggle between those areas which are the direct recipients of such benefits (e.g. agriculture, consumer goods industries, etc.) and those which bear the cost in the form of higher taxation. Finally, in the last analysis, all such measures depend upon a policy of inflation, which takes place at the expense of

fixed income groups, and in relation to the working class, serves as the basis for industrial struggles and strikes. Under such conditions, even without a severe depression, the political conditions of the 1930's would be reproduced. The important fact is that between 1929 and the present time such significant changes have taken place that political struggles take place on an entirely different plane and/around entirely new problems. The depression decade not only left a deep impression on the people as a whole and the working class in particular, but it produced an entirely different kind of consciousness, an entirely different labor movement, and a tradition which fifteen years of prosperity has not eradicated.

The Republican victory of 1952, coming at the height of post war prosperity, reflected the hopes of the middle classes for a stabilization of social relations at home, but also for "normalization" of international relations, above all, for the liquidation of the Korean war. Insofar as Eisenhower has actually carried out at least the beginnings of negotiations for "peaceful co-existence" (over Korea, Indo-China and now at Geneva) he has capitalized upon the widespread desire for peace which lies at the basis of his personal political popularity. That the Republican party does not secure the same support is a measure both of its division over foreign policy (between the Eisenhower moderates and its right wing which advocates essentially a war policy) and the fact that it, rather than Eisenhower, is held responsible for economic difficulties. If the Republican party's victory had been succeeded by a relatively long period of both peace and prosperity, it would undoubtedly have consolidated its position as the majority party. The minor recession of 1954, however, was sufficient to show that Republican success rests upon economic stability. If the present prosperity should continue through the 1956 election, another Republican victory would be possible. If, on the other hand, a resumption of the recession of 1954 were to set in, the return of the Democratic Party to full power would appear to be the immediate consequences.

In contrast to a Republican party victory, the election of a Democratic administration would mark a swing to the left, a rise of dissatisfaction on the part of the workers and fear of depression by the middle classes. As the reflection of such sentiments, a Democratic victory would mark the beginning of a new political stage. In the first place it would indicate a decline in the strength of conservative feelings, an increase of social consciousness in general, and the beginnings of social protest in particular. The Democratic party would be the first beneficiary of any such leftward swing, not so much on the bases of its only slightly more progressive program, but because of its tradition as the champion of the "little people" against ~~the~~ big business. In the absence of any significant alternative movement, the Democratic party would be the immediate beneficiary of such a leftward swing. In the second place, such a development would bring the existence of the Democratic party itself into question, by revealing its incapacity to solve the country's basic social problems, and the class antagonisms which they generate. The New Deal period exhausted the resources of capitalist reformism. This is the source of liberalism's current ideological "crisis." The liberal movement, which consists of the intellectual defenders of the New Deal, is currently engaged in admitting its lack of any program sufficient to deal with an economic crisis.

The programmatic crisis of liberalism presages the future political crisis of the Democratic party, above all its inability to

to compromise the antagonistic forces which represent its social and electoral basis. The decisive political consequence of the depression decade was that political life, including the general working class or labor movement remained within the bourgeois political orbit, expressing itself only as a tendency in a capitalist party. This was possible only because the growth of unionism coincided with the crisis, which was curtailed before the limits of the labor-democratic party alliance could be revealed.

The American working class has participated in the general improvement in the standard of living, and has even raised its relative position in relation to other strata of the middle classes. In particular has this been true of workers in major industries, organized in the trade union movement. As the primary instruments of struggle for improvement of economic existence of the workers, the trade unions have been and continue to be regarded as the first and broadest form of organization of the working class. The socialist movement has always supported the struggles of the unions against employers, viewing the labor movement as the basic economic organization of the working class. Today the trade union movement comprises not only a large proportion of the workers, but commands the class support of the most advanced, the most conscious and the most militant sections of the proletariat. Socialists, who seek to raise the working class to political power, view the trade unions as the basic arena for the dissemination of socialist consciousness in the working class. For the trade union, as the broadest form of working class organization, and commanding the allegiance of workers of varied political, religious and cultural background, can be the means of setting workers into motion as a class, thus instilling a consciousness of its own power and at the same time providing the workers with the experience necessary for the class to arrive at a socialist consciousness and socialist convictions.

The trade unions have won basic improvements for the workers not only in such basic fields as pay and working conditions, but in matters of even greater social importance. Thus old age pensions, unemployment and disability pay, and the abolition of racial discrimination have been obtained largely as the result of the political efforts of the labor movement, as well as its industrial struggles. Such struggles, as well as anti-labor legislation such as the Taft-Hartley law, have brought labor into an even deeper involvement in politics. In the main, this has been in the form of support to the Democratic party.

It is becoming increasingly evident, however, that labor cannot defend either its own interests or those of the working class in this way. Within the democratic party it is confronted on the one hand by important business elements, on the other by its arch opponents in Congress, the southern conservatives. On the other hand, as the traditional machines of the Democratic organization in the big cities decline, the labor movement is becoming the primary source of votes. Sooner or later, but particularly under the impact of a recession, and the need for a political program capable of defending the standard of living of the workers, the labor movement must undertake to organize its own political party, a development witnessed decades ago in practically every other advanced capitalist country.

The formation of a labor party in the United States would mark

a tremendous political advance for the working class movement, and at the same time open up entirely new possibilities for the growth of the socialist movement. For whatever its formal program, and under whatever leadership it occurred, the formation of a labor party would serve as a means of political education for the workers by raising the class struggle to the political plane. Whatever impetus the socialist movement would receive from an economic crisis, it could not expect to win the support of the general working class before that class had accumulated certain body of experience on the basis of its own organized political development...and the presence of socialists to draw political lessons for them. This is the reason why socialists must consider as their main political aim the encouragement, fostering and promotion of the idea of a labor party. While, like other slogans the idea of a labor party today remains primarily propagandistic in character, along with the general socialist program, socialists must be prepared for the opportunity to make it the main axis of their political and organizational activity.

Socialists should be prepared to give their support to a labor party, even as they do to the unions themselves, despite the non and even anti-socialist program of these organizations. Socialists cannot impose as a condition for their support, acceptance of a socialist program or socialist leadership although they must fight for the best labor party program possible even at the formation and outset of the labor party. The latter can come about only by the activity of socialists with the labor, and labor political movement, on the basis of the proven devotion of socialism to the advancement of labor's interests, and the superiority of a socialist ideology as the best, most advanced and consistent basis for the workers' struggle for a better life and a world of peace and security for all. From this standpoint socialists, while giving their support to every progressive movement, must maintain their separate identity to the most advanced and conscious elements, formulating the concrete tasks posed by each stage of development, and fighting at each step for that program which will advance the movement in the direction of a full realization of the socialist goal.

The achievement of socialism depends upon the political development of the working class to the point where it has embraced, in its majority, the socialist aim, and is prepared to struggle for it. It can achieve this consciousness, in part through the activity of socialists within the labor movement, in part through its experience in the fight for the satisfaction of its immediate economic and social needs. Even without a party of its own, the labor movement is an instrument of tremendous influence in advancing the consciousness of the workers. With the winning of such demands as the escalator clause productivity increased, and now the "principle" of a guaranteed annual wage (which in fact is none of the three), the most advanced sections of the trade union movement have implanted the conception that questions of broad social concern are the legitimate province of the labor movement, and subjects of collective working class action. Transplanted from the narrow field of trade union bargaining with a few corporations on to the field of labor politics, such issues (guaranteed income, full production, etc.) could become issues arousing the broad levels of society, and the focus of a direct attack upon capitalism.

A major obstacle to the rise of a labor party has been eradicated by the merger of the two large labor federations into a single organization. Not only does it strengthen the labor movement for defensive struggles on both the economic and political plane; by removing a major source of conflict within the labor movement it permits the coalescence of progressive tendencies in both the AFL and CIO. Although unity was achieved on the basis of accepting both industrial and craft unions, the ultimate effect will be to give predominant weight to the large industrial type unions which represent the most advanced form of union organization. It will also lay the basis for a genuine and successful struggle against racketeering and gangster elements which have traditionally entrenched themselves behind the craft walls of the AFL. Finally, it lays the basis for a considerable extension of unionism in agriculture, white collar fields and above all the South. While initially it may strengthen the already stifling tendencies toward bureaucracy in the labor movement, it will also lay the basis for a much broader and inclusive struggle against it by bringing all major parts of the labor movement together under one roof. One of the prime tasks of socialists in the labor movement will be to participate in all movements in the labor movement which fight for greater democracy, wider rank and file participation, and for an advanced social program.

The Fight for Democracy

The concerted attack on democratic rights, initiated by the government, promoted by its police agency the FBI, and carried into every field of public and private life, has become the leading feature of political life in America. It has fed on and extended the atmosphere of social conservatism by making adherence to ideas and organizations subject to legal, economic and social penalties. The main target of this attack, and the rationale for its defense, is derived from the fight of American imperialism against stalinism, and the police mentality of the government which can conceive of stalinism only as a criminal conspiracy, to be combatted by police measures. The employment of such means as loyalty programs, subversive lists, anonymous informers and a whole series of other anti-democratic measures has affected not only its main target, but the entire liberal, labor and non-stalinist left. It facilitated the rise of demagogues like McCarthy who employed the anti-communist hysteria as a vehicle for achieving personal power. And it reinforced all reactionary, conservative and chauvinistic tendencies who sought to identify "communism" with labor, social reform, and even water fluoridation.

The last year, beginning with the censure of McCarthy, has seen a series of victories against the witch-hunt, mainly in the form of court decisions placing limits on the power of the government to deny rights to individuals accused of "subversive" associations. These victories represent the reaction of responsible conservative and liberal elements to the "excesses" of the witch-hunt, which it was recognized was undermining both America's internal unity and her propaganda position in the face of international stalinism. At the same time, they represented no decisive defeat for the witch-hunt, or for its basic ideology. The witch-hunt has received both popular and institutional support at all levels, particularly insofar as it is and continues to be applied against the stalinist movement. The "detent" in civil liberties, however, permits socialists to fight for a full program of

civil liberties for all, including stalinists, under far more favorable conditions and with the possibility of greater support.

Not only because socialism is nothing less than the extension of democracy to social as well as political life, but also because the struggle for socialism can be pursued most fruitfully under conditions of free and democratic existence, the socialist movement bears the responsibility for combatting every anti-democratic measure to the limit of its ability. Despite its insignificant size, it would appear likely that, in the face of the default by official liberalism, and its own particularly favorable position for undertaking such a struggle, the Young Socialist League and the political organization with which it is closely associated, the Independent Socialist League, can together make a significant contribution in this field. Thus, the victory of the ISL in the Shachtman passport case represented not only a significant and important victory in one area of civil liberties, but also has helped in restoring a measure of confidence in all democratic forces, and instilled a greater willingness to fight the more flagrant abuse of democracy represented by the witch-hunt. An even more significant issue is raised by the ISL in its fight to be removed from the "subversive" list, along with its predecessor the Workers Party, and the Socialist Youth League, one of the two organizations which united to form the YSL.

Victory for the ISL in its fight against the list would mean not only an important gain for itself and the YSL which is fraternally related to it, but a defeat for the witch-hunt itself. In part it would help all democratic forces to regain their voice on civil liberties, and to continue the revival of interest in the fight for democracy which began to revive with the censure of McCarthy last year. The socialist movement stands to gain not only the respect and admiration, but also the gratitude of every democratic force and organization for this reason, and for others, the YSL must make every effort to publicize, promote and organize public support for the fight of the ISL to be removed from the list no matter how difficult or lengthy this process may be.

While the ISL case represents perhaps the main possibility for the YSL, primarily because around this issue it can mobilize support from wide and varied sources, it must also seek other issues for which such support can be gained in the fight for democracy. One potential issue of this kind, simply because it constitutes a threat to the entire youth of the nation, is the fight against the system of compulsory military training, or its watered-down version of compulsory reserve training. This measure would subject every physically fit youth to six or eight years of part-time military training, in addition to a period of full-time service.

Another area of particular significance to the YSL is the fight for academic freedom. In this, as other democratic rights, the YSL recognizes no exception to the principle that no discrimination based on political ideas is justified, up to and including discrimination against members and sympathizers of the stalinist movement. The experience of the witch-hunt has demonstrated, to our satisfaction if not that of official liberalism, that the denial of rights to some results in the destruction of rights for all.

The fight for academic freedom, on the above basis, can attract the wide support of students who in this field have an important role to play in the defense of civil liberties.

It should be evident that the attack upon civil liberties, i.e., Academic Freedom, is primarily a reaction to the United States' diplomatic & military struggle against Stalinist imperialism and revolutionism. Official liberalism, feeling that the "Communist conspiracy" is more dangerous than civil liberties are important, has readily adopted the "clear and future danger" doctrine and, thereby, capitulated to the witch-hunt. The inability of capitalism to provide an ideology with which to appeal to the world's masses is reflected in its reactionary policies on the international, as well as the domestic front. It is incumbent upon socialists to expose the nature and causes of the political repression which, today, has displaced the ideal of freedom under capitalism in general and in the United States in particular.

The position of the YSL in favor of the right of Stalinists to teach, allows it to appeal to the widespread support for democratic rights which are found among students. The concern of socialists for democratic rights for Stalinists rests upon our adherence to democracy and not upon any common interests or agreement with the Stalinist movement. The socialist position toward the Stalinist movement in the United States flows from our analysis of that movement as the political instrument of a totalitarian and reactionary regime which has demonstrated its anti-working class character by reducing the workers to the status of industrial slaves wherever it has achieved political power. In the United States Stalinism exists as the political extension of those regimes. It exists as a competing tendency in the labor movement primarily on the basis of its ability to employ the anti-capitalist appeal which stalinism can direct to the working class. Toward this tendency, however, socialism can only adopt an attitude of implacable hostility exposing Stalinism for the reactionary and anti-socialist force it is.

One of the most significant trends of American society which threatens the security, or infringes on the life of almost every young person, is the growing militarization of the nation, a trend which we characterize as the development of a Garrison State. Socialists oppose the growing influence of the military over civilian life, not only because we reject the ability of American imperialism to pursue a democratic foreign policy, but also because of the reactionary influence of the military machine on social life.

RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTION

(1) The basic factor which has dominated the international arena since the end of the Second World War resides in the cold war struggle between the camp of capitalist imperialism headed by the United States and the camp of totalitarian Stalinism headed by Russia. The rivalry of these two imperialisms, which has during the past decade produced several "small" wars and which threatens all of mankind with the dreaded disaster of a third, atomic world holocaust, began immediately after the Second World War, or more accurately, during the war itself, without there having been a period of "peaceful stabilization" and peace illusions as an interlude. The two big powers began at once to jockey for allies and positions and produced a series of war crises as each mobilized or endeavored to mobilize uncommitted nations and peoples behind itself and organized its economy and military machine for the war.

(2) Russia brought all of the peoples and nations of Eastern Europe as far west as the Elbe under its imperial heel and consolidated its empire throughout this area, with the exception of Tito's Yugoslavia which defected in 1948. In Asia the Stalinist parties bid for power in a series of countries, and succeeded in establishing their regimes in northern Vietnam, and more important, in China. The United States, the sole important capitalist power, established its imperialist overlordship over the rest of the capitalist world based on the economic subordination of Western Europe and sections of Asia to itself and upon the construction of a capitalist military camp under its leadership and hegemony.

(3) The working classes of Europe and the colonial masses have demonstrated time and again during the ten years since 1945 their will and desire to struggle and have made clear their profound wishes for a world of peace, freedom and plenty. In a series of struggles ranging from the victory of the British Labor Party and the general and political strikes on the Continent in the first few years following World War II to the struggles for national independence in the colonial countries to the recent economic struggles in France and the political battles in East and West Germany - the historic June, 1953 uprising of the East German workers against the Russian quisling regime and the struggles of the West German workers against the integration of Western Germany into the American military bloc - the masses of the world have manifested their fighting spirit. Above all, in one form or another the peoples of the world have made abundantly evident their revulsion against the threatened war and their desire to prevent it.

(4) The aspirations and struggles of the workers are, however, disoriented and vitiated by the development of new trends in capitalism and by the rise of a new factor, Russian bureaucratic collectivism, to the status of a contender for world domination. In most of the world the struggle for socialism is no longer one of proletariat versus bourgeoisie, but rather a three-sided struggle in which the workers are ranged against two class enemies who are also the enemies of each other. The problem is complicated by the fact that Stalinism, which in its own right is a bitter opponent of capitalism and capitalist imperialism, fraudulently appears or attempts to appear as the personification of socialism, or as a road to it, and on the basis of its false claim to be socialist and its authentic anti-capitalism, appeals to and wins the support of masses of workers in Europe and millions of workers and peasants in Asia. Sections of the working class regard Stalinism either as socialism or as an ally in the fight for socialism and also as an ally against the war.

(5) Other sections of the working class regard American capitalism as its ally and defender against Stalinism. In addition, the might of the two imperialist super-powers and the fears engendered by the spectre of atomic warfare tend to instill feelings of impotence in the masses. And still further, each stage of the cold war, including the current detente, creates fresh disorienting problems and sows illusions

about the need for and methods of struggle.

(6) A clear understanding of the new phenomena in the world, particularly of Stalinism, is essential for the correct orientation of socialism towards the problems of our time. Upon such an understanding are the politics of the Young Socialist League and its Third Camp struggle against Washington and Moscow and against the war based.

Stalinism

(7) As a result of the backwardness of Russia, the hardships and privations it endured during the post-revolutionary days, and above all, because of the failure of the West European working classes to establish their power in Western Europe, the Russian workers were unable to maintain the power, they had established in the 1917 revolution for more than a few years. At the same time the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of restoring capitalism to Russia. A new social force, the bureaucracy, stepped in, therefore, on the basis of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, and reorganized society on new foundations. It destroyed all of the gains of the Russian Revolution, physically liquidated ten and tens of thousands of revolutionists, destroyed all working class organizations, wiped out all aspects of democracy and instituted its own totalitarian power.

(8) A new social system, bureaucratic collectivism, in which the means of production are owned collectively by the ruling class, the bureaucracy, through its monopoly of state power, came into existence. The view that Stalinist Russia is some kind of workers state, albeit degenerated is totally false; having been decisively proven to be so by the developments of the last fifteen years. The same is equally true of the idea that Russia is some form of capitalist society. The new social system existing in the Stalinist countries is profoundly reactionary, exploitative to a degree unknown even under capitalism, and contains, like all exploitative class society, contradictions which create the basis for the destruction of the system by the masses.

(9) As a result of the contradictions of Stalinist society - primarily that of bureaucratic planning and blind enforcement from above in the face of unforeseen difficulties - combined with the passive resistance of the working class and peasantry - the Russian economy is subject to its own form of crises. However, despite the continuous shortages in the Russian economy (especially in the less efficient consumer good sector, although not limited to it), and despite the usefulness of maintaining the military threat from without as a diversion for the dissatisfied populace, we have not yet had a chance to examine Stalinist Russia enough under "normal conditions" to determine and plot its drive toward imperialist expansion as an organic feature arising from its economic and social forms. Another economic pressure we might examine is that of the agricultural shortages arising from the over-rapid industrialization of the economy, and the continued resistance of the peasantry ... especially in the production of non-staple "quality" agricultural goods such as livestock and vegetables. In its post World War II expansion Russia has shown a desire to keep Stalinist countries more rural (especially Yugoslavia) in order to meet Russia's agricultural needs and complement its economy. We know that Russia practices its own form of national imperialism (i.e., mixed companies, arbitrarily low prices for national goods, etc.) wherever it holds sway, but even this tendency has been modified recently in the case of China, so as to operate as a drain upon the limited Russian economy to maintain China's war potential. At present, therefore, it seems as impossible to abstract and determine the "imperialist potential" of the Russian economy, as it is to attempt to derive the precise forms and tempo of contemporary capitalist imperialism from its economic foundations. Today, it is the cold war and its political-economic-military demands that are determinant. Should the present tension subside and stabilize over time it might then be possible to fruitfully ex-

plore this question and come up with more precise answers. Let us hope that such an analysis will be rendered superfluous by the destruction from within of the Stalinist empire.

(10) In all the nations which it holds subject, Russia has destroyed capitalist rule and capitalism, substituting the bureaucratic social system therefore.. and has at the same time enslaved the workers. Stalinism converted the Communist Parties in all countries, without exceptions, into instruments of the Russian ruling class, serving the needs and aims of the Russian bureaucracy. The Stalinist Parties in all countries are working class parties in no sense whatsoever. They are within the labor movement but not of it; Stalinism is an alien class force operating within the proletariat. At the same time as they operate as adjuncts of the Kremlin foreign office, the Stalinist Parties are ultimately contenders for state power in their countries; they aim at establishing bureaucratic collectivism with the native Stalinist bureaucracy as the ruling class.

(11) Since the death of Stalin there has set in a policy of liberalization in Russia, a turn towards some appeasement of the masses. Pro-Stalinist apologists of all hues attempt to magnify the range and significance of these changes and a growth of the false theory of the possible democratization of the regime occurred. The rumored "curbing of the GPU" and "rise of the Army to power" were among the fraudulent claims advanced as examples of significant change in Stalinist Russia. Neither of these events has any basis in reality. The GPU was never an independent factor in Russian political life; it was and remains under the control of the central Stalinist bureaucracy which uses it to defend the bureaucracy's rule against the masses. Likewise, while the state attempts to use the popularity of some of the Army commanders to enhance its prestige with the masses, the Army remains under control of the bureaucracy whose instrument it is.

(12) That some concessions have been made to the masses in the past few years is a fact. In response to the continuing agricultural crisis, the need of the lower bureaucracy for a "let-up" and the passive opposition of the masses, the Kremlin was forced to make concessions to the peasantry, abandon the policy of super-collectivization and begin a greater emphasis on the production of consumer goods. These concessions at home have been accompanied by a modification of foreign policy.

AMERICAN CAPITALISM

(13) The United States emerged from the Second World War as the sole stable, important, capitalist nation. During the war itself it already had moved towards replacing its allies, primarily Britain, in many areas previously within their imperialist domain. In-so-far as American imperialism exercises control in a different fashion from earlier capitalist imperialism, it attempts to pose as a non-imperialist nation. America does not and need not, in most cases, take away the "sovereignty" of the nations and peoples under its domination; its superior economic situation combined with the total bankruptcy of the capitalist system in all areas of the world is enough to create subordination to Washington. In addition, the threat from Moscow drives the nations of Western Europe into the arms of that imperialism which at least props up its system and ruling class.

(14) Not that the United States is unwilling to take a hand in the direct overthrow of regimes which assert any real independence from it. The recent outrageous example of Guatemala proves the contrary to be true. There the United States intervened and participated in the overthrow of a democratically elected regime by force and violence, and established a reactionary regime in its place. It immediately proceeded to wipe out democracy and the trade unions and to restore to the old landowners those lands which had been distributed to the peasantry.

(15) The Guatapala pattern, however, is rare, for in the current situation it is not necessary, just as the direct colony - "mother country" relationship which pertained between India and Britain prior to India's winning its independence, and which pertains between the United States and Puerto Rico is not necessary, and indeed in most cases is undesirable, for American imperialism. The relations is one of vassal to lord: the capitalist world is a hierarchy under military and economic overlordship of Washington in a system of mutual but unequal obligations with the dominant imperialism of the United States skinning the cream.

(16) As part of its cold war struggle against Moscow, America organizes its vassals into various military alliances and upon these it basis its sole hope for victory in the war. Reluctantly the other countries of the capitalist world take their place in the American military structures. Concomittantly the U.S. props up every reactionary regime in the world under its hegemony, props up and basis itself upon the Francos, Sygmnan Rhees, Chiangs, etc. In Europe its allies are the reactionary forces represented by the Catholic parties, whose power it reenforces and bolsters. The United States is unable to attempt to wage political warfare against Stalinism; nowhere can a popular democratic movement be found among its allies. It can and does only lean upon and support the most discredited reactionary social forces and movements. This is neither accidental nor due to stupidity. The masses everywhere are fed up with capitalism and capitalist imperialism. The United States cannot appeal to them because its aims and goals are precisely the maintenance of capitalism. The United States cannot support those forces which are as much antithetical to capitalism and capitalist imperialism as Stalinism is, and which indeed are even more so. Stalinism, on the other hand, because it is anti-capitalist, can wage a political appeal to the millions who are fed up with capitalist tyranny and do not yet know the nature of Stalinist tyranny as well as they do the system which has lived on their backs for centuries.

(17) Hand in hand with the building of vast military machines, NATO, SEATO, etc. the establishment of far-flung basis and maintenance of troops in all parts of the world have gone, as their domestic corollary, the bureaucratization and militarization of the economy, the creation of a Permanent War Economy and the Garrison State and the witch-hunt assault on democratic rights.

WORLD WAR III AND SOCIALIST POLICY

(18) The Third World War, if it breaks out, will contain features entirely or partly absent from its two predecessors. The first and perhaps most important of these resides in the fact that it will be a struggle between two different and antagonistic social systems. The victory of Russia will spell the destruction of capitalism and its replacement with bureauratic collectivism, and conversly, the victory of America will mean the destruction of bureauratic collectivism. That neither of these exploitative systems is viable in the long-run and that the masses would continue to struggle against which ever was the victor, until all exploitative society had been vanquished, should not obscure this fact.

(19) The aim and direction of the struggle on both sides is for the domination of the whole world, including the leading nations of the world. Not merely the colonial and underdeveloped areas of the world will be deprived of national sovereignty and redivided, but all of the advanced nations of the world, other than the victor, will suffer this fate. This aspect is the result of the balance of forces in the world, that is, of the fact that to defeat the other side, each must bring the whole world under its sway, and, most important of the social antagonism factor in the struggle.

(20) The existence of weapons of destruction which carry the potential for destroying civilization, or at least of wreaking mass slaughter and destruction of the productive forces on a staggering scale, one not heretofore imaginable in the experience of mankind is a new factor. To base oneself on the hope that the two sides will not use the A and H Bombs is utterly utopian.

(21) These new factors reinforce the opposition of the YSL to the Third World War. The YSL is unalterably opposed to the war plans, war drives and war aims of both imperialist camps. It calls for the Third Camp struggle of the international proletariat and colonial peoples against both Washington and Moscow. Only such a struggle opens up the road to the solution of all social questions without war to the bitter (atomic) end.

(22) Should the Third Camp struggle of the people be unable to prevent the outbreak of the Third World War, the YSL will continue to oppose American imperialism in the war period, as it does in the pre-war period. It will urge the workers to continue their class struggles and to establish their power and take command of the nation. Only a workers' government could replace America's reactionary aims in such a war with a progressive, democratic policy, thereby shortening the war, ending it before atomic annihilation by blowing up the Russian empire from within, just as only in the pre-war period, a democratic policy alone can explode Stalinism from within and prevent a war. In the context of such a third world war, Socialists cannot give support to war led by any government - whether Laborite or social-democratic, or bourgeois, in its composition - which has not consistently broken with imperialism and capitalism, and whose policy and war participation remains subordinate to an imperialist alliance. The Socialist strategy in the approaching third world war, if it breaks out, should be based on the class struggle against our immediate enemy, our own ruling class, as an integral part of our position of opposition to both war camps. The struggle must be conducted in such a fashion that a victory of the working class results, and not that of Stalinist or Capitalist agents of the foreign imperialists who may attempt to participate in and lead this struggle. Fighting such elements can never mean that socialists will ever cease prosecuting the class struggle, but just gives direction to our strategy. The answer to imperialist war is social revolution for peace.

(23) In pursuing the class struggle and in fighting for a workers' government the revolutionists, needless to say, do so only with the aim of securing the victory of the workers and not for the purpose of aiding Washington or Moscow and conduct their struggles in accordance with this aim. In this, as in all other matters, they are clearly distinguished from the supporters of any imperialism.

THE THIRD CAMP

(24) The summary formulation "Third Camp" points to the key idea of the YSL position on the war. Negatively, it means opposition to both imperialist war camps. On the positive side, it refers to the existence of a third social force in the world, the working class and colonial peoples, whose interests and needs are not represented by capitalism or Stalinism. It points to the necessity for a working class struggle against capitalism and Stalinism and for socialism and therefore to the creation of a labor and socialist movement to conduct that struggle.

(25) In recent years there has been little growth of an organized, politically conscious Third Camp movement. There has been a significant increase in an unformulated anti-war sentiment throughout the world, expressing itself in the parties of all classes and, more often than not, taking a neutralist tone. This phenomena - referred to by the leaders of the two war blocks as "world public opinion" - has

clearly played a role in moving the big powers to negotiations. Where this anti-war sentiment is not articulated politically and remains a mood, albeit a neutralist mood, it exhibits a positive character. Though illusory in certain aspects, this sentiment provides an arena for Third Camp ideas and agitation. In so much as it usually represents a break from both war camps, it is a step in the direction of a Third Camp attitude. The neutralist tendency, however, contains many dangers and illusions which have to be combatted if the progressive significance of the neutralist movement is to be realized and is to advance to a full Third Camp position. Co-existence ideas and notions that the solution lies in neutrality between the two imperialist camps, as differentiated from the Third Camp struggle against both imperialisms, are reactionary. So, also, is the conciliationism towards Stalinism to be found in neutralism. The destruction of such illusions is the task of the revolutionists.

(26) The Third Camp struggle is a struggle for the most consistent and far-reaching program of democratic demands. The emphasis on democracy which must be made is not accidental, for today, more than ever, the struggle for democracy is the key to the struggle for socialism. The fight for democracy, a consistent thorough going democracy, leads to the fight for socialism, for only socialism is capable of realizing the democratic demands of the masses. To the solution of international questions by imperialist war which Moscow and Washington pose, the YSL counterposes a political program of democracy and socialism aimed against all reaction. To those who correctly desire to struggle against Stalinism and today can see only relying on the military power of American imperialism, the YSL points to a democratic political program of struggle as the only road of defeating Stalinism without atomic war. For the American labor movement we propose a democratic foreign policy as an alternative to the self-defeating sabre-rattling policies of the capitalist government.

(27) The decay of capitalism and the rise of Stalinism have produced retrogressive and barbaric symptoms in all fields of life, including specifically the wiping out of democratic features in political and social life which had been won decades and centuries ago, and the bureaucratization of society. Featured among such symptoms is the gross denial of political sovereignty and independence to nations and peoples and the development and growth of totalitarianism. Hence the struggle for democracy is a vital necessity for today and an integral and indispensable part of the struggle for socialism just as the realization of socialism is an indispensable condition for the realization of the fullest democracy.

(28) A democratic political program for the struggle against all forms of reaction would include the following:

(a) The right to national self-determination and full independence and sovereignty for all peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the subject nations of Eastern Europe and full support to the independence movements struggling against imperialism in these areas.

(b) Complete support to all popular, democratic, revolutionary and reform movements in the colonial, semi-colonial and oppressed nations and opposition to the political and military actions of all imperialist governments engaged in denying any peoples their basic democratic rights to self-determination.

(c) An end to all military and economic aid to such reactionary puppet regimes like Chiang Kai-shek's on Formosa. No aid to England in its suppression of Malaya and France in its suppression of North Africa.

(d) No aid to or alliances with such regimes as Franco's in Spain.

(e) Withdrawal of all occupation forces from Germany and the conclusion of peace treaties with it without annexations or tribute and without denying Germany any aspects of complete sovereignty.

(f) The elaboration of a world-wide program of fraternal technical and financial aid to all underdeveloped, underprivileged and backward countries with no strings attached, and with no imperialist concessions exacted, and with unambiguous guarantees against imperialist exploitation.

(29) Such a policy cannot be expected of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois governments. For such a program a genuinely democratic movement and a genuinely democratic government is needed, a socialist labor movement and a workers government. The task facing the socialists is the assembling of such Third Camp movements of the people and of arming them with such a program.

(30) The elements for the Third Camp consist of the colonial peoples and the working classes of Europe and America.

THE EUROPEAN SITUATION

(31) The end of the Second World War did not produce, as had World War I, mass revolutionary socialist movements and socialist revolutions. Instead, the wartime resistance movements which embodied great socialist potential, were oriented around democratic demands and slogans, although in some countries the beginnings of proletarian socialist demands and struggles were present. The activities of these movements and the social and class struggles in general soon became intertwined with the international situation and the cold war. In the early days following the war when American-Russian honeymoon period had not yet ended, the Stalinists helped disarm and disorganize the resistance movements. Later it began to distort them in the interests of Russian imperialism.

(32) The post-war years witnessed a resurgence of the Social-Democratic parties with mass memberships and followings among the workers, and in some countries with more militant programs than Social-Democracy offered in the years following World War I. At the same time the Stalinist parties also emerged in some European countries with considerable strength. As a general rule, it can be said that where the Social Democracy was strong and was engaged in offering some resistance to capitalism, there Stalinism could make little headway among the workers, as in England and Germany, and where, as in France, Social-Democracy was particularly discredited for its extreme conciliationism towards capitalism, the Stalinist Party was able to gain the support of the working class who could see no other weapon with which to combat capitalism.

(33) At the end of the First World War Social Democracy played the role of chief prop to capitalism. To a great extent, it still plays this role, but the increasing decay of capitalist society creates another element in social democracy at the same time. It becomes the vehicle in which the bureaucratic collectivist tendencies present in capitalism are carried. The anti-capitalist inroads made by the British Labor government illustrate this. These inroads opened the road to socialism in that country, although at the same time they opened the road to a long development headed in the direction of such bureaucratization. While being firm

supporters of the BLP and the Labor government and also of its anti-capitalist actions, and while recognizing the vast differences between the British and Russian situations, the revolutionary socialists warned that unless the Labor government's program were infused with a socialist program of workers democracy, its social trend in the long run could lead to such a bureaucratization of society. The task of the revolutionists in Britain then, as today, was to be inside the Labor Party fighting for a socialist policy.

(34) What applies to the British revolutionists is in general applicable to all European revolutionary socialists. It is the height of sectarian folly to remain outside of the European Social-Democratic and Labor parties in which the workers are to be found. The winning of the workers to a socialist policy and leadership can only take place in these parties for the workers will not leave their mass class organizations to go to tiny sects no matter how correct their programs are. Unlike the Stalinist parties, the Social-Democracies are working class parties based upon the proletariat. The future development of a revolutionary socialist working class will come from the left-wings of the Social-Democratic parties which in most countries are already quite strong and desirous of moving in a revolutionary socialist direction, even though they show much political confusion today.

(35) Despite the economic recovery experienced by much of the economy of Western Europe in the last few years, European capitalism is in a state of permanent crisis. The recovery is based to a large extent upon American aid - without it, the recovery would not have been possible - and is moreover extremely precarious. Europe's dire necessity for the solution of its economic, political and social problems is the elimination of the artificial and restrictive national boundaries and the unification of the reactionary national states which today compose it. The European bourgeoisie has proved utterly incapable of unifying it; the only serious attempt having been Hitler's effort at a reactionary fascist unification. The unification of Western Europe on a progressive basis would result in an enormous economic advance and create a political entity capable of standing up against Stalinist imperialism, independent of American capitalist imperialism. Thus the slogan of an Independent Western Union is a profoundly progressive slogan for Europe today. Its achievement requires the existence of working class governments in Western Europe, for the bourgeoisie will not unify Europe; the road to its realization points beyond it towards a United Socialist States of Europe.

THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION

(36) World War I ended with the strengthening of the colonial empires of the victors; the Second World War ended with the beginnings of the dissolution of the empires of the European Capitalist imperialist states. This difference is a measure of the degeneration of capitalism. Terrifically weakened, capitalism loosens up, first at the fringes, in relation to its colonial slaves.

(37) For the first time since the early progressive days of capitalism peoples in revolt have won their independence. The British French and Dutch empires are breaking up. India, classic example of colonial subjugation, is now independent. So are Burma and Indonesia. Egypt and most of the Arab world are no longer under direct British control. These revolutionary struggles for independence have an extremely progressive significance and merit the support of revolutionary socialists.

(38) At the same time the new social force of Stalinism also appears as a contender for power in Asia, mobilizing and leading struggles against the old imperialisms, but doing so not in order to liberate the colonial countries, but to enslave them to the new imperialism and new exploitative rule. We reject the idea that the interests of the Indochinese people require political or military support to the Vietminh, for it is decisively dominated by its Stalinist leadership and functions as an instrument of Stalinist imperialism in Indochina. In this connection, the convention approves the position taken by the National Executive Committee of the YSL on the Indochinese war.

(39) While the victory of Stalinism in China struck a blow at capitalist imperialism from which it will never recover, it, at the same time, raised the new enemy of socialism to power and set back for an indefinite period the working class, democracy and socialism. The destruction of feudalism and capitalism by the Chinese Stalinists is not progressive for they are replaced by the new exploitative and reactionary society. The peasants are freed from feudal relations but converted into the state serfs of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The working class is enslaved. All of the fundamental traits of Russian Stalinism are reproduced in China. The YSL is the mortal enemy of Stalinism in Asia, as it is in other sections of the world.

(40) The liberation of the colonies of yesterday was carried out without a socialist revolution and not under the leadership of the working class. This was possible because of the accelerated degeneration of capitalism and capitalist imperialism. But at the same time, the social problems of industrialization and the land question, problems whose solution is classically the task of the democratic revolution, still await resolution. These problems can only be solved in a fundamental sense and in a progressive manner by the working class and socialism.

(41) The emergence of mass socialist parties in Asia represents a progressive development. As compared with European social-democracy, these parties represent a healthy and militant movement, on the whole, stemming from their recent association with the national-revolutionary movements and because of the distinctive social, political and economic positions of their countries. The formation of the Asian Socialist Conference and its extreme reluctance to unite with the Second International is a welcome sign.

(42) The victory of the colonial forces in Asia presages tomorrow's upsurge of the colonial masses in Africa. Already in North Africa the masses are carrying on a heroic struggle against French imperialism, a struggle to which the YSL announces its support. Tomorrow this will spread to the rest of that continent and to all other areas in which imperialism still rules.

(43) The YSL opposes the intervention of the old and new imperialisms in Asia and the effort of American imperialism to defend or restore to its imperialist allies any of their former colonies or former colonies to be. It opposes also the efforts of American imperialism to supplant the older imperialisms in the area. It shares the opposition of Asian revolutionists to the SEATO alliance and counterposes to it as the next practical step in Asian politics the formation of an Independent Southeast Asian Federation, which can secure the defense of the area against Stalinist imperialism and the old capitalism imperialism and also assure the pooling of resources democratically as a basis for progressive modernization and industrialization of these countries and for carrying through a radical agrarian reform, prerequisites to further progress.

The Detente

(44) Since the end of the Korean war there has set in an abatement of the war danger plus a relaxation of international tensions, the so-called detente. This period has not, however, been a uniformly more "relaxed" one; on the contrary, twice in these years we witnessed sharp oscillations back to great tension in the cold war struggle and the danger of hot war; once, last year in the Indochina crisis, and again, over Formosa. In both cases armed conflict was averted, tension reduced and the world-wide war postponed. These developments reflect the fact that both sides realize that it is highly doubtful that "small" wars can be fought without the dreaded Third World War resulting, and neither side is prepared for this final showdown. Hence the stalemate.

(45) During the last few months the detente has become intensified and the relaxation of conflict more pronounced. "Statesmen" on both sides have stopped hurling pronouncements bristling with threats and counter-threats at each other, a certain "normalization" of relations has set in, and in general, the atmosphere and mood have cleared up somewhat. The meeting at the "Summit", the Austrian treaty, the Russian rapprochement with Tito, the American-Chinese Stalinist talks: all are signs of the changed atmosphere.

(46) The "peaceful interlude" which "normally" would have taken place right after the conclusion of the war occurs ten years later. The length of this period and the degree of "pacification" cannot be predicted. It is possible that it will be shortly interrupted or terminated by a fresh crisis and it is also possible that the detente will last for a longer period of time. This question depends upon the domestic situations in both imperialist powers, the international balance of forces and the Third Camp struggle of masses.

(47) The degree of tension between Washington and Moscow had reached the point where either its relaxation or the outbreak of the war was the next stage. To attempt to resolve any of the crises of the last two years by a small, Korea-type war would have most likely resulted in the big war itself. Neither camp wanted this development since each must line up as many of the uncommitted nations and peoples on its side as is possible and each wishes to achieve a definite superiority over the other in regard to support from other nations and peoples, military might, and economic strength. The

various successful struggles of masses of people against both sides during the recent years, the reluctance of America's European allies to be dragged into such a war, and the "slowdown" in all of the Stalinist empire including Russia itself, have set back the two imperialisms. In addition, the final securing of German rearmament, even if it is still on paper, by the United States, over the belligerence of Stalinism has caused Russia to shift to new methods of struggle against the final realization of America's military plans in Europe, upon which its whole global strategy for fighting Stalinism is based.

(48) Together with all of humanity, the YSL welcomes the postponement of World War III, which the detente marks. Such postponement holds off the mass slaughter which the war would entail and at the same time gives the forces of the Third Camp time in which to assemble their ranks, become ideologically clarified, and to struggle to prevent the war entirely. Moreover, the inability of the two imperialisms to negotiate a permanent solution to their conflict does not exclude their agreement on particular issues where some kind of limited settlement serves their mutual self-interest. An example of such a case is the Austrian Treaty. When such instances occur to the advantage of the people, as in the case of Austria, we welcome them even while re-iterating our fundamental denial of the right of imperialists to dispose of the fate of peoples even in a progressive manner.

(49) At the same time it is necessary to note that the breathing spell is a breathing spell for the imperialist camps as well as for the masses, and enables Washington and Moscow, as well as the forces of the Third Camp, to regroup themselves and prepare for the war. Furthermore, the detente helps create illusions in the minds of the masses and further ideas of passivity and tends to instill the notion that Washington and Moscow can solve the various international questions peacefully, and without mass struggle. It reinforces ideas of "neutralism" and "peaceful coexistence". These illusions present a great danger to the Third Camp as pirations of the peoples. Unless they are shed, the time gained as a result of the detente will be frittered away.

(50) What must be understood firstly is that the detente does not mark an end to the cold war nor signalize a fundamentally different period in international relations. The detente is a new stage of the cold war, one in which the cold war struggle between Stalinism and capitalism goes on, but in new, less belligerent forms.

(51) Secondly, it must be understood that the assertion that it is possible for Stalinism and capitalism to coexist permanently or for a very long period of time is false. The imperialist nature of the two social systems and the social-antagonism factor in the struggle make inescapable the effort of both blocs and systems to vanquish each other.

(52) Thirdly, while it is possible for the two imperialisms to work out some deals with each other for the short run period, it is not possible for them to solve any of the problems which face mankind in any kind of progressive, democratic manner.

(53) The independent socialist movement poses the alternative of a democratic struggle against all forms of reaction to the threatened solution of international problems by atomic war and poses for the labor movement the adoption of a democratic foreign policy as an alternative to the reactionary politics of American capitalism, a democratic foreign policy with which to defeat Stalinism progressively and without war. Likewise, the YSL counterposes the struggle for a democratic and socialist program as the alternative to solutions of the various international questions by imperialist deals at the expense of the people. This analysis by no means excludes our participation in movements directed toward big power negotiations; it rather defines the mode of our operation in them. Thus, we supported the tactic of a militant German working class campaign demanding German unity as a right at the time of Geneva. Commitment to such a struggle in no way implies acceptance of the illusion and big power negotiations can "solve" the imperialist rivalry. It does recognize that the pressure of the world's people and the contradictions of the two imperialist social systems may create a situation in which it is possible for militant action to achieve real, though limited, results, even in the present context of world politics. Moreover, in such struggles, the very limitations of negotiations and the need for a Third Camp can be made clear. When participating in such campaigns, then, socialists should base their actions on two facts: first, that the detente may allow for the possibility of a limited effectiveness for mass pressure upon the big powers; second, that the very limitations which the framework of imperialist negotiations imposes upon such situations creates the opportunity for agitation and organization for a real alternative: the Third Camp.

(54) What especially needs stressing is the absolute necessity for Third Camp struggle against Stalinism, as opposed to the attitude of appeasement of Stalinism and conciliation with it, an attitude which is rife in the various neutralist movements and in the left wings of European Social-Democracy. Feelings of passivity, the idea that Eisenhower and Khrushchev will solve all problems and that the struggle of the masses is not needed is profoundly false and must have counterposed to them the Third Camp struggle against war and all reaction.

(55) To the projected solutions for the various international questions and problems which emanate from the imperialist powers, both the solutions they really desire and those they hint at for propaganda purposes, the socialist movement must counterpose concrete democratic solutions and urge the struggle for their realization.

(56) A short time ago the United States and Stalinist China were on the brink of war over Formosa. Stalinist China cynically claimed its right to seize this island while the other side claimed the right of continuing the Chiang police-state under American overlordship. With utmost cynicism, both sides ignored the fundamental democratic right of the Formosans to themselves settle the problem of the status of their land. As against the solutions presented by Stalinism and capitalism the YSL urges the right of self-determination of their status by the Formosans themselves. The only democratic solution consists of the people of Formosa deciding democratically whether they desire union with Stalinist China, wish to remain under the rule of Chiang and his American overlords, or wish the third status of an independent, democratic Formosa. If such a genuine plebiscite were to be held, the YSL would urge the Formosan people to choose the third alternative.

(57) It is highly doubtful that the scheduled elections to unify Vietnam will ever be held. In opposition to the reactionary solution of a divided country with the Stalinists in control of the North and French imperialism, American imperialism or the combination of the two subjugating the South, the YSL sets forth the program of a Third Camp struggle by the Indochinese workers and revolutionary and

democratic nationalist forces against both the Vietminh and against capitalist imperialism. The assembling of such forces in South Vietnam is the urgently required next step.

(58) The same solution applies equally to Korea, except that there the situation is worse than in Indochina in respect to the existence of Independent forces capable of playing such a progressive and democratic role. But this merely means that the task is more difficult and will take longer - which is all the more reason why it has to be begun.

(59) There is great danger that the old European imperialist powers will use the relaxation of cold war tensions to intensify their subjugation of the colonies and their struggle against the nationalist movements. France has already threatened and begun such action in North Africa. The peoples of North Africa and other subject and oppressed nations must intensify their struggle in return. The YSL declares its unqualified support of the fight of the North African and all other oppressed peoples for national independence and calls upon the international labor movement to extend to them its support and aid.

GERMANY

(60) The partition of Germany between the Western powers and Russia and the denial of the elementary democratic right of self-determination to the German people, as a consequence of the Second World War, was a reactionary act with far-reaching retrogressive results for Europe. Germany is the key to all of Europe in that its geographical location, its economic development and its size make it the natural organizer of the continent. The unification of Germany will also bring the German working class to the fore and enable it to play a leading role in the struggle for an Independent Western Union and other progressive developments.

(61) In Eastern Germany, the Russian quisling Stalinist regime continues to fasten its yoke upon the people on the basis of Russian bayonets, as the June, 1953 uprising so thoroughly proved. The West German government has been granted a measure of national sovereignty by Washington but at the price of the integration of West Germany into NATO and the American military bloc. And while the German Bourgeoisie may desire precisely this, the West German workers have demonstrated their understanding of the reactionary international and domestic consequences of it and waged militant struggles against it.

(62) As a consequence of the detente there have been rumors of a Russian proposal for the unification of Germany on the basis of a neutralized country without the right to rearm, or even neutralization on the Austrian pattern including the right to certain limited armed forces. Even if such rumors were more than propaganda talk, they would still involve a denial to the German people of their democratic right to all the attributes of national sovereignty including the right to control its military establishment and to conduct its foreign relations as it sees fit.

(63) The recent "summit" meeting in Geneva failed to produce any such Russian proposal. On the contrary. Both sides are in favor of German Unity, but on a basis the other will not grant. America wants a united Germany which can be part of its military bloc. Russia would be willing to see Germany united at the price of destruction of American military plans and the structure which America has so painfully erected in Europe.

(64) This underscores the necessity of a Third Camp struggle for German unification. The struggles of the German workers have in part been vitiated by the fact that the orientation of the SPD leadership has been towards Big Power negotiations as the road to German unification. The shedding of these illusions and the beginnings of a program and outlook that relies on the strength of the German workers and the seeking of aid from the natural allies of the German proletariat, the international working class, is a prerequisite for a successful progressive and democratic struggle.

(65) Every sincere democrat must urge the unification of Germany and its restoration to full national sovereignty and independence including full control of its social, economic and political life, including control of its own military and international policy. The German working class must raise the slogan of withdrawal of all foreign troops and the unification of Germany on an independent and democratic, which is to say, on a working class basis. It is incumbent on all working class and democratic movements to give all aid and support to the German workers and people in this struggle.

CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG
SOCIALIST LEAGUE

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Art I NAME: The name of this organization shall be the YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE, hereinafter referred to as the YSL.

Art. II PURPOSE: The YSL is a democratic socialist organization striving to aid in the basic transformation of this society into one where the means of production and distribution shall be collectively owned and democratically managed. The YSL attempts to make the young workers and students, who form its arena of activity, conscious of the need for organization directed against Capitalism and Stalinism.

The YSL rejects the concept that state ownership without democratic controls represents socialism; or that socialism can be achieved without political democracy, or through undemocratic means, or, in short, in any way other than the conscious active participation of the people themselves in the building of the new social order. The YSL orients towards the working class as the class which is capable of leading society to socialism.

Art III MEMBERSHIP:

Sect. 1. Membership in the YSL is open to those in substantial agreement with its purposes and statement of principles and program; and who are willing to accept the responsibilities of membership.

Sect. 2. Every member of the YSL shall belong to a local section of the organization. In cases where none exists in his locality he shall be responsible directly to the NAC for the conduct of his socialist work. Exceptions to this policy may be made by the NAC.

Sect. 3. Applications for membership shall be passed on by local sections. If none exists in a locality applications for that area shall be passed by the NAC.

Art. IV. LOCAL ORGANIZATION

Sect. 1. Five or more members in any locality upon application to the NAC may be chartered and known as a "unit".

Sect. 2. Where more than one unit exists in any locale, a district organization may be set up, subject to the approval of the NAC, with a district executive committee elected by a district convention. When so elected it shall be the highest governing body for that area, and may, with the concurrence of the NAC charter new units in that area.

Art. V. NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Sect. 1 Conventions.

A. The highest body in the YSL is the National Convention. The convention shall meet at least once every two years, on call of the NEC. The NEC shall allow at least 90 days for pre-convention discussion in issuing any convention call. The 90 day period shall begin only when the NAC has published and circulated the major majority documents, except in the case of an emergency convention. The NEC shall draft a proposed Convention Agenda and Rules.

B. Only members in good standing shall have the right to vote for delegates. Voting shall take place on a unit basis, and each unit shall

elect one delegate for a given number of members in good standing, or major fraction thereof. The number is to be specified by the NEC in its convention call. Units may elect alternates to the convention.

- C. A special Convention may be called by a majority of the NEC, one third of the membership or two fifths of local sections. On receiving such a call the NEC shall schedule a special convention within four months, allowing three months for discussion.
- D. Where there is division on the basis of political tendencies in electing delegates to the Convention, Minority tendencies are entitled to representatives elected by them as follows: In a unit entitled to one delegate, the delegate shall be the person with the highest vote. In a unit entitled to two delegates a minority candidate who receives $1/3$ of the votes shall be elected as a delegate; in a unit entitled to three delegates a minority candidate who receives $1/4$ of the votes shall be elected a delegate. A minority tendency shall be considered established and defined by the presentation for vote of a written document (resolution or motion), which is announced to be the basis of the tendency asking for representation.

Sect. 2 The National Executive Committee.

- A. Between Conventions the highest body of the YSL shall be the NEC. The NEC shall take office immediately upon a election and shall hold office until the next Convention or until a successor has been elected.
- B. The NEC shall be elected at the Convention by a system of proportional representation. The Convention will determine the exact system to be used.
- C. The NEC shall be composed of members and alternates, the number of each being determined by the Convention.
- D. The NEC shall meet at least twice a year. One third of the NEC may call a special meeting of the NEC which must be scheduled within six weeks of receipt of such call by the NAC. Any member of the NEC may initiate a mail ballot of the Committee on any decision of the NAC.
- E. The NEC shall appoint and may remove all national officers by a majority vote.
- F. Any NEC member may appoint any regular alternate to replace him for all or any part of any meeting of the committee.
- G. In replacing vacancies on the Committee the NEC may raise alternates to full membership by a majority vote. When necessary to maintain recognized factional strength non-alternates may be coopted by a $2/3$ vote. In event of further vacancies on the Committee and after investigating the possibilities of a Special Convention the Committee may co-opt from among non-alternates by a $2/3$ vote after the exhaustion of the regular alternate slate.

Sect. 3 The National Action Committee

- A. The NAC shall conduct the national political and organizational affairs of the YSL between meetings of the NEC.
- B. The NAC shall be elected from among members of the NEC in the vicinity of the National Office, by the NEC. NEC alternates and L.C. members who are not members of the NAC in the vicinity of the N.O. shall also be alternates to the NAC.
- C. The NAC shall meet at least once a month, or on call of one third of its members.
- D. All National Officers and all units of the YSL are responsible to the NAC for the conduct of their work.
- E. Minority tendencies in the organization shall be entitled to the same proportion of seats on the NAC as on the NEC.
- F. All members of the YSL shall have the right to attend meetings of the NAC and the NEC except when those bodies shall by a 2/3 vote decide to hold executive sessions.

Sect. 4 National Officers

- A. The National Officers shall be directly responsible to the NEC and the NAC and shall be elected by the NEC from among its members.
- B. The National Chairman shall be the convener of the NEC and the NAC and shall be the political spokesman of the YSL.
- C. The National Secretary shall be the organizational executive of the YSL and shall be responsible for the administration of the National Office.

Art. VI FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS

Sect. 1 Every applicant for membership shall pay a \$1.00 application fee to be forwarded to the National Office.

Sect. 2 Every member-at-large shall pay a minimum dues of \$5.00 per year. Members-at-large joining after June of any year shall have their dues computed on the basis of .50¢ per month. The fiscal year runs from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31. Members who are serving sentences for conscientious or political objection to war are exempt from the dues requirements. Other exceptions may be made by the NAC.

Sect. 3 Local sections may establish a pledge system to supplement the regular national dues.

Sect. 4 Every local unit shall send to the National Office a minimum of .50¢ per month per member as dues. Exceptions to this may be made by the NAC.

Sect. 5 The NEC may set special assessments and organize special fund drives.

Sect. 6 Only members in good standing, may vote and/or hold office in the YSL. Any member more than three months behind in his dues shall be deemed not to be in good standing and may be dropped from the organization after a warning.

Art. VII DEMOCRACY AND DISCIPLINE

- Sect. 1 The NAC shall establish a year-round information and discussion bulletin open to all members, where all political and organizational disagreements can achieve their fullest and freest expression. A single copy of this bulletin shall be provided free of charge to all members of the YSL, but its distribution is not limited to members. Members of the YSL shall also receive, free of charge, for one year, the YOUNG SOCIALIST CHALLENGE.
- Sect. 2 All official press and publications of the YSL are subject to the direction of the NAC.
- Sect. 3 Local bodies of the YSL may publish material of their choice, however they must make clear that it is a local publication.
- Sect. 4 Minority tendencies or caucuses may publish their own material for internal and external distribution, but they must make clear that these publications do not represent the views of the organization as a whole. All National and local mimeograph and mailing facilities shall be open to such tendencies or caucuses for use at cost.
- Sect. 5 Members of the YSL shall be guided in their political actions by the principles and decisions of the League. In pursuing their work they may not take action which is in contradiction to the policies of the YSL or make statements in contradiction with the principles or policies of the YSL without making it clear that they are speaking for themselves and not the League.
- Sect. 6 In all areas, and organizations and on all campuses the YSL policy shall be executed by the members in that situation acting as an organized body, subject to the decisions of the higher bodies of the YSL.
- Sect. 7 Local units shall provide members with the opportunity to present their views on political and organizational problems before the membership.
- Sect. 8 Between conventions any decision of the NEC may be overruled by a referendum. All referendums shall be decided by a majority vote. Before initiating a referendum there shall be a discussion with local sections on the advisability of a Special Convention with reference to the financial and other problems involved. The initiative for a referendum may be made by: one third of the NEC, one third of the membership or two-fifths of the local units. Pro and Con discussion shall go out with all referendum ballots.
- Sect. 9 There shall be no secret balloting on any committee of the YSL. In order that the record of committee members be available to the membership all votes shall be recorded. Minutes of the NEC and NAC meetings, except of meetings in executive session, shall go to all members who request them.

Art. VIII TRIAL PROCEDURE

- Sect. 1 Any member or section of the YSL may bring charges against any member for violation of YSL principles, policies or discipline. The initial accusation must be made in writing before the smallest subdivision of the League of which they are both members. The accused must be given notice of the trial date and a copy of the charges against him both 15 and again 7 days preceding the trial date. Failure to appear or to send a letter of defense in the absence of excuse for such failure shall be ground for conducting the trial in absentia.

- Sect. 2 No subdivision shall constitute itself as a trial body unless all members have been informed in advance of the business at hand.
- Sect. 3 A member shall be tried before the highest committee of the League of which he is a member, in the case where the charges call for his suspension or expulsion.
- Sect. 4 In order to expell a two thirds vote is needed; to suspend or censure a majority vote is needed. A subdeivision may dismiss the charges at any time.
- Sect. 5 The accused or accuser may appeal to the NAC, the NEC and the Convention in that order. The decision of the Convention shall be final. In order to have the right to appeal a member must file his appeal with the next higher body within 15 days of the trial.
- Sect. 6 An expelled member while appealing shall be given the status of a suspended member, his sole rights being the right to conduct his appeal.

Art. IX MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

1. Amendments to this Constitution may be made only by a Convention of the YSL.
2. The NEC may affiliate the YSL to international bodies by a majority vote.
3. The Chairman of all meetings and committees has a right to voice and vote at all times. The nay vote shall be called first on voting to call the question.
4. All decisions in all bodies of the YSL are to be by majority vote except when otherwise specified by this Constitution. No second shall be required for motions in any body of the YSL.
5. All members of the YSL shall be provided with a copy of this constitution.
6. At all meetings and at the Convention of the YSL Roberts# Rules of Order (Revised) shall govern the proceedings, except where they are in conflict with this Constitution.

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