

YOUNG SOCIALIST

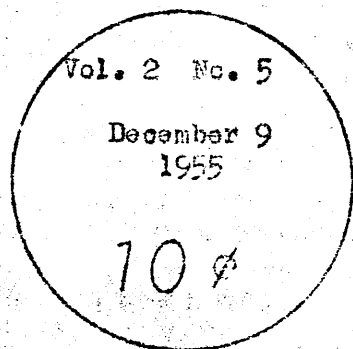
REVIEW

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POST CONVENTION ISSUE II



INFORMATION AND
DISCUSSION BULLETIN
OF
THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

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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 AND THE NEXT

Your editor wishes to humbly apologize for overestimating the speed with which the first two YSR Convention issues could be published. Mainly due to the detailed and voluminous material necessary for this and the last issues on the Convention, the deadline schedule, to say the least, was slightly off base. However, because of incurable socialist optimism, we will again predict frequency of publication with a good chance of coming out more than once a month.

As the table of contents shows, the majority of this Convention # 2 issue is either devoted to Convention discussion that was not published in YSR form prior to the Chicago meetings, or material that the delegates directed the NAC to publish for educational purposes (i.e., the Workers Party-SYL correspondence on an Independent Western Union). The remainder is devoted to all defeated and withdrawn resolutions presented to the Convention, plus three short resolutions that passed.

The next YSR will be centered mainly on discussions about liberalism that stems from remarks made at a series of NAC meetings this fall. We have not pressed for articles until now, since the two Convention issues had no further copy. You must all be aware comrades that we cannot have an issue for January or future months without articles coming from other units aside from New York - the only source from where copy has been received so far. All stenciled or typewritten copy must be in no later than December 26. Only you, comrades, can keep the YSR publishing regularly - SO WRITE!

(The following are three resolutions passed by the YSL Convention.)

A. The Convention instructs the NAC to publish in the YSR as soon as possible after the convention.

- (1) All convention resolutions as adopted.
- (2) All major amendments and resolutions which were withdrawn or defeated, e.g. the Walker War Resolution, Owen's resolution on German Unity, etc.
- (3) The exchange between the SYL National Buro and the Political Committee of the ISL on Independent Western Union (published in Forum in 1949), with the relevant sections of the supplement to the 1949 ISL international resolution on Independent Western Union.

B. The Young Socialist League reaffirms its fraternal solidarity with those socialist, pacifist, and radical youth including Comrades Vern Davidson and Don Thomas who are fighting for their rights as non-religious conscientious objectors and against state persecution.

C. The convention of the Young Socialist League expresses its deep gratification at the victory won by the ISL, and for civil liberties in general, by the decision in the Shahtman passport case and pledge its firm support to the efforts of the ISL to be removed from the Attorney General's Subversive List.

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COMMENTS on the Martin and Harrington
Resolutions on the International Question

By Comrade Shang

The World Power-Struggle

The starting point for Martin's entire approach to contemporary international politics is his view that "Russian bureaucratic collectivism" is a "contender for world domination", and that Stalinism internationally is a new social system striving to destroy capitalism in every country and establish its own rule.

These views are enunciated in the Martin resolution with utter dogmatism. They are simply asserted without a shred of argument to back them up, as if they were obvious, unquestionable facts. Nevertheless, they are utterly wrong, and lead to catastrophic political errors.

The assertion that Russia is a "contender for world domination" must be analyzed in the light of Russia's capabilities of achieving and maintaining world domination.

This analysis must be an economic analysis since the military strength of a society, measured not in the superficial terms of number of soldiers, guns, airplanes, etc., but in terms of the ability to wage and win a serious protracted global struggle is essentially determined by its productive capacity. How do the economies of Russia and the U.S. shape up against each other? (Statistics taken from the World Almanac, 1955).

Russian steel production in 1953 reached the level of 38 million tons. The United States in that year produced 112 million tons (a ratio of 3:1 in favor of the U.S.). Russia in 1952 produced 322,400 barrels of crude petroleum. The continental U.S. alone produced 2,292,000 barrels (a ratio of 7:1) exclusive of over 1,000,000 barrels of foreign petroleum produced by the American oil companies. Russian production of electric power in 1954 was 147,600,000 kilowatt hours. The U.S. in 1953 produced 513,897,000 kilowatt hours (a ratio of 7:2).

On the basis of these statistics alone, the enormous inequality between the U.S. and Russia should be apparent to anyone whose mind is not paralyzed by dogmas about the Stalinist threat. But in reality, the picture they present is far more favorable to Russia than the facts justify, for numerous reasons, of which we now cite the most significant:

1. The Russian production figures are those proclaimed by the government, and may therefore be seriously inflated.
2. They represent exclusively the production of "heavy" industry, the sector of the Russian economy most highly developed, at the cost of grave retardation and chronic crisis in the consumer goods sector and in agriculture. The over-all economic strength of Russia is therefore substantially less than the heavy-industry figures would indicate. The American economy on the other hand is highly developed in all its branches.
3. The allies and satellites of the U.S. include all the most advanced industrial nations in the world. Russia's empire is by a large backward and a source of insignificant economic and military strength compared to Western Europe.

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Martin also raises the spectre of Stalinist parties thru-out the world taking power in their own countries and "establishing bureaucratic collect-

ivism". He makes this assertion in characteristically dogmatic fashion, without a shred of argument or proof that can here be refuted.

My contention is that the perspective Martin raises is totally unreal in reference to the decisive countries in the world, the advanced industrial states where the C.P.'s are significant only because of working-class support. The reasons that this is so are expounded in paragraphs 16, 17, and 18 of my "Resolution on the International Situation". There would be no point in repeating those arguments here and nothing more need be said on the subject at this time, since Martin has neither defended his position nor attacked mine.

The Nature of Stalinism

In my resolution I presented a fundamental analysis of Stalinism, as perpetuating the basic contradictions of capitalism without resolving them. Martin is content to slap the label "bureaucratic collectivism" on Stalinism, without indicating in any way the basic contradictions (if any) of the system. He merely makes the portentous statement that Stalinism contains "contradictions which create the basis for the destruction of the system by the masses" - without any indication what those contradictions are.

Not that such contradictions can't be found - Stalinist society is racked by such contradictions, and my resolution pointed out several of them - but, alas, those contradictions can find no place within the theory of "bureaucratic collectivism". So, Martin, in his final draft, prefers to say nothing about them.

That is, he says nothing in the final draft; but in his first draft he presented what he considers to be the primary contradiction of Stalinism. A few minutes of MAC discussion persuaded him to delete it from his resolution, and in so doing, he acted wisely.

What was this primary contradiction? The "contradiction" between a statified, planned economy and a totalitarian bureaucratic political structure. Certainly, bureaucratic-totalitarian planning is extremely wasteful and inefficient; and in conditions of international capitalist competition it can be disastrously expensive. But by what stretch of the imagination can waste and inefficiencies be interpreted as the primary contradiction of a social system? The fundamental contradiction, of which bureaucratic inefficiency is only a special case, is the contradiction between class society and modern productive forces.

It is surely a testimonial of theoretical poverty that Martin's primary contradiction of Stalinism merely repeats Trotsky's basic analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy as based on, but in contradiction to, statified and planned economy. The only difference is that Martin calls the bureaucracy a "class", Trotsky called it a "caste". This is an incorrect theory of Stalinism, flowing from a denial of its capitalist nature, but it is Trotsky with his theory of the "degenerated workers state", who drew the only defensible conclusion from it. (see "The Revolution Betrayed" and "Ind Defense of Marxism").

A property-form can be in contradiction to the needs of the productive forces; but a class cannot enter into contradiction to the property form on which it is based.

Stalinist "Anti-Capitalism"

To Martin, Stalinism is an anti-capitalist force - Stalinism "in its own right is a bitter opponent of capitalism and capitalist imperialism".

Of course, Stalinist states have fought this or that capitalist imperialism when that imperialism attempted to dominate or destroy them; but a generalized "bitter" opposition to capitalism has never been present in Stalinist policy. Ever since its inception, Stalinism has not sought to fight capitalism, but has attempted to make a deal with it. This is the meaning of the ideology of "peaceful co-existence". The present detente has been marked by ideological concessions by the Stalinists who now accept Eisenhower's expressions of peacefulness and friendship at face value, ignoring the war drives inherent in American capitalism.

The entire history of the Stalinist has been one of support of capitalism. Has Martin forgotten the role of the Stalinists in Spain? Their betrayal of the Greek revolution (even though that working-class struggle took place under Stalinist leadership)? Their disarming of the World War II resistance movements and support to capitalist governments thru-out Europe? The disastrous policy of the Stalinists in Iran and Guatemala where their failure to use their enormous influence to mobilize the masses independently of the nationalist bourgeois leaders Mossadegh and Arbenz resulted in the complete victory of American imperialism and the imposition of native totalitarian regimes? Their support to capitalist governments in India, Indonesia, Argentina, and many other countries?

The role of the Stalinists has thus been pro-capitalist on innumerable occasions. Martin's resolution doesn't mention this fact anywhere, not even in passing.

Where has Stalinism been anti-capitalist? Perhaps it will be claimed that the Stalinist-led revolutions in China and Viet-Nam were anti-capitalist. The reverse is true, as will be shown in the discussion of the "Colonial Revolution".

Perhaps Eastern Europe. Martin says "In all the nations which it holds subject, Russia has destroyed capitalist rule and capitalism." That, at least, sounds anti-capitalist.

In reality, what happened in East Europe was the expropriation of the ruling classes of colonial countries for the benefit of the imperialist overlord. That is no more an anti-capitalist action than any other type of theft - moreover this expropriation was not carried out by Russia, as Martin claims, but by that notorious anti-capitalist Adolph Hitler.

This is how a supporter of the bureaucratic-collectivist" theory, Albert Gates, described the policy of the German rulers in their occupied territories (New Internationalist, Oct. 1942, p.271) "They have either taken over the most important sectors of these economies, obtained controlling interest, or destroyed them entirely. In each case, however, the fundamental aim of the victors has been to subordinate everything to German requirements."

Stalinist Imperialism

Martin explicitly characterizes Stalinism as imperialist: "The drive to imperialism are built in features in the system". He here contradicts, as sharply as possible, comrade Harrington who recently presented the view that Stalinism is not inherently imperialist. Both are partly right and mostly wrong.

Martin refers to "built in" imperialist drives, but aside from his "contradiction" between planning and totalitarianism, which doesn't explain any sort of drive, doesn't mention any them. And I am afraid that if he ever condescends to inform the YCL convention what imperialist drives it is being asked to attribute to Stalinism, his theories will not stand up under Comrade Harrington's criticism - for

Harrington is correct when he contends that, on the basis of the theory of "bureaucratic collectivism", it is impossible to demonstrate the existence of inherently imperialist tendencies in Stalinism.

But Harrington, in turn, with his proposition that Stalinism is not imperialist, has led himself into a blind alley. For the obvious, and inescapable fact of international politics is that Russia must act as an imperialist state: i.e., its every move is designed to safeguard its existing domination over foreign peoples (inside the "Soviet Union" as well as outside it) and, where possible to extend its empire.

Harrington's reaction to this unbridgeable gap between theory and reality is similar to throw the theory overboard - to talk of "imperialist power blocs" driven by "imperialist causes which lead to war".

The inconsistency of Harrington's thought is to be explained by the fact that like Martin, he accepts the theory of "bureaucratic collectivism" without either analyzing its presuppositions or drawing the logical consequences from his theory. Therefore, he is stuck with the picture of a struggle for world domination between antagonistic social systems; a picture with little resemblance to reality. Since the "social antagonism" can't explain anything, either the power struggle, or the detente, both Harrington and Martin seek to return to reality by reference to imperialist drives of the real social systems as embodied in concrete national states. Though Harrington is more aware than Martin that he is violating his theory by this procedure, he doesn't show it anywhere in this Resolution.

To understand the real drives behind Russian imperialism, we must understand that if America is an overcapitalized nation, Russian expansion is necessary precisely because Russia is a relatively backward, under-capitalized nation. Russia is imperialist because it must compete with advanced industrial nations on the terms laid down by the world market; i.e., by the productivity of labor in the advanced nations (the armaments race is the sharpest form of international competition). Exploitation of its colonies is a means for Russia to partially remedy the inadequacies of its own economy. The foregoing is evidently an analysis that can be made only on the basis of a theory of Stalinism that sees it as a phenomenon of the death agony of capitalism, "a product of degenerate capitalism" which can exist only in a capitalist context. It is inconsistent with a theory that regards Stalinism as a new social system capable of replacing capitalism thru-out the world.

Stalinist "Super-Exploitation"

Martin, (in pp.8) makes an assertion regarding "the new (Stalinist) social system" which cannot be ignored, since it so graphically illustrates the level of his understanding of Stalinism. He states that this new social system is "exploitative to a degree unknown (sic.) under capitalism".

There are two possible uses of the word "exploitation" in Martin's context. A Marxist uses the scientific term "exploitation" to refer to the ratio between the paid and unpaid portions of the working day (and there is no excuse for any other use of the term in a YSL resolution). Someone unacquainted with Marxism might use the term to refer to the general misery of the workers. Whichever meaning of the term is used, Martin's statement is completely wrong.

In the scientific sense, exploitation takes two forms: absolute, thru extension of the working day and relative, thru reduction in the cost of production of the necessities of life and intensification of labor.

How does the Stalinist economy really measure up to other capitalist states?

The work week in Russia is 48 hours, 8 hours more than in the U.S., but equal to most West European countries.

The cost of production of food and consumer goods is extremely high due to a productivity of labor far lower than in Western capitalist economies.

The intensity of labor is far less than in western countries because of bureaucratic inefficiency, excessive work-force, and enormously large proportion of defective goods.

Thus, it is clear that exploitation is if anything, less intense in Russia than in Western Capitalism.

What about the "vulgar" sense of the term? Capitalism has known miserable conditions not only in the epoch of primitive accumulation, but only yesterday, under Nazism; conditions compared to which the situation of most Russian workers is at least bearable.

This is how Gates (op.cit. p.270) described the condition of the German workers under Nazism:

"The standard of living of these masses is maintained only at a point which permits continued labor and reproduction of the race. There is only the limit of physical endurance which decides the length of hours which the industrial proletariat labors and the condition of this labor."

That is a description of the ultimate in misery beyond which "exploitation" becomes extermination".

But perhaps all the above is really beside the point; maybe Martin didn't mean it literally, but used the phrase for its magical significance. There are certainly grounds for suspecting that, to Martin, Stalinism is not a social system to be analyzed, but a diabolical spirit to be exorcised by means of the vilest insults available.

The War Question

Martin's paragraphs on socialist policy toward World War III (21,22, 23) seem on the surface merely to reiterate what we have always believed to be the revolutionary socialist position of opposition to imperialist war. But a closer reading indicates that he has, under cover of traditional revolutionary language, introduced the germs of reformism and social-patriotism.

His paragraph 22 urges the workers "to establish their power and take command of the nation". But the next sentence begins with the words "Only a workers government could replace America's reactionary aims..."

The use of the phrase "workers government" is quite conscious and deliberate, since he was writing an alternative formulation to my paragraph 10 which stated that the war could become democratic only if the capitalist state was overthrown and "replaced by a workers state".

The difference is this: a reformist workers government, like the British Labor Government can exist on the basis of a capitalist state apparatus - it

can do this because, since it is a reformist, pro-capitalist force committed to defense of imperialism, the capitalists can tolerate its rule. A revolutionary workers government can exist only by smashing the capitalist state apparatus and creating a workers state. This is the ABC of Marxism, and Martin, who has read "State and Revolution" as often as I have should understand it.

Therefore, to speak, as Martin does, of a "Workers government" carrying out a "progressive, democratic policy", without at the same time specifying that such a government can come into existence only thru revolution and the creation of a workers state, is to imply that a reformist labor government can carry out a "progressive, democratic" foreign policy and that we would support the U.S. in war if it was headed by such a government.

Martins paragraph 23 seems innocuous and somewhat redundant. After stating unalterable opposition to both camps (p. 21) what purpose is served by saying that the revolutionists do not act "for the purpose of aiding Moscow"?

The social-patriotic significance of this truism comes from the fact a) that it is declared true of only one side (and Martin specifically rejected a proposal that this formulation be expanded to apply to both sides) and b) that not "aiding Moscow" is made some kind of criterion for action by the phrase "conduct their struggles in accordance with this aim."

It is clear from the sections of my resolution (10 e,f,g) that this/ paragraph is counterposed to that Martin is presenting a formulation which will satisfy supporters of the position that the victory of Russia is the "greatest disaster possible" and that consequently, at some time in World War III socialists might oppose action of working class struggle in order to prevent Stalinist victory without committing either himself or the YSL to this view.

Equivocation on a question so fundamental as socialist policy toward World War III is reprehensible. If Martin believes that a "workers government" can carry out a democratic war without first carrying thru a socialist revolution at home and/or if he believes that it might under conditions of World War III, become justifiable to "refrain from prosecuting" the class struggle in order to avoid Stalinist victory, he should say so clearly. If he rejects those propositions he should do so unequivocally, and if he is unwilling to take a position on these questions he shouldn't be writing resolutions on war.

European Social Democracy

Martin's discussion of the Social-Democratic parties is woefully weak. Not a word of concrete analysis of their class base in the labor bureaucracy and labor aristocracy. No mention of their subservience to U. S. imperialism and their support of colonialism, no reference to their constant betrayal of working class struggles. True, Martin mentions in passing that Social Democracy still plays "the role of chief prop to capitalism." Then he goes on, at much greater length, how Social Democracy is also "the vehicle" for "bureaucratic-collectivist tendencies present in capitalism" !! (note to Comrade Harrington: See how Martin places the same class sign over the existing Russian social system and the tendency toward statification within capitalism.)

1/2 But, if Martin has no analysis of the Social-Democracies he does have an attitude toward them. He says that "in general... all revolutionary socialists" should enter "The European Social-Democratic and Labor parties in which the workers are to be found". He fails to mention that in certain important countries such as

France, Italy, and Spain, the bulk of the workers are outside the Social-Democratic parties, and will stay outside them. It would be interesting to see Martin's application of his "general" position (which is quite correct where the SP's do in fact contain the bulk of the working class) to these specific cases.

If Martin's avoidance of concrete criticism of the Social-Democracies, and his blanket perspective of entry into them, give rise to a certain suspicion that he has taken the position of a "loyal" left tail to the Second International, his discussion of Western European Union. I regret to say bears this suspicion out 100%.

Is this too harsh? Here is what Martin says: "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; its realization points the road to the next stage of the struggle for the United Socialist States of Europe".

Thus, not only is the Social-Democracy ("working-class governments") presented as capable of organizing European unity, but the Social-Democratic Independent Western Union is a necessary stage of European socialist development which must "point the road" before the "next stage" of a socialist Europe becomes even an object of struggle! (Note to Comrade Felix: If "Independent Western Union" is a transitional slogan how do you reconcile it to Martin's theory of "stages"?)

This perspective combines utopian illusions about the possibilities of the Social-Democracy with utter pessimism toward working-class revolutionary action. My resolution demonstrated "in advance" the total falsity of these ideas.

The Colonial Revolution

Comrade Harrington's discussion of the Colonial Revolution in its Stalinist and non-Stalinist forms is infinitely superior to that of Comrade Martin. Harrington at least attempts a socio-economic-historical analysis of these revolutions and argues for his viewpoint in terms that permit of fruitful discussion.

Martin, on the other hand, is not interested in any theoretical analysis of the complex reality of the Colonial Revolution; he merely makes his usual dogmatic assertions - assertions which, in this case, contain an extraordinarily high percentage of utter nonsense.

For instance, he defines the purpose of Stalinist movements in the colonial countries as "to enslave them to the new imperialism...". China, for instance, has, we suppose, become to Martin a "slave" of Russian imperialism.

He speaks of "The destruction of feudalism and capitalism by the Chinese Stalinists.." as if the two were the same. He neglects to mention that, while the remnants of Chinese feudalism have indeed been destroyed, the Chinese Stalinists (who, as Stalinists, agree with Martin that the statification of capitalism is equivalent to its destruction) themselves make no claim to have "destroyed capitalism" and define their economic system as "state-capitalist". Martin says that the Chinese peasants have been "freed from feudal relations but converted into the state serfs of the Stalinist bureaucracy" - which is, on its face, utter nonsense, since if the peasants are any sort of "serfs" (and serfdom was not one of the characteristics of Chinese semi-feudal society) they have obviously not been "freed from feudal relations".

What Martin means is that the Chinese peasantry has been deprived of

all social power, and placed in a completely dependent economic position; and this idea is just as much at variance with the facts of Chinese society as his actual formulation is at variance with ordinary logic. For virtually all land in China today is privately owned and individually formed. To break the power of the peasantry the Russian Stalinists required a virtual civil war, and China is even more a peasant country than was Russia in 1930. In addition, unlike the Russian Stalinists, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy contains a high percentage of cadres of peasant origin.

Let us now turn from Martin's fantasies and discuss the serious attempt at analysis made by Harrington.

Harrington starts off from the correct proposition that the "historical task" of the colonial revolution is "the creation of an independent, capitalist state." Unfortunately, he does not follow this thought through, but immediately goes on to make an artificial distinction in respect to class nature between Stalinist and non-Stalinist Colonial revolutionary regimes.

The confused character of this artificial distinction is indicated by his statement that "the colonial revolution either occurs in a fashion strikingly different from any previous bourgeois revolution, or else is transformed into a movement toward the establishment of a bureaucratic-collectivist society". The Stalinist-led revolution, is, of course, also "strikingly different from any previous bourgeois revolution". What the above formulation expresses is that the colonial revolution can take sharply contradictory social forms - but it fails to grasp that these contradictory social forms must be based on solving different historical problems.

For example, the basic historical task of the Russian and Turkish revolutions was the same: they were both capitalist revolutions. But the Russian revolution was carried thru by the working class and the Turkish revolution by a Bonapartist state bureaucracy. The difference was that the Russian revolution did not merely solve the problems of the bourgeois revolution, but attempted to solve also the problems of the socialist revolution. The difference in social character both determined and flowed from a difference in historical tasks.

The historical tasks of the socialist revolution, however, could not be accomplished on the basis of an isolated, backward state; the Russian proletariat therefore lost power and was replaced by a Bonapartist state bureaucracy, a bureaucracy which could base its rule on the accomplishment of those historical tasks susceptible of solution on the national level; the tasks of the capitalist revolution.

It was evidence of his brilliant historical insight that, in spite of his false theory of the "Degenerated Workers State", Trotsky recognized this essential parallel in his biography of Stalin, where he states that of all previous social movements, Stalinism was most similar to "Kemalism".

The problem of historical tasks, in the colonial revolution, is fatal to Harrington's dichotomy between Stalinist and non-Stalinist revolutions; and the phrase "bureaucratic collectivism" cannot prop up his argument. Harrington recognizes that in the non-Stalinist countries the state is the leading sector of the economy, "with the bourgeoisie concentrating itself in light industry and commercial capital."

It is the decisive sector of the economy, heavy industry, that is most strongly statified - and since capitalist development requires tremendous expansion of heavy industry at the expense if necessary, of everything else, the

the dynamics of the development of these countries tend toward heavily increasing stratification.

Therefore, Harrington can find no basic divergencies between Stalinist and non-Stalinist regimes. His sole attempt, the proposition that under Stalinism "the state sector is absolutely dominant" is factually incorrect in today's reality (since the state sector cannot possibly have anything near an "absolute" dominance over a predominantly agricultural economy so long as the basic property form in land is individual proprietorship) and, if interpreted as pointing a direction of movement, is, as shown above, also true of non-Stalinist regimes.

The divergence he must rely on is purely subjective. The Stalinist bureaucracy "is consciously working for the creation of a bureaucratic-collectivist society".

But ideologies reflect socio-economic conditions, and not vice-versa - China today is an ally of Russia, and stratification has proceeded further in China than in most Asian countries, so naturally the Chinese Stalinist ideology is more developed. Nevertheless, the ideology of the Indian Congress party and of the governing regimes in Egypt, Indonesia, Burma, all of which express "socialist" aspirations, reflects this same reality which also gives rise to the Chinese Stalinists' "bureaucratic-collectivist" ideology.

Harrington's analysis is also disoriented by his failure to think through his theory of "bureaucratic-collectivism". He refuses to see any progressive significance in the destruction of feudal remnants and the establishment of national independence because the regime established is "a new impediment to socialism"! But so is any capitalist regime, Stalinist or not. And the fact that the Stalinist regime, unlike most non-Stalinist regimes, is totalitarian in reference to the working-class does not negate the progressive accomplishments of the revolution that has carried it to power; for the working class, as in China, already lived under a totalitarian regime which, far from increasing the numbers of the working class thru industrialization, weakened and demoralized it thru economic stagnation, inflation, and all forms of degeneracy and corruption.

¹/₂ Harrington has failed to define the historical tasks of "bureaucratic-collectivism" either in Europe or in Asia. But he attempts to analyze the colonial revolution in terms of the theory of bureaucratic collectivism. It was inevitable that he get tangled up.

Thus, he says that "to speak of this bureaucracy's role as 'progressive in some respects' is to isolate it from history". Hethen does exactly what he is objecting to, "isolate it from history" by counterposing to the actual historical tasks and accomplishments of the colonial revolution his theory of the "bureaucratic collectivist future".

His error here is two fold. He fails to understand that the subsequent historical evolution can only be based on the actual historical tasks of the revolution, and he fails to understand the difference between the colonial revolutionary movements and their Stalinist (or bourgeois) leadership.

It is impermissible for a revolutionary socialist to ignore (as both Martin and Harrington do) the fact that the revolutionary movements in China and Viet Nam embraced, as active participants, the immense majority of the population of the countries, the peasantry - and not because of demagoguery but because they actually carried out a program which met the real needs of the peasantry (the subsequent evolution of the regime, analyzed in my resolution, is a question entirely separated for

this purpose, from its initial accomplishments).

The socialist revolution in the backward countries can only be accomplished on the basis of an alliance between the revolutionary working class and the revolutionary peasantry.

For the party of the working class to denounce the actual peasant struggle as counter-revolutionary, to consider it, because of its Stalinist leadership, on a par with foreign imperialism and native reaction, is to irremediably destroy the political bridges between the proletariat and peasantry, to isolate the working class and to deliver it into the hands of the Stalinist hangmen.

Only a program which recognizes and bases itself upon the progressive nature of the mass peasant upsurge can offer the working class any hope of acquiring leadership of the national revolution.

THE STATE CAPITALIST THEORY OF STALINISM

Mike Harrington

At the present time, several comrades within the League hold the position that Russia is a state capitalist formation. I am taking this question up in some detail, not only in an attempt to convince these comrades that they are wrong, but also in order to try to initiate a practice of theoretical discussions between Conventions and plenums. In the first period of our existence, theoretical disputes have been conducted only in the helter-skelter which precedes a vote. For a more meaningful internal life, it is essential that the actual development of points of view take place in the day to day existence of the organizations. In a sense, pre-Convention and pre-plenum periods should be devoted to summaries, not to original exposition.

I. The Politics of State Capitalism

At the very outset, it is essential to understand that a state capitalist analysis of Russia in no way necessarily implies an argument for support of the regime. It does have practical political consequences, i.e. the state capitalist theory will account for Russian imperialism on the basis of Lenin's analysis, while the bureaucratic collectivist theory lays more stress on the general international situation (for the latter point see Comrade Shachtman's article in the NI, October, 1943), but these are within the context of opposition to the regime. Indeed, the Italian USI has a state capitalist position on Russia and a Third Camp conclusion.

Where the state capitalist theory does have basic political consequences is in the case of the under-developed nations, i.e. China. The reason for this difference is obvious. In an industrialized nation such as Russia, state capitalism is seen as a fetter upon means of production which demand socialism. In the under-developed countries, it is seen as a progressive step, the destruction of feudalism. In this article, I will confine myself exclusively to Russia and will use the term, Stalinism, to designate Russia alone. However, it is my intention to move from this analysis to a consideration of the under-developed nations in a future discussion.

In so far as politics go, then, the state capitalist theory is consistent with Third Camp socialism. The importance of a critique of this position consequently does not follow from a consideration of Russian Stalinism in isolation from the rest of the world; it flows, rather, from the uses to which the general theory of state capitalism is put, especially in the case of the colonial revolution. By making this analysis of the theory of state capitalism as applied to Russian Stalinism, certain points will be made which will bear directly upon the larger problem, a problem which includes the fundamental way in which a socialist views the world struggle of our times.

II. Russia, State Capitalism and Marx

In Comrade Shane's criticisms of my discussion of imperialism and bureaucratic collectivism (YSR, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 34), he wrote:

"... the great Marxists have always maintained that state-capitalism was not only theoretically conceivable, but also was a real tendency of capitalist evolution." (my emphasis). In reply to this, I quoted Lenin to the Eleventh Party Congress: "In the question of state capitalism, our press and party in general commit the mistake of falling into intellectualism and liberalism. We speculate on how to conceive of state capitalism, and we peer into the old books. What was written in them was about the state capitalism that develops under the rule of capitalism ... So we are forced to help ourselves without the aid of quotations..."

The point is not a petty one. In discussing the state capitalism question, the proponents of this theory are constantly citing analyses which referred to the state capitalist tendencies of Western capitalism in advanced stages of its evolution and applying them to formations which developed out of the degeneration of a proletarian revolution or out of the particular problems of the colonial revolution in our day. Thus, F. Forrest, one of the main theoreticians of the state capitalist thesis, relies heavily upon the following quotation from Marx: "This society (of centralisation-mh) would not be reached in any particular society until the entire social capital would be united, either in the hands of one single capitalist, or in those of one single corporation." (Capital, I, 688; all quotations from the Kerr edition.)

Even in the quotation itself there is a refutation of the use to which Forrest puts it: Marx is here speaking of a limit of centralisation, i.e. how far corporate merger, trusts, etc. can go. Is this the same thing as the conscious development of an under-developed society through bureaucratic concentration of the means of production? Does it make no difference that in the first case centralisation is accomplished through the evolution of an economic system and that in the second case concentration is imposed through political totalitarianism?

A clear example of this confusion is found in Comrade Shane's quotation from Trotsky in the First Five Years of the Comintern. Shane quotes Trotsky: "The ownership of factories, railways, and so on by the diverse capitalists would be superseded by an ownership of the totality of the enterprises, railways and so on by the very same bourgeois firm, called the state." (First Five Years..., II, 245; quoted in YER, II, 1, p. 34.) Reference to the source, however, indicates that Shane has made a distortion almost exactly like that of Forrest. Trotsky is here talking of the old concept of state capitalism which he distinguishes sharply from the "state capitalism" which Lenin speaks of in the Russia of the NEP. His specific point of departure is a statement of Juarez about the "consistent socialization of the democratic republic," i.e. the socializing tendency in capitalism. The condition which Trotsky insists upon in order that this tendency be state capitalism is that political power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Thus, far from buttressing his argument with Trotsky's authority, Shane has made a typical confusion of the state capitalist theory - and one which refutes his own point of view.

The same kind of an error occurs in Comrade Shane's constant reference to Engel's discussion of state capitalism in Anti-Duhring. Here again the discussion is of capitalist tendencies, Bismarkian

"socialism". The final image which Engels gives is not of one bureaucratic capitalist class, but of a functionless capitalist class which appropriates the profits of a bureaucracy: "The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons, and gambling on the stock exchange." And what does this picture have to do with the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In Comrade Shane's case, the reason for confusing the past theory on state capitalism with the present reality is, I think, a desire to keep a unilinear schema intact, to convince himself that nothing new has happened, that everything has developed according to a fated marche generale of history. As a result, it is almost inevitable that he will fail to fully realize the tremendous danger of Stalinism, its viability in the modern world. In this, he is not unlike those German and Austrian socialists who viewed Naziism as simply the brightness of a dying ember and whose politics lead them to the complacency which was suicide. This factor appears, I think, in Shane's attitude to the colonial revolution, where he is blind to the anti-socialist potentialities of Chinese Stalinism. Thus, for Shane Chinese Stalinism is nothing more than a "sharply contradictory social form" of what is going on in India (pre-convention document, COMMENTS on the Martin and Harrington Resolutions...).

III. The Worker Under Stalinism

One of the major points made by Comrade Shane, and others who hold the state capitalist thesis, is that we encounter the "free worker" i.e., the worker alienated from the means of production, under Stalinism, that the existence of the free worker is the mark of capitalism, and that Stalinism is therefore a kind of capitalism.

At the very beginning, Comrade Taylor's rejoinder to Shane must be taken into account. Comrade Taylor argued that in the actual historical development of capitalism in the West, the alienation of the worker was the last step taken, i.e., that all the historical conditions for capitalism except the alienation of the worker were present and that Marx accordingly often speaks of capitalism as if it were simply characterized by the emergence of the "free worker." The point is an apt one. To it, I would add the fact that Marx recognized the existence of "free" workers in pre-capitalist (and therefore non-capitalist) societies. I refer specifically to the category of oriental despotism. In the brief amount of discussion which he devoted to this historical form, Marx characterized it as one in which (1) there was no private property in land (the state owning all of it); (2) alienated masses were politically bound to the King as soldiers are bound to their commander. (Marx, letter to Engels, 1853, The Correspondence of Marx and Engels, p 64) And Engels made some interesting comments on the type of state which developed in this situation. He noted only three departments in this society: "finance (plunder at home), war (plunder at home and abroad) and public works (provision for reproduction)." (Ibid, p. 67) I would find it more accurate to refer to Stalinism as an Oriental despotism than as state capitalism.

Secondly, we must go into the concept of the worker in more detail. Marx wrote,

"The specific economic form, in which unpaid surplus labor is pumped out of the direct producers, determines the relations of rulers and ruled, as it grows immediately out of production itself and reacts upon it as a determining element...It is always the direct relation of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers, which reveals the innermost secret." (my emphasis; Capital, Vol III, p. 919)

The question to be determined, obviously, is what Marx meant by "the direct relation of the owners of the conditions of production to the direct producers..." The context is invaluable in the exposition.

Prior to this statement, Marx has been discussing various direct relationships. In particular, he has distinguished between the serf and the slave. Since the serf is the "possessor" of his means of production, "The property relation must at the same time assert itself as a direct relation between rulers and servants, so that the direct producer is not free," i.e. the political relation must be directly and immediately present in defining the status of the serf. Not so in the case of the slave. Here the immediate economic relationship, that of ownership and bondage, does not require the state to intervene in order to define the status of the slave. The coercive power of society backs up slavery in general, to be sure, but the economic category needs no further political division in order to be complete.

This distinction could be applied to the contrast between the worker under bureaucratic collectivism and under capitalism. Under capitalism, the worker faces the boss, offering his labor as a commodity. The simplest expression of this relation is a contract. Under Stalinism, however, the worker is primarily faced with the state and the metaphor of contract does not have the remotest relevance. (For the actual plight of the worker under Stalinism, see Stalinist Russia by Tony Cliff, "The Denial of any Legal Freedom to the Worker," p. 11 ff. The description is all the more interesting since Cliff holds a state capitalist theory of Russian Stalinism. In a way analogous to the qualification of the "possession" of the serf by the fact that "the property relation must at the same time assert itself as a direct relation between rulers and servants," so under Stalinism, the "freedom" of the worker is qualified and must, and does, express a direct relation between ruler and servant.

Let me quote Hilferding to sum up this point. Toward the end of his life he wrote (in the Socialist Courier, quoted in Hook's Marx and the Marxists, p. 211) "Therefore neither the Russian nor the totalitarian system in general is determined by the character of the economy. On the contrary, it is the economy that is determined by the policy of the ruling power and subjected to the aims and purposes of this power. The totalitarian power lives by the economy, but not for the economy or even for the class ruling the economy..." One must disagree, of course, with the reference to the ruling class in the last sentence, but in this remark, Hilferding does get the essential point about Stalinism: That an analysis of it as a system must concentrate on the political power of the Stalinist state and ruling class, i.e. that we have here a system of production for use, the crucial question being, whose use?

This necessity of political intervention, its essential character in the Stalinist system, distinguishes that system sharply from capitalism of any kind. As Marx wrote, "The authority assumed by the capitalist... is essentially different from the authority exercised upon the basis of production by means of slaves, serfs, etc.... It is not vested in them in their capacity as political or theoretical rulers, in the way that it used to be under former modes of production." (Capital, Vol. III, p 1027).

All of this is simply to say that the "innermost secret" of Stalinism is not dependent upon capital, but upon political power, and that all of the relations within Stalinism are directly modified by that power and consequently alien to any form of capitalist production.

IV. Production and Consumption

The main argument advanced for the state capitalist thesis by Forrest in

her New International articles centers around the relationship between means of production and means of consumption. In discussion on the NAC, Comrade Shane has insisted upon this point to the extent of holding that where the means of production predominates over the means of consumption, there is a capitalist society.

Here is how Forrest states her basic premise: "This law (of value) expresses itself in two ways: (1) The production of means of production outdistances the production of means of consumption: (2) The misery of the workers increases, along with the increase in capital accumulation." (NI December, 1946, p. 313) And, "The fundamental error of those who assume that a single capitalist society is not governed by the same laws as a society composed of individual capitalists lies in a failure to realize that what happens in the market is merely the consequences of the inherent contradictions in the process of production." (Ibid. 317) She also made the same point in her discussion of Luxemburg's theory of accumulation (NI, April and May, 1946), e.g. "The innermost cause of crises, according to Marx, is that labor power in the process of production, and not in the market creates a value greater than it itself is. It cannot be otherwise in a value-producing society where the means of consumption, being but a moment in the reproduction of labor power, cannot be bigger than the needs of capital for labor power." (NI, May, 1946, p. 137)

To begin with, it is obvious Forrest is right on one general point: that in Marxist economic thought production determines consumption. If Forrest stopped here, she would be simply stating a truism. But, of course, she doesn't. She goes on to an entirely different proposition: that wherever the means of production "outdistance" the means of consumption, there you have capitalism and capitalist crisis. "Outdistance" in this instance would seem to mean only that in physical, quantitative terms, the means of production are larger than the means of consumption. And this hypothesis has no particular foundation in Marx.

This is what Marx actually said in the oft-quoted passage from the third volume of the Theories of Surplus Value: "He (Sismond) feels the fundamental contradiction: on the one hand unfettered productive power and increase of wealth which at the same time consist of commodities and must be turned into money; on the other hand as a foundation the limitation (of consumption) of the mass of producers to the necessary means of subsistence." (quoted in Sweezy, Theory of Capitalist Development, p. 175; my emphasis)

And, in a lengthier development of the same point: "...As soon as the available quantity of surplus value has been materialized in commodities, surplus value has been produced...The entire mass of commodities...must be sold. If this is not done...the laborer has been none the less exploited, but his exploitation does not realize as much for the capitalist...The conditions of direct exploitation and those of realization of surplus value are not identical. They are separated logically as well as by time and space. The first are only limited by the productive power of society, the last by the proportional relations of the various lines of production and by the consuming power of society. This last named power is...based on antagonistic conditions of distribution..." (Capital, Vol III, pp 286-7)

Exploitation and realization, in a capitalist society, are separated by "time and space." And what is it that separates them? The necessity, and the process, of selling the commodities, i.e the crisis in consumption is a resultant of the contradictions of production, but there is a crisis in consumption of a certain kind. Now how does this apply to Stalinist society? Comrade Shane writes, "Capitalism is marked by the antagonism between production and consumption; it must accumulate capital at the expense of the consumption of the workers. Stalinism is

ruthlessly governed by this law. This is proven by the fall of Malenkov, who sought to carry out a policy of developing light industry on an equal basis with heavy industry, a policy which ran counter to the entire historical tendency of Stalinist accumulation." (Draft Resolution on the International Question, YSR, Vol 2, No 2, p8.)

To begin with: Shane identifies the specifically capitalist antagonism with the accumulation of capital at the expense of the workers. Yet, as is clear from the analysis of Marx quoted above, this is only one element of the capitalist crisis; there is a time and space in which commodities must be sold and cannot be sold because of the antagonism of production and consumption. Thus, Shane makes the same kind of a mistake as Forrest, he turns the Marxist description of events in a real world into a truncated, universal, ahistorical formula. Secondly, does the kind of crisis which seems to have provoked the fall of Malenkov have anything to do with the kind of crisis which Marx describes when he discusses this particular contradiction of capitalist society, i.e., did Malenkov fall because he was unable to sell commodities, to realize the exploitation of the state? Or rather, isn't it true that Malenkov's consumer orientation ran contrary to a policy politically imposed upon the economy by the Stalinists, i.e., the maintenance of a war economy, the race with the American economy in the world power struggle?

Forrest herself suggested the latter answer. She wrote, "The slogan 'to catch up and outdistance capitalist lands' was the reflection of the compelling motive of present world economy: who will rule over the world market? Therein lies the secret of the growth of the means of production at the expense of the means of consumption. Therein lies the cause for the living standards of the masses growing worse despite the 'state's desire' for what is called 'the still better improvement of the conditions of the working class.' Fine. Forrest has answered her own questions, her two basic expressions of the law of value. And her answer in no way requires the assumption that the Stalinism which is engaged in this struggle is capitalist in any way shape or form. All of the above applies to the bureaucratic collectivist theory of Stalinism.

Now the foregoing in no way implies that I find the early laissez faire market capitalism as the only form of capitalism. Far from it. But let us then discuss the problem in terms of an advanced form of capitalism, one in which the market is apparently modified out of existence: monopoly. According to Sweezy, Hilferding felt that monopoly price amounted to a contradiction of the law of value. (op. cit. p. 270) This, Sweezy argues, is not true. "For it is possible to say with a great deal of generality and assurance that, as compared to the situation which would exist under competition, equilibrium price is higher when elements of monopoly are introduced. Since this is so, we can start from the theory of value (or production price) as a base and analyse the kind, if not the extent, of modifications which monopoly brings with it." (op. cit. p. 271)

Now clearly this is quite relevant to the question of Stalinism. For if the law of value does hold under that social system, it will do so in a way quite similar to its continued existence under monopoly. (And Forrest has assured us, even italicized it, that in Stalinist Russia, "prices are determined by the law of value". NI, Nov-Dec 1946, p 316) At the very outset, we might ask whether or not "equilibrium price is higher than" what (?) in Russia today.

Other characteristics of monopoly, according to Sweezy, are that output is restricted (of course!), the rate of introduction of technological innovation is minimized, the profit rate (marginal profit rate) becomes even more important. (op. cit. p. 2777) Again, do any of these descriptions of the reality of capitalist monopoly - and therefore of monopoly dominated by the law of value - relate to the Stalinist reality, i.e. that of bureaucratic collectivist state monopoly? For in the

latter case, output is not restricted in order to maximize profit, technological innovation is not minimized, and, above all, the marginal rate of profit is not a real consideration. It is meaningless. Therefore, taking the most complex and non-market model of capitalism possible, that of monopoly, it is clear that there is an essential differentiation between such a phenomenon and Stalinism. All the factors which "save" the law of value under capitalism are absent.

In his Stalinist Russia, Tony Cliff, an exponent of the state capitalist view of Stalinism, is somewhat more candid than Forrest. He begins with the assumption that the only factor imposing the law of value upon the Stalinist economy is the world market. "The Stalinist state is in the same position vis-a-vis the total labour time of Russian society as a factory owner vis-a-vis the labour of his employees. In other words, the division of labour is planned.....If Russia had not to compete with other countries, this division would be absolutely arbitrary. But as it is, Stalinist decisions are based on factors outside of control, namely the world economy, world competition. From this point of view, the Russian state is in a similar position to the owner of a single capitalist enterprise competing with other enterprises." (Stalinist Russia, p 183)

But then, Cliff goes on to recognize that actual competition on the world market has played a negligible role in the Russian state. (op cit p 183-4) "Hence the commercial struggle has so far been of less importance than the military." (p 184) Here Cliff comes out and states as his only defense of the law of value in Stalinist Russia what Forrest includes as a subsidiary factor. But does his attitude stand up? The law of value states that the value of every commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor required for its production or reproduction. How can "military competition" impose this law upon an economy? Especially since, as Cliff himself admits, the domestic economy itself need not run according to the law of value. Given this theory of the law of value in Stalinist Russia, it is not surprising that Cliff is not at all sure whether or not capitalist crisis exists in that state. (op cit p 203)

At this point, it might be useful to turn for a moment to a closely related point, that of imperialism. In my previous discussions of Stalinism and imperialism (YSR, Vol II, 1 and 2) I now feel that I was over mechanistic, i.e. that I took a uni-factor, simplistic model of imperialism, "imperialism in the strict sense", and tried to apply it to a complicated real world. I would now feel that Comrade Shachtman's formulation (NI, October, 1943) and Comrade Walker's amendment to the International Resolution are quite accurate. Let me quote Shachtman:

"No country in the world today, whatever its social character, can stand still and remain independent, at any rate, not for long. The present world tends more and more to be divided into a few of the advanced and powerful economic countries which enjoy independence, and the others that stagnate or retrogress economically and inevitably fall into economic and political dependency on the few. For a country...to survive as an independent entity in our time especially, requires an expansion of its economic (and therefore its political) power..."

In other words, the motive force of imperialism today is not so much the internal situation of various countries, but rather the world situation of competing social systems, of economic and political polarization, etc. Such an analysis places its emphasis on actual, historical reality, the modifications which the international configuration imposes, willy-nilly, upon the national economic system. This in no way implies acceptance of Cliff's point that what is imposed upon the national structure is capitalism; it does mean that there will necessarily be marked

similarities, even between countries in which different social systems prevail, such as the "outdistancing" of means of consumption by means of production, etc.

Comrade Shane treats this point in an over-simplified fashion. Thus, he writes (pre-Convention document, Comments): "Russian expansion is necessary precisely because Russia is a relatively backward, under-capitalized nation. Russia is imperialist because it must compete with advanced industrial nations on the terms laid down by the world market, i.e. by the productivity of labor in the advanced nations (the armaments race is the sharpest form of international competition." In many senses, Shane is here trying to have his cake and eat it too. In the theory of capitalist imperialism, what place is there for the statement that "Russian expansion is necessary precisely because Russia is a relatively backward, under-capitalized nation"? And if this glaring inconsistency is to be remedied by reference to the world market, how? Shane here recognizes that the "competition" is, in its "sharpest form," military, i.e. he recognizes the predominance of the historical-political over the internal economic. But then he has begged the question unless he relates that historical-political struggle of social systems (whose roots are, indeed, epibino) in some necessary fashion to capitalism, that is, to a society in which the law of value prevails. And the Russian armament economy is probably the best illustration of the absence of the law of value in that society.

To conclude this part of the discussion: the basis of the state capitalist description, a la Ferrest-Shane, is the "outdistancing" of means of consumption by means of production; this is equated, in a mechanistic and quantitative manner, to being equal to the basic antagonisms of capitalist society; in actuality, this process in Russia reflects developments in the world power struggle and in no way requires us to come to the conclusion that Russia is state capitalist; Cliff is far more candid in admitting this last point, but he nevertheless fails to demonstrate convincingly that "military competition" imposes the law of value upon the Stalinist economy; and finally, to return to the realworld, the particular applications of these state capitalist theories do not work when we examine the actual power of the bureaucracy in Russia, the "direct relation" between owners and producers, the "innermost secret" of the social construction.

Finally, a word from a "great Marxist" which summarizes almost all of the argument in this section. In his Imperialism and World Economy, Bucharin wrote,

"Were the commodity character of all production to disappear (for instance, through the organization of all world economy as one gigantic state trust, the impossibility of which we tried to prove in our chapter on ultra-imperialism) we would have an entirely new economic form. This would be capitalism no more, for the production of commodities would have disappeared; still less would it be socialism, for the power of one class over the other would have remained (and even grown stronger). Such an economic structure would, most of all, resemble a slaveowning economy where the slave market is absent." (London, Martin Lawrence, Ltd., p. 157, n 2).

The impossibility of which Bucharin speaks is precisely the impossibility of capitalist centralization; the hypothesis which he sketches fits perfectly the process of bureaucratic collectivist concentration.

V. The Average Rate of Profit.

When the state capitalist theoreticians turn to the problem of the average rate of profit they find themselves in a tangle of difficulties. Not the least reason for this is the fact in Marx's "successive approximations" of the capitalist reality the theory of the average rate of profit comes closest to the real world of

actual capitalist relationships. In other words, the state capitalists are here, willy-nilly, pulled off the level of high abstraction and faced with concrete data.

In general, the average rate of profit performs two major functions: (a) the allocation of capital for investment; (b) the allocation of shares of surplus value. (For an extended discussion of the subject, see Karl Marx and the Close of his System, by Bohm-Bawerk, and Bohm-Bawerk's Criticism of Marx by Rudolph Hilferding, Augustus Kelly, 1949). Thus, it is not true that "The average rate of profit is only the manner in which the surplus value extracted from the workers is divided among the capitalists." (Forrest, NI, December 1946, 314; my emphasis.) The omission in this formulation is significant - for it is on the question of investment that the theory of Stalinist state capitalism most disastrously flounders.

Let us discuss these two functions of the average rate of profit with regard to Stalinist society.

First, the average rate of profit as a mechanism of channeling capital investment. In the real world of capitalist relations, Marx recognized, prices and values diverge in the case of individual producers. In Volume III, Marx sketched the value-price relationship in terms of the total social capital. The divergences in profit which we would expect because of the varying organic compositions of capital, do not occur because of the equalizing role of the average rate of profit. Central to this function is the role of channeling investment: "...capital withdraws from spheres with low rates of profit and invades other which yield a high rate. By means of this incessant emigration and immigration, in one word, by its distribution among the various spheres in accord with a rise of the rate of profit here, and its fall there, it brings about such a proportion of supply and demand that the average profit in the various spheres of production become the same..." (Capital, Vol. III, p 230)

Does this factor of the capitalist real world have any existence in Stalinist Russia? It is beside the point to argue, as Forrest does, that tax policy, particularly the turn-over tax, makes the concept of profit radically different in Russia. The basic question is: how is investment determined? Why, for example, have the heavy industries been developed at the expense of consumption? Because of the law of value? Through the mechanism of an average rate of profit? Or is it not far more sane to say, "Every bit of strengthening and expansion of heavy industry... correspondingly strengthens and expands its (the Stalinist bureaucracy's) power over society..." (Shahtman in the NI, Nov.-December 1952, p. 292)

But there is a possible defense, one which involves the second point, i.e. the role of the average rate of profit in determining shares of the total product. Trotsky discussed this possibility in The Revolution Betrayed. He wrote,

"A single capitalist...receives in the form of profit, not that part of surplus value which is directly created by the workers of his own enterprise, but a share of the combined surplus value created throughout the country proportionate to the amount of his own capital. Under an integral 'state capitalism' this law of the equal rate of profit would be realized, not by devious routes - that is, competition among different capitals - but immediately and directly through state book-keeping." (Pioneer Edition pp 245-6; my emphasis.)

This question here is not the theoretical one of the actual possibility of such a book-keeping organization (Trotsky doubted its viability), but the practical one of determining whether or not such a system of state book-keeping exists in

Stalinist Russia. If it does not, if there is no relationship between appropriation of surplus value and capitalist categories (as there is not in the area of investment), then the state capitalist thesis of Russian Stalinism is, to say the very least, highly suspect.

Swoezy makes this general point in his Theory of Capitalist Development. Discussing fascism as a form of state capitalism (a question which I do not raise here), he remarks, "Moreover within the ruling oligarchy itself the position of the individual is roughly proportional to the magnitude of capital which he represents ..." (p. 340) In Stalinist Russia can appropriation of surplus value be said to be related to the capital which a bureaucrat "represents"? Or rather is it not true that "the distribution of the surplus product, takes place in accordance with hierarchical rank, political power or a combination of the two, as decided by the bureaucracy collectively, or more exactly, at its summits"? (Shachtman's formulation, NE, Nov-December 1952, p. 319) In other words, as I pointed out in Section III, the determining factor in the share of surplus value which the bureaucrat appropriates is a direct political relationship (of his rank and power to the bureaucracy as a whole) and not a consequence of the magnitude of capital which he "represents". That there will be a relationship between political power and managerial power in many instances is beside the point. The determining element is not, as in capitalism, the magnitude of capital.

Thus, in Stalinist society investment and appropriation of surplus value are accomplished on a non-capitalist basis. The concept of "profit" is indeed different from the one which prevails under capitalism; so different as to deprive the Stalinist social system of any fundamental identity with capitalism, state capitalism, etc.

VI Conclusions

I would summarize my criticisms of the state capitalist thesis in the following fashion:

- first, the constant confusion of Marx on centralization is a stage in the development of capitalism with the bureaucratic concentration which occurs under Stalinism;
- second, an inability to understand that the relations of worker and bureaucrat under Stalinism has an essential political dimension which renders it radically different from the relation of worker and boss under capitalism, and that this direct relation is, as Marx defined it, that which reveals "the innermost secret" of the social system;
- third, that in discussing the usual Marxist formula of mp/mc , the state capitalist theoreticians make a mechanical equation between capitalism where this is the essential qualitative fact about the system imposed upon it by its internal law of motion, and Stalinism where it is a quantitative fact externally imposed which does not reveal the fundamental contradiction of the system;
- finally, that when dealing with the real world, with the average rate of profit, the state capitalists overlook the function of this process in channeling investment, and cannot account for how it determines the allocation of shares of surplus value.

The above argument has been in intramural socialist terms. Let me conclude with a more simple statement, one referring to that real world in which, as Chesterton pointed out, it is sometimes necessary to call to the attention of scholars earthquakes and elephants jumping out of skylights. The bureaucratic-political nature of economic decision in Stalinist Russia is an obvious fact. There is a nation which in no way acts like a capitalist country, produces like one, suffers the same kind of crises, etc. Why then call it capitalist?

WORKERS PART 1 1948 Convention Resolution on
AN INDEPENDENT WESTERN UNION

The problem of Europe may be summed up in this way: to overcome the ravages of the Second World War by such an economic and political reconstruction of the continent as will assure prosperity and freedom to the people and overcome the growing peril of reactionary dictatorships and involvement in the Third World War.

More clearly than anywhere else in the world, Europe is today bisected in two directions. Horizontally, it is divided by the class struggle in every country. But in most of the European countries, this struggle is heavily overlaid and thereby grossly twisted and deformed by the conflict between American and Russian imperialism and their respective agencies. Vertically, it is divided geographically, into an East, comprising those countries dominated by the naked force of Stalinist totalitarianism, and a West, comprising those countries which are economically dependent upon and thereby dominated to one degree or another by American imperialism.

Europe cannot solve its problems under these conditions. They can only lead to such an economic reorganization of the continent as will make the natural resources and productive equipment of each sector serve the war machine of the imperialist camp to which it is attached; as will transform its manpower into cannon fodder; as will convert its lands into military outposts and battlefields of the two belligerents; as will assure such a foreign domination over each that no European nation can any longer work out its own destiny.

All this will only hasten immeasurably the utter ruin of the continent. To find a way out under the present conditions is impossible. The conditions must be changed fundamentally.

The change requires the establishment and consolidation of a power that can counteract and resist domination by either one of the imperialist giants, that can represent a force actively combatting the danger of the Third World War. No country of Europe, taken by itself, can be such a force. But the unification of all the countries of Europe could constitute such a force.

WESTERN UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

To speak of the unification of all the countries of Europe is, however, an abstraction at the present time. The prospect of such a unification and the struggle for it can be rendered concrete only by taking for its immediate basis those countries which not only have common problems and needs but which have in common a similar objective situation, a similar relationship of forces, a similar rhythm of development of the class struggle.

A quarter of a century ago, the Marxists called for the "United States of Europe" as a slogan which best met the need of finding a way out of the impasse in which the split-up economic unit known as Europe found itself. The slogan of the "United States of Europe" was not put forward then in opposition to the idea of a World Federation, but because the situation in Europe could not be judged in the same way as the situation in the rest of the world, because the social problem presented itself differently to the peoples of Europe than it did to the peoples of the world as a whole. The slogan which best meets the needs for finding a way out of the impasse in which Europe finds itself today, which can become a new point of departure and a new impulsion for a reawakened and reoriented working class and socialist movement, is: An Independent Western Union.

The slogan of an Independent Western Union is addressed in the first place to such countries as Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg.

burg, Austria and the Scandinavian countries. These countries make up not only a more or less compact geographical unit, but also an economic unit which, while not completely self-sufficient, would be sufficiently powerful to assure a speedy pace in the reconstruction of all the countries and a high degree of independence of action. But most important of all, this slogan is addressed to these countries because, of all the nations of Europe, these alone have working-class economic and political movements with sufficient freedom of action to accomplish the unification of their countries without waiting until the political situation of the other countries (not only of the world in general but of the rest of Europe in particular) is similar to the stage reached by the situation in the countries of Western Europe.

However, a broad movement for such a Union would have a big effect upon the other countries of Europe, above all the countries ruled by fascist or Stalinist regimes, where no serious progress is possible without the direct overthrow of totalitarian rule. The formation of an independent Western Union along democratic and socialist lines would greatly stimulate popular movements to get rid of totalitarianism and would constitute a rallying center for all peoples and countries of Europe who seek to escape domination and involvement in the war by either American or Russian imperialism.

Western Union and the Plans of the Imperialists

An Independent Western Union, and the struggle for its achievement, is calculated to lead the European countries out of the blind alley to which they are condemned by their dependence upon the economic and therewith the political tutelage of American imperialism. Not a single one of the European countries can exist independently because it cannot exist as an independent economic unit. A unified Western Europe, relying primarily upon its harmoniously integrated economic resources, can exist and act as an independent unit. Such a Union, therefore, would make possible the independence of these countries from Marshallization by American imperialism and at the same time would constitute a powerful assurance against assault and domination by Russian imperialism.

By the same token, the struggle for such a Union would help enormously to restore the confidence of the people, and the working-class and socialist movements in particular, in their own power, a confidence which the war, the post-war period and the present blind alley of Europe have gravely undermined. The working class of these countries represents precisely the kind of social power which is capable of uniting Western Europe into an economic and political union. It is the only social power capable of uniting it on a democratic and socialist basis, as the first and most important step in the direction of achieving a United States of Europe.

The call for a Western Union is not confined to the socialist movement. Indeed, it has already been initiated by bourgeois and imperialist forces, prominently including American imperialism itself.

The United States seeks to organize Western Europe into a single bloc so that it may be more unitedly and integratedly subjected to the imperialism aims of Washington and most thoroughly and consistently mobilized on the side of American imperialism for the Third World War. Toward this end the United States is ready to subordinate the special aims and interests not only of every European nation, but of the bourgeoisie of every nation to the overriding aims and interests of Washington. It is not inconceivable that under certain circumstances the United States would be able to impose such a unification upon Western Europe. But precisely because it is imposed from above by a reactionary power, because it would be compelled to serve reactionary ends, a Western Union thus achieved would have the same kind of retrogressive and calamitous consequences as the "European Union" imposed from above,

and by military force, by Hitlerism during the Second World War and for the purpose of promoting the interests of German imperialism in the war.

England, on the one hand through Churchill and on the other through the spokesmen of the Labor government, also seeks to establish a Western Union. But its aim is to establish a union of Europe under British domination for the purpose of restoring the old British hegemony of the continent and, with the aid of this enhanced position, to come closer to a position of equality with its now greatly superior imperialist partner, the United States, in the coming struggle with Russia for world dominion.

Thus, while the working class is not the only power capable of bringing the countries of Europe into an economic unit, it is the only power capable of doing it in a manner that contributes decisively to the reconstruction, peace and freedom of the peoples.

The position of the Marxists is not and cannot be simply determined by the position taken by the bourgeoisie. It must be determined independently by the objective situation and the needs of the working class. It is on this basis that the Marxists put forward the slogan of an Independent Western Union. The slogan represents for them a stage in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

Western Union And The Democratic Struggle

An Independent Western Union demands a voluntary decision on the part of all the countries entering into it. It excludes any infringement upon the democratic right of a national self-determination of any participating nation by any other. To begin with, its functioning requires no greater self-limitation upon the sovereignty of each nation than this: that placed at the disposal of the Union are all the economic resources of all the participating nations, to be organized, exploited, and shared in common. The primary prerequisite for this is the complete abolition of all customs barriers now dividing the Western European countries, and the establishment of a single currency common to all of them, which alone can make possible a harmonious economic reconstruction of these countries on the basis of economic independence from American imperialism.

This economic independence in turn makes possible complete political independence from American imperialism, at home and in the international political arena. At the same time, it consolidates a foundation which cannot be undermined by Stalinist demagogy and reaction. The question of the speed at which the participating nations will abandon the now jealously guarded barriers of national sovereignty and the stages traversed in the achievement of a single federated state, need not be resolved today.

An independent Western Union is possible, and can be counterposed to all imperialist schemes parading under that name, only on the basis of the boldest and most thoroughgoing application of democratic principles.

This means, first of all, the renunciation by all participants of any imperialist "rights" to dominate colonies and possessions now under their rule. It means, at the same time, the most extreme democratic reforms of the political structure of every one of the countries in question.

It means, in the second place, the full assurance of all democratic rights and unqualified equality especially to such participants as Germany, Italy and Austria, namely, the withdrawal of all occupational troops, the cancellation of all forms of war-tribute and war reparations imposed upon them, the lifting of all forms

of political and economic disability to which they are now subjected.

It means, in the third place, that the proper functioning of the economic machinery of the Union shall be ensured by unhesitatingly removing all obstacles to it constituted by private ownership of industrial or financial monopolies, and by unhesitatingly imposing the most drastic capital levies wherever and whenever they are required.

Western Union and Workers Governments

The slogan for an Independent Western Union necessarily goes hand in hand with the slogan, in all these countries, of the most rapid possible establishment of labor or socialist governments. The revolutionary Marxists in Europe are condemned to sterility outside the ranks of the popular and democratic mass movements of the workers. In virtually all the countries of Western Europe, these movements are represented by the Social-Democratic parties. In these parties, the Marxists must become the most articulate, active, and consistent champions of the slogans: "Our party must work and fight to take over the government independently! The workers' governments of Europe must unite into an Independent Western Union!" It is only under such governments that an Independent Western Union is realizable.

In putting forward this position and these slogans, the Marxists remain fully aware of the nature and the limitations of Social-Democracy and reformism in general. To the question as to whether or not the Social-Democratic and laborite parties can achieve genuine workers' governments and a Western Union that is genuinely independent of imperialist domination, alliances or policies, they do not give a dogmatic answer that would preclude the mobilization of the workers in a struggle to achieve such governments and such a Union through the medium of those parties and instruments which have the confidence of the workers themselves.

The revolutionary Marxists retain in full their confidence that the workers can and will learn through their own fighting experiences, in which the Marxists themselves will participate fully and equally and with their own program, all that is required for the earliest and complete realization of the socialist objective. For the workers to learn from their own fighting experience in Europe today requires the most energetic, conscious and consistent advocacy of the inseparably joined slogans: For a socialist government! For an Independent Western Union!

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SYL-WORKERS PARTY
ON INDEPENDENT WESTERN UNION

(1949)

January 25, 1949

To the Political Committee
Workers Party

Dear Comrades:

At the last two meetings of the SYL Buro, the question of Independent Western Union as posed in the resolution on it adopted by the Political Committee was discussed at length. In the opinion of the majority of the Buro, the resolution is unclear on a number of basic points. For our own clarification and that of the Party as a whole, and to facilitate the Buro's course of action, we have formulated the questions below, directed to the Political Committee. We urge the Political Committee to reply to these questions before the convention and in time for the New York membership meeting on the question of Independent Western Union.

1. What is meant by "Workers' Government" in the resolution?
2. Is the British labor government a "Workers' Government"?
3. Is it the opinion of the Political Committee that social-democratic governments like the British labor government could carry out an Independent Western Union?
4. Would the formation of a Western Union or federation (like Benelux) by the present governments be considered a progressive step forward?
5. Is the Political Committee for supporting the arming and military preparations of an Independent Western Union under: (a) present governments; (b) social-democratic governments?
6. The resolution calls for an Independent Western Union which will "exclude any infringement upon the democratic right of national self-determination of any participating by any other," abolish all customs barriers, establish a single currency, renounce all "imperialist 'rights' to dominate colonies and possessions now under their rule," remove any obstacles placed in its path by private ownership of financial and industrial monopolies. Can this kind of a Western Union be accomplished by: (a) Western Union of present governments; (b) a Western Union of social democratic government?
7. Is it possible that a Western Union based on capitalist property relations "can make possible a harmonious reconstruction of these countries on the basis of economic independence from American Imperialism"?

Comradely,
For the National SYL Buro

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February 1, 1949

National Bureau
Socialist Youth League

Dear Comrades:

The resolution on "The Slogan of an Independent Western Union" was recommended by the Political Committee to our Party so that it could contribute to solving the crucial problem facing the European Marxists today, that "of finding a way out of the impasse in which Europe finds itself today, which can become a new point of departure and a new impulsion for a reawakened and reoriented working class and socialist movement." That is the primary purpose of the resolution. It is not written for the purpose of stating or restating, much less of calling into question the basic principles of Marxism. It finds no need to do so. These principles are taken for granted and are implicit in every paragraph of the resolution. Furthermore, the resolution aims to influence sections of the European labor and socialist movements far beyond the restricted confines of the tiny revolutionary Marxist groups. If all this is borne in mind, no Marxist should have any difficulty in understanding not only the life of the resolution but even its structure, its "style," and the very way in which its ideas are formulated.

Question 4: There is no ground for believing that the present governments of Europe (including the British Labor Party government with its present program and policies and leadership) could actually unite the continent on its Western section on a democratic and anti-imperialist basis that would cause us to consider it "a progressive step forward" or to treat it as some kind of installment on the road to an Independent Western Union. Insofar as the slogan of Western Union or Independent Western Union is put forward by bourgeois states or bourgeois politicians, it is a deception or a utopia. It can be achieved under bourgeois auspices -- and even then only in part -- either as an imperialist military alliance primarily, with or without subordinate economic agreements, as a common slave camp under totalitarian domination, or as a single bloc which is the economic and political vassal of a more powerful nation. According to all past and present indications the achievement of a future Western Union under bourgeois auspices on a democratic basis is not a practical political possibility. To be sure, if, contrary to all such indications, this takes place, the Marxists will have no difficulty about "admitting a mistake" and proceeding with the struggle for socialism with the new situation as their new point of departure. But thus far the question is on the abstract theoretical level.

From the political point of view, however, the question is much more important. Instead of emphasizing academic discussions about the theoretical possibility of a democratic and independent Western Union under bourgeois auspices, the political situation and the political struggle in Europe demands of the Marxists a concentration of all energy upon exposing the imperialist or utopian character of the bourgeois plans for Western Europe, upon instilling in the working class a consciousness and confidence that it and it alone can unite Europe as it should be united. Our resolution says clearly enough:

"The working class of these (Western European) countries represents precisely the kind of social power which is capable of uniting Western Europe into an economic and political union. It is the only social power capable of uniting it on a democratic and socialist basis, as the first and most important step in the direction of achieving a United States of all of Europe." Again, the working class "is the only power capable of doing it (uniting Europe) in a manner that contributes decisively to the reconstruction, peace and freedom of the peoples." And once more: "An Independent Western Union is possible, and can be counterposed to all imperialist schemes under that name, only on the basis of the boldest and most thoroughgoing application of democratic principles."

Our resolution, furthermore, is so drafted as to avoid posing the question falsely. It aims to rescue from negativistic phrasemongering any European Marxist who would simply answer the bourgeois and social-democratic talk about "Western Union" with the declaration: "No, this is an imperialist scheme, nothing more; I am for a Socialist U.S. of Europe, or Western Europe, or for workers' governments, for socialism. It is one thing to put forward a demand or a slogan for realization today which, in the opinion of the Marxists, will actually be found to be realizable only under workers' governments. It is another thing to refuse to put forward such slogans and to substitute for them simply the slogan of a workers' government, or of socialism. Our resolution takes the former approach, which, we believe, is not only required by Marxist principles but required by the situation in Europe today.

If the idea of Western Union finds any echo among the workers, it is not because it is an imperialist plan but because it seems to offer them the hope of uniting atomized and multi-walled Europe and warding off war. The Marxist should take up this idea and champion it in their own way. "We are for a Western Europe because it is a first indispensable step toward prosperity and independence from the two big warmongers who threaten to bleed us white again. We oppose our governments on this point because what they have in mind is a Europe whose economy and manpower will be at the service of Washington. That way, we will have neither prosperity, democracy nor peace. To achieve these ends, we are for an Independent Western Union brought about in the following way and committed to the following program. If we have our own governments, we can accomplish our aims. Etc., etc."

There is no doubt that, and it is very important that, among the present capitalist governments of the world, there is a greatly heightened trend toward international integration of one sort or another. This trend has so far found expression in such things as the Marshall Plan, the presently contemplated North Atlantic Pact, the formation of Benelux. This trend is not merely a capitalist-imperialist plot; it is a reflection of the desperate objective need of European society for integration, unification, federation, etc. But it is -- and it necessarily is -- a distorted, crippled reflection of this overwhelming objective need, distorted and crippled precisely by the capitalist-imperialist nature of the present governments. As we have said about so many phenomena, there is a "progressive kernel" in all this; undoubtedly -- just as the patriotism of sections of American working class in the late war had its progressive kernel (anti-Nazism), just as the development of monopoly capitalism has its progressive kernel (the readying of the economic structure for a socialization, given a transfer of political power), etc. We do not denounce or "oppose" the simple fact that three tiny countries formed a partial federation (Benelux), any more than we oppose the simple fact of large-scale production. Our fight in both cases is directed along a different line. To this capitalist trend toward integration, which necessarily takes an anti-democratic imperialist form, we counterpose a democratic, anti-imperialist, independent Western Union; and we point the road along which it can be achieved: namely, only by a working-class struggle against the bourgeois sponsors of various Western Union schemes. Benelux, of course, involves only three minor countries; a "Benelux" on a larger scale
nature of bourgeois integration as it is today, along the lines discussed in the

a larger scale -- i.e. a Western European scale -- would show up starkly the real nature of bourgeois integration as it is today, along the lines discussed in the resolution.

Question 7: From the Marxian point of view, a "harmonious reconstruction" or construction of economic life is impossible in general on the basis of capitalist private property, be it in one country or in several. However, a capitalist reconstruction of the economy of the Western European countries -- a contradictory, unharmonious economic reconstruction which increases the misery of the masses or prepares the way for it, which leads to war and not to peace -- is entirely possible. Given certain changes in the relationship of political forces, it is not even excluded that Western Europe can be united by capitalism without being economically dependent upon American imperialism. But there is no ground for believing that such a theoretically-possible unification of Western Union could be achieved democratically.

Under continuing capitalism, especially in its present decaying stage, Europe (or Western Europe) can be united only by force imposed from above, that is, imperialistically, that is, by subjecting all the nations and peoples involved to the rule of a superior power. German imperialism united most of Europe during the war. American imperialism "seeks to organize Western Europe into a single bloc." British imperialism aims "to establish a union of Europe, under British domination." The resolution cites all three examples, but it cites them only to emphasize the fundamental difference between such "unions" and the Independent Western Union we advocate. Then, to make absolutely sure that there is not even the remotest reason for unclarity, the resolution adds several times the thought referred to above, regarding the role of the working-class.

Question 1, 2, 3: The resolution, in pointing to workers' governments as the kind of governments which can achieve an independent Western Union, uses this term in what we believe to be the usual sense, as used in our slogans and propaganda. It is perfectly true that in a broad way, and in a certain context of explanation, the term has been used as a general description for any government formed by a working-class party. But we have no desire nor is there any need to enter into lengthy abstract discussions revolving around terminology. As regularly used in the propaganda and propaganda slogans of the Marxists, the term "Workers Government" refers to the class character of a government, and not merely to the composition of its cabinet at any given time. Thus there have been on many occasions government cabinets organized by working class (particularly social-democratic or labor) parties which function merely as temporary caretakers for a state power which remained fundamentally bourgeois in class character. On the other hand, a "workers' government" is not merely synonymous with, or a pseudonym for, a revolutionary socialist government.

To put it briefly, insofar as that is possible: a workers' government, in the Marxist sense, is a government formed by a working-class party (or parties) and democratically supported by the mass of workers, which carries out a program for the achievement of the most basic and important interests of the workers regardless of the institutions of private property and capitalist ownership and unhesitatingly removing all obstacles to the fulfillment of its program constituted by private ownership of industrial or financial monopolies. As is well known, it is, so to speak, an "algebraic" expression. To the Marxists the above is sufficient to guarantee that such a government will turn out to be a revolutionary socialist government, or will have to take socialist steps, if it really to carry out its program. To workers, however, who are not yet ready to fight for a revolutionary socialist government as such, or are not convinced of the necessity of fighting for it, there may exist illusions about the possibility of achieving the program without coming in basic

collision with capitalism. In launching the slogan of a workers government, the Marxist is saying to such workers: Fight for a government which will do this, this and this; we will fight for it with you; we will see in the course of the struggle whether you are right or we are right. It is in this sense that, while possessing an opinion on the subject, the Marxist does not give such a dogmatic answer to the workers as would preclude the mobilization of the working class in struggle with them for the achievement of a certain program.

The same is true with regard to "the question as to whether or not the social-democratic and laborite parties can achieve genuine workers' governments and a Western Union that is genuinely independent of imperialist domination, alliances and policies." It must be borne in mind (without this any possibility of Marxist work along these lines is meaningless today in Europe) that our proposal for the European Marxists is that they should be inside these social-democratic and labor parties, as their left wing. It would be absurd and sterilizing (as well as incorrect theoretically) for the Marxist to tell his social-democratic comrades that their common party cannot achieve a workers' government, to exclude that. What is his duty as a Marxist is to explain that "our party" cannot achieve this program under its present program, policies and leadership, that these will have to be radically changed, etc. The same applies to the question whether governments formed by "our party" could achieve an independent Western Union. We believe that the resolution makes perfectly clear this basis for not giving a "dogmatic answer" -- and, theoretically, a wrong answer -- to these questions in the fight for our program inside the social-democratic masses today. All this is, or should be, the ABC of Marxism. "In putting forward this position and these slogans, the Marxists remain fully aware of the nature and limitations of social-democracy and reformism in general," says the resolution. We did not, and do not, believe it necessary to repeat in this resolution on an Independent Western Union the analysis of social-democracy and reformism which is accepted by our movement and which is in the International Resolution, to which the Western Union resolution is attached.

The answer to question two should be clear from the above. Under its present leadership and policies (particularly, its blatant role as caretakers for British imperialism), the Labor Party government in England is not a workers' government in class character, in the sense described above. If, contrary to our "Marxist prejudices," the present leadership and policies of the British Labor Party lead to socialism, we will no doubt unhesitatingly renounce our prejudices and forthwith hail reformism as the road to working-class freedom. But if, as our "Marxist prejudices" tell us, this leadership does not carry it through, if it resists the pressure of the socialist workers, if it compromises its stated goals, if it repulses the intervention of the working masses, it will be easier to win the support of the workers for a new program, new methods, a new leadership, a new (or "renewed") Party, a new government.

Question 5: The answer to this question should be perfectly clear from the International Resolution to which the resolution on Western Union is attached, and in the case of part (a) of the question, from the answer above regarding the bourgeois plans for Western Union. There can be no question of revolutionary socialists voting for or supporting the arms budgets of the present governments, which are so plainly a part of the preparations for the third imperialist world war. This applies no less to the British Labor government of today. As for supporting the arms budgets of social-democratic governments, as we have known them up to now, the same position retains all the validity since they have acted as instruments of the bourgeois state or have followed an imperialist policy abroad. Abstractly, it is certainly possible to conceive of circumstances under which the Marxists would give military support to (say) an independent German social-democratic government, pushed by a working class

moving rapidly to the left, in the face of a military attack on the country by Western or Stalinist imperialism aiming at once to subdue Germany and its growing revolutionary mass movement - but such abstract hypothetical situations neither face us nor are imminent in any country of Europe today. While careful to reserve our position for extraordinary circumstances the important point for those who would follow our course on the slogan of an Independent Western Union is to emphasize their opposition to the military budgets of all the present European governments, including the British Labor government, as imperialist and designed for imperialist purposes. For Britain, the caution need only be added that this opposition would be conditional -- i.e., subject to withdrawal, if "our party" and "our government" should pursue, or be headed by those who would pursue an anti-imperialist policy of peace consistent with the interests of democracy and socialism.

While we gladly take this opportunity to explain and elaborate, for the comrades of the SYL Bureau, the relationship of the slogan of an Independent Western Union to other points in our program, we wish to point out that all of what has been said above is to be found, in even greater detail, in the documents and resolutions of the Party which are required to deal with them, and particularly in the International Resolution of the Political Committee, and that all the essential points made above are indeed in the resolution on the slogan of an Independent Western Union itself, or readily flow from what is there written. We would like to emphasize, however, that it is not only completely unnecessary to include in the Western Union resolution itself such elaborations as these on our general political program, but that to overload this resolution in this way could only have an exceedingly harmful effect on the purposes of the document, which is -- first and foremost -- to present the slogan of Independent Western Union as sharply as possible particularly to European Marxists. These answers to your questions provide, naturally, at least a part of the context within which the slogan of an Independent Western Union has to be understood by us who put it forward. We sincerely hope that it will help the comrades of the SYL to give the resolution their unqualified support.

With best Party greetings,

Political Committee
Workers Party

The following pages are exclusively devoted to all defeated and withdrawn resolutions and amendments presented to the Convention.

All reference to numbered sections (for purposes of identification of where amendment should go) and paragraphs in any of the major resolutions passed, refers to pre-Convention Bulletin drafts and not those revised in the last issue, unless otherwise signified. Both NAC drafts on American and International Resolutions appeared in Vol. II, No. 3.

PROPOSED WAR RESOLUTION
Explanatory Note

(WITHDRAWN)

Jack Walker, Berkeley

There are several reasons for putting forward a war resolution at the 1956 YSL convention.

In the first place, this is the first convention following the founding convention of the YSL, and since that time many new members and several new units have joined the YSL. It is therefore useful for these new comrades to consider the war question at this convention, since it is the fundamental problem facing our movement today.

An additional reason stems from the last plenum of the YSL - NEC, where the following motion was adopted by a majority of the NEC: "The NEC, finding dissatisfaction, from many points of view with the Convention Resolution on War, desires to initiate discussion in the League on the War Question to provide the basis for a new resolution for the next convention." Thus, the NEC has in effect called for a new war resolution at this convention.

And finally, it is believed by the author of this proposed war resolution, it seems fruitful to spell out a little more fully the means whereby socialists consider it possible that the approaching Third World War maybe successfully opposed.

* * * * *

Therefore, the following resolution is submitted as a summary statement reiterating the APC's of revolutionary socialist opposition to the coming imperialist war.

TEXT OF WAR RESOLUTION

Proposed for adoption at the 2nd National Convention of the YSL, September, 1956.

I. - Introduction

1. - The imperialist struggle for world power between international capitalism, economically dominated and militarily organized by the United States, and international stalinism under Russian domination, is the overriding fact and the political determinant in the post World War Two world scene. The threat of their cold war exploding into a general nuclear holocaust of unprecedented and almost incalculably devastating proportions is the overwhelmingly oppressive threat of our times. Indeed, the only greater catastrophe than the outbreak of such a conflict would be the consequent "victory" of any one contender by means of prolonged and extensive use of nuclear weapons.

2 - In approaching the modern stage of capitalism, the nature of stalinism, and the expression of their internal contradictions, drives and antagonism, the Young Socialist League rests upon the analysis

and indicated course of revolutionary socialist action of the Independent Socialist League, as contained in its fundamental and current resolution: "The Struggle for the World Today: Capitalism, Stalinism and the Third World War." This document, written in 1949, has been so profoundly verified in the six years since its adoption that only minor supplements are required to it today, despite the turbulent historical events since that time.

II - The Imperialist War Aims

3 - The stake for each of the two main imperialist contenders in the world - the United States and Russia - is simply world hegemony. There are no limited aims sought, but the entire world is the prize. The national sovereignty of the prize contenders, as well as that of all the lesser countries is at stake.

4 - In addition to territorial aggrandizement and simple looting - i.e., indemnities - the loser will have its social system changed to conform with that of the victor. Insofar as the United States has ever issued a semi-official account of its war aims vis-a-vis Russia, these were visible in the semi-official issue of Colliers magazine about five years ago, entitled "The War We Didn't Want". After Russia had been defeated, the victorious U.S. would lease out its nationalized industries to foreign countries until a new native capitalist class could be created. This must have been good news to the Russian workers, on whose bones Russian industry had been erected. It should guarantee their desire for a thorough victory - against the capitalist war camp.

5 - The Russian aims are no less ambitious, and if realized, Russia would look down upon a stalinist world of greater and lesser satellite powers rapidly undergoing Russification. The Russian example in eastern Europe with the "Peoples Democracies" is a greater testimony to this end than mere words. Or perhaps there would be a partial division of the world with China, which would proceed to Sino-ize the areas under its control.

6 - Neither of these aims by the two great powers, their allies, and their satellites are supportable by socialists. Not only are they reactionary as ends, but the means proposed for their achievement - a third world war - would be a profound step towards barbarism for the entire world.

III - The Danger of Nuclear Warfare

6a - The overwhelming likelihood of the third world war being waged with nuclear weapons (in addition "conventional" weapons, biological and chemical agents) is a factor in its own right for branding such a war as an abomination to mankind.

7 - In addition to the immediate destruction by blast and heat of twenty megaton bombs (1954) - i.e., 20 million tons of TNT - there is also the danger occasioned by the millions of tons of pulverized matter that these explosions take up and release as atomic fall-out. Neither the direction nor the range of such fall-out can be accurately determined in advance, and Japanese fishing boats 2200 miles away from tests in the Marshall Islands have been affected (source: Contemporary Issues, Oct-Nov. 1954, "Experiment in Annihilation"; Contemporary Issues pamphlet; "Nuclear Tests - A Universal Threat")

8 - More prolonged effects result from the absorption of radioactive isotopes, which are taken into the body and continue their lethal or sickening effects for years after being received. Cancers, genetic malformations, cataracts and leukemia develop in the victims and are often not visible until months or years later. Furthermore,

modern industrial centers and vast agricultural areas may be rendered uninhabitable for at least a year with today's weapons, and plant life may be made poisonous, etc.

9 - But before simply recoiling in horror at the prospect of massive nuclear bombings and retaliatory measures, and considering it impossible that either capitalism or stalinism would resort to such terrible weapons in war, it is necessary to understand that NATO has already gone atomic, according to the British General Montgomery. Any war (sic) it will engage in will be an atomic war, and Russia will certainly not be loath to follow, if Molotov's blustering about Russian survival in such a war means anything.

10 - The reasoning behind going atomic to "Our Point of No Return" is simple, syllogistic and compelling from the imperialist view, as outlined by U.S. General (retired) Thomas Phillips writing in The Reporter, Feb. 24, 1955, in an article so entitled. Atomic weapons give a tremendous destructive advantage to the power using them. The other power must disperse men and material to prevent annihilating losses. Such dispersed formations need atomic weapons to retain any striking power against conventional military weapons. This reorganization for nuclear war is not yet completely irreversible, General Phillip says, nor will this be so as late as mid-summer 1956, but the redeployment and equipping of NATO forces is heading in that direction.

11 - Since atomic weapons are only useful against concentrations of men or material their natural target is cities. This will mean wholesale murder of the civilian populations by even "near misses". In atomic maneuvers engaged in by U.S. troops in Europe recently an interesting moral problem involving "ends and means" received a dramatic solution (Reporter, ibid). Three thousand enemy troops had taken cover in a city of fifty thousand, and the problem was whether the fifty thousand should be atomically annihilated. The answer was yes! Otherwise the enemy might resort to cities as a refuge.

12 - The YSL condemns the willingness of the two imperialisms to use nuclear weapons as an act of barbarism. It urges, and will participate in mass popular protests so directed, that world-wide pressure be exerted against the two imperialist protagonists, that they cease all nuclear tests for the unknown dangers they present, and for the callousness toward such weapons that their continual testing brings.

IV - The Socialist Struggle Against War

13 - Any successful struggle against the threatened third world war means victory over the two contending imperialisms whose existence and competition lead to war. The replacement of these two exploitative systems by the International working class organized as the state power, and the establishment of socialism, is therefore the minimum condition necessary for banishing the threat of war.

14 - The only instrument yet discovered that can cement this victory for the workers, however determined, costly or prolonged their struggles may be, is a mass revolutionary socialist party or parties which can take state power and institute a socialist reordering of society. No matter how far back we are from the realization of such a party's formation, all of our transitional demands and goals have meaning only insofar as preludes to such a party. Thus our call for a labor party, our recognition of the need to work within the social-democratic movements where profitable, our day-to-day fight in defense of civil liberties, etc.

15 - As young socialists at a time when the international revolutionary socialist

movement is at one of its all time ebbs, we look forward toward future mass action and struggle by the working class on both sides of the iron curtain as the basic means whereby the drive toward war may be slowed down, or any meaningful opposition to war may develop should it in fact break out. No parliamentary "struggles" can substitute for such mass class struggles. These working class struggles would signify that the basic antagonism in each camp between exploiter and exploited had not been eradicated, despite the intensive propaganda and illusions to the contrary that have grown up in the prosperity decade of the permanent war economy.

16 - It is the urgent task of the socialist movement to once more link up with the working class and aid it in its attempts to carry the struggle over into the political field and advance to the point where it can take state power, and therefore responsibility for the nation. Until that time the working class will have no say in the domestic or foreign policy of their nations except to serve as drudges, voting cattle and cannon fodder when the third world war does break out.

17 - Although the socialist movement is international in outlook and recommends cooperation in action for all countries' working classes, the YSL realizes that such reciprocity cannot be assured in advance by "guarantees", but that it flows from the unilateral efforts within individual countries, directed against the immediate capitalist or stalinist enemy that oppresses the workers - without yielding to the blandishments of agents of the more distant imperialism - and the responses they evoke. Thus we were heartened to greater political struggle by the example of the heroic Spanish working class' General Strike of 1951, the East German "June Days" and the Vorkuta uprising inside of Russia in 1953.

18 - Today we know with a greater certainty than we have been able to point out for a long time, that the anti-war efforts of socialists and the working class under capitalism can achieve a fraternal response in the stalinist countries. With the East German "June Days", the New Republic was correct in saying that "History has turned a corner". Those "socialists" and ex-socialists who demanded that we base our third camp war position upon the assumption of a permanently quiescent working class in the stalinist dominated countries (and therefore embrace the capitalist lesser evil, with no matter how much criticism in our cirital support) have been decisively repudiated by the recent working class struggles and upheavals in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Vorkuta and rumoredly in Poland and Hungary, too, though on a lesser scale. Although it is unfortunate that there are no annual recurrences of such massive efforts, this is not necessary to evaluate their immense historical progressiveness in aiding the masses' realization of the power they can call upon when they combine their energies at a single time during a new social orisis.

19 - Actually we have had the earlier example of the Ukranian Liberation Army (UPA) in the second world war to point to before this. This army, which fought behind the German lines in 1943 against both Hitler and Stalin, and which occupied whole territories in the northern and western Ukraine - with the support of the population - persisted in the form of an underground group for several years after the war, although it suffered extensive losses at the hands of the GPU. Its program called for an independent Ukraine - free from both Russian or western domination - and for the creation of a democratic socialist economy and society (See: "The Russian Ukrainian Underground - A People's Revolt Against Stalin", The New International, April, 1949). Given the breaking out of a third world war, or a deep orisis of the Russian regime, there is no reason why a second generation of this underground might not see action. Naturally the U.S. State Department refused to recognize or aid this group through its Munich western headquarters, because this popular movement was neither pro-capitalist nor did it subscribe to the forcible retention of the Ukraine in the Russian "prison house of nations" that the Russian

emigre groups of Czarists, Korenskyists or fascists (whom the State Department does recognize) would maintain. In addition the UPA would fight against any new western occupation authority.

20 - However, the type of workers' government and state that would give recognition and aid to such movements would be profoundly different from the social-democratic "labor governments" which we sometimes loosely consider "workers' governments". The social-democracy, which is based upon the labor aristocracy and struggles for a Welfare Capitalist State, has a profound distrust for the capacities of the working class, and it has never yet been able to break with the capitalist imperialism of its own ruling class. Any "socialist" who proposes political support to the war of a social-democratic government (ie. the British Labor Party or the Bevanite wing of it) that has not yet broken its alliance with U.S. imperialism, and that has not yet renounced in word and deed imperialist ambitions of its own, would be betraying his socialist convictions. The type of socialist workers' government (and state) that would be able to carry out a truly democratic foreign policy would encounter a much more determined resistance than that accorded the social-democratic "caretaker governments", during the turbulent events that would see its program accepted by the nation.

21 - It has been observed historically that at times of great social transformation existing channels for promoting change tend to prove inadequate. Through either time lag, procedural and juridical provisions that are binding to the essential framework of the society, extra-legal terrorism (ie fascism), or through military suspension of normal avenues as a bar to change (ie. martial law), these forms have been bypassed. Instead, new spontaneous institutions and committees have arrived which by virtue of more closely representing the actual wishes of the masses have gained greater and greater authority in the eyes of the people, ultimately displacing discredited past political forms and serving as a democratic foundation both locally and nationally for the reconstruction of society. It is probably along these lines that such a change in the movement toward world war three, or its interruption and speedy conclusion would come about.

22 - The socialist slogan directed at the approaching third world war should be: "Transform the imperialist war into a class war"...

V - Anti-War Resistance Under Stalinism

23 - The two fundamental weaknesses of the stalinist empire are national oppression and social oppression, which produce as their twins national resistance and an internal class struggle. The problem for socialists in these countries is how to organize these forces and direct them against the puppet and imperial stalinist governments so as to free those countries and strike a blow at the Russian bureaucracy - without the threat of a terrible nuclear war between the two imperialisms which might impose a new imperialism or liberate radioactive rubble.

24 - We are fortunate to have the East German experiences and the Czechoslovakian events just prior to them in 1953 as guides for subsequent struggles. In East Germany, for example, the pattern of these events reads like a socialist text at the time of the first world war. One section of the working class (construction workers) led off the uprising by economic demands (lowering of work norms); sensing weakness and vacillation in the German puppet government following Stalin's death and subsequent new economic policy shifts. Their example electrified other sectors of the working class who were swept along the next day in a country-wide General Strike, which immediately acquired a political complexion. Strike committees formed the basis for regional and city-wide substitute governments which remained in office until their

dispersion by Russian tanks. The strength of the working class - never wholly stamped out under either fascism or stalinism - encouraged the entire population to rise up, and the workers spontaneously found tribunes in the heat of their own creative efforts, who would voice their demands from countless platforms. Whether they wanted the release of political prisoners, the burning of the security police's secret files after noting who their informers and agents were, or the political demand that the puppet regime resign, disband its police and call free elections -- there was short shrift given to those speakers who would not repeat their demands over the hastily installed microphones. Immediately they would be booted down and replaced by a better volunteer spokesman carried forward by the workers.

25 - The shock of this uprising paralyzed the puppet government's forces causing widespread defections and passivity in its ranks. The Russian rank and file troops although "reliable" at this first clash, had their role as imperialist mercenaries made plain to them. Even this first contact with the worker "fascists" was enough to void the years of isolation and military discipline of scattered Russian soldiers, so that at least 18 of them had to be shot in Magdeburg alone for failing to fire upon the unarmed crowds of workers and townspeople when ordered to do so. These troops can provide a connecting link in a future satellite uprising to connect the workers in the "USSR" with their class brothers in a common assault upon the stalinist tyranny (ie. as the railway workers carried news of the Vorkuva uprising back to the Leningrad proletariat.)

26 - However, the reactionary role of the United States government in the face of this rebellion exposes the hypocrisy with which it calls for resistance among the stalinist satellites. Radio in American Sector (RIAS) refused to broadcast the call for a general strike on June 16-17, and consistently underplayed its news coverage of these events at the behest of U.S. officials who said that Washington had to consider the "world situation" rather than the needs of the German people. The U.S. authorities also prohibited demonstrations near their zonal borders by western German Workers sympathetic to the uprising, and prevented West Berlin's Social-Democratic mayor, Ernst Reuter, from flying back from a mayors' conference in Vienna, causing even the staid Reuter to say: "If you can't or won't fly me back, then the hell with you" and hang up the phone. (See: "The Explosion", Little Brown and Co. 1955). A more profound view can be seen in the reported conversation between the intelligence service of the underground national resistance groups in the Vorkuta concentration camp in Russia and recently deported and imprisoned Germans shipped there. (See: Vorkuta, by Joseph Scholmer, 1954) Their conclusion was that such governments as the U.S. were constitutionally incapable of dealing with popular resistance by workers to the stalinist regime. This is no shock to third camp socialists.

27 - The Social-Democracy exposed its habitual cowardice and subservience to the occupation authorities by refraining from calling massive demonstrations demanding withdrawal of all troops from Germany and immediate German unification. Some social-democratic workers, on the other hand, crossed the Berlin zonal boundaries in places to march together with their East German comrades against the Ulbricht puppet government.

28 - The conclusion is that the Stalinist world is vulnerable to social revolution from within, and that the workers despite their great handicaps under stalinism, have not lost the capacity to struggle as some panicky "socialists" thought. Stalinism does not do away with the class struggle and therefore the spring to anti-war activity.

VI - The Detente

29 - After a series of "incidents", any one of which might have led to war (ie, Berlin blockade, Korean War, Indochina War, Chinese moves against the Tachen Islands, the two war camps had reached a condition where any new clash was practically foredoomed to precipitate the full scale third world war. Inasmuch as neither side is immediately prepared for this all-out war, there has been a conscious drawing back and at least the beginnings of an attempt at a belated imperialist truce, such as might have been consummated in 1945 at the conclusion of the second imperialist war.

30 - Whether Russia was moved by internal resistance (ie. agricultural crisis) or fear of the rearmament of West Germany, it engaged in a few moves at relaxation (ie. Austrian peace treaty, visit to Belgrade) which compelled the U.S. to move toward "co-existence" in order to satisfy world opinion -- especially the neutral nations whom it wants to win to its side.

31 - While recognizing this truce as imperialistically arrived at, and a move which is desired by imperialist forces for their own purposes, socialists nevertheless welcome this breathing spell from war alarms as a chance to regroup third camp elements and increase their power. At the same time we recognize that the current detente, or even future detentes for that matter, since there is no unilateral path leading to the third world -- are of only limited duration because they are a temporary state of balance between the main antagonists and do not eradicate their basic conflicts nor eliminate the threat of war. Unless there are new outbreaks of the class struggle and anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggles of such a character as to weaken the imperialists, this time will be lost and will aid in the eventual outbreak of war by being used to crush internal opposition and advance technical preparations for war. In any event, socialists must make it clear that they do not wish this detente to be terminated by military means or a "preventative war".

32 - One means of utilizing the detente springs from the atomic conference at Geneva following the meeting "at the summit". The proposal was advanced that scientists investigate and report on the hazards of atomic fall-out. Such a move, if it is actually and honestly carried out - and let us hope without new atomic or thermo-nuclear explosions - can act as an anti-war impetus if correctly exploited by socialists in their propaganda. We should insist that progress reports be made and not depend upon the eventual state of mind of the cold war co-belligerents, as to whether to circulate or repress these final analyses.

33 - In the United States and the rest of the capitalist world, if there is any serious effort towards arms curtailment or reduction in the permanent war economy, the capitalist economy will be denied the extensive role of the military sector of the economy as a built-in stabilizer in the economy. The threat of gluts and a declining rate of profit plus increased displacement of workers through automation, and inter-imperialist rivalry will contribute to a revival of the class struggle. Additionally, with the immediate threat of war gone, and with a relaxation of the propaganda for war (ie. super "security" hunts and anti-civil-liberties measures) there should be a lesser feel in the workers' organizations. Thus there will be both objective and subjective prerequisites for new class struggles present.

34 - This is especially welcome in the United States, in connection with the formation of a labor party, since we must postulate such widespread active working class struggles against a recalcitrant capitalist class and a hostile capitalist government as the force driving the labor bureaucracy onto the road of a labor party. It would be visionary to imagine the Touchers, Meany's and Careys voluntarily

assuming such a great measure of responsibility before the eyes of both the working class and the nation, unless they are forced to do this to head off rank and file sentiment for a labor party that might threaten the union positions of these gentlemen. They are fully aware that a labor party is an open-ended continuum in working class politics, and that they will be handicapped in struggling against more radical programs or political elements in such a party. The Bevanite experience has not been lost upon these bureaucrats.

35 - In the Stalinist world we hope that a reduction of the "external danger" -- which has been such a profitable spectre for the stalinists for such a long time in serving as a rationale for super-exploitation of the workers -- will act to stimulate internal opposition. Some increases in consumers goods might encourage "inadmissible pressures" in the state "trade unions" for higher wages, or even strikes in support of such aims might come about. We look for these workers and intellectuals who have been galvanised into activity by recent anti-stalinist mass struggles to be heartened enough to participate in such working class struggles, and to devise the organizational forms appropriate toward organizing a more general political opposition to the regime on a national level. There should now be a greater sustaining elan in socialist opposition to the regime, and the coming together in conspiratorial association of those revolutionaries who could meet their counterparts during the recent heroic days for perhaps the first time in full confidence.

36 - However, there is also the simultaneous danger that too great a limited success in each war camp might reciprocally encourage the more war-minded officials to restore the "emergency" prior to the detente. Thus, if the U.S. should enter any fair sized depression, this would immediately create a major crisis in the West European economies and have great radicalizing political connotations. A horrible "solution" to this might be viewed in moving the capitalist war camp nearer to war. The same condition is equally applicable in the stalinist world, despite the different forms that crises will take there. Such a pessimistic juncture, while it must be considered, can by no means call to a slackening of opposition because this opposition is the only basis upon which an inevitable war can be warded off. To renounce the class struggle is to capitulate to the third world war in advance.

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AMENDMENTS TO NAC DRAFT RESOLUTION
ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTION

I. P. 27, par. 22, line 7 ----> Ardon moved to strike "government" and to insert "state" (defeated)

II. P. 29, par. 33 --- Durand moved to strike (33) and to substitute the following pars:

Since the end of the First World War, the BLP has acted to sustain the capitalist system--initiating changes which, without removing any of the basic contradictions of the society, have tended to satisfy the immediate aspirations of labor and impede political polarization. Although in essence this role of the BLP is yet to be superseded, the nature of its maneuvers has shifted. The shift consists in a drive toward nationalization of certain sectors of British capitalism. In this stage in the degeneration of capitalism, it has been the BLP which has done for the capitalist class that which it--so bound by tradition and orientation--could not do for itself. While decreasing the expanse of capitalization, the intervention of the bourgeois state into particular sectors of the economy acts to give the overall economy a "face-lifting" and, thus, helps to strengthen temporarily the sector remaining under private capital.

The present leadership of the BLP--so reconciled as it is with the imperialist policy of the ruling class--cannot be expected to promote a radical resistance to the status quo. However, since it is organizationally progressive--based upon the labor movement--consciousness is instilled; and an arena established, from which the struggle of the working class may evolve. It is when the demands of the workers exceed the limitations of the Social Democratic movement that a progressive--third camp--programme can be adopted. The BLP--an arena in which the workers may be contacted--deserves our support only in expectation of future socialist agitation and revolutionary regroupment. Thus, the task of revolutionists in Britain is decisively posed: they must work within the BLP to reorient the workers toward a socialist programme.

(defeated)

III. P. 33, par. 49 ---- Morse moved to add the following after (49):

When Russia granted a Peace Treaty to Austria on the basis of neutralization and a limitation on her right to rearm, there swept thru Western Europe the idea that German Unity and a relaxation of the pressure of military mobilization was on the order of the day.

The liberation of Europe after World War II by armies followed by the outbreak of the Cold War, established a deep and frustrating feeling of helplessness throughout Europe. This feeling, coupled with the desire to escape the nutcracker of the cold war squeezing them, is the basis of neutralism. It has placed a powerful brake upon the possibilities of struggle by the workers of Western Europe which only yesterday, it began to overcome.

The first task of West European socialists today is the dissolution of the feeling of helplessness, and the establishment of self-confidence in its own power on the part of the working class. The main road through which such a transformation can occur, is that of mass demonstrations, campaigns, etc around those progressive demands which, in terms of the present consciousness, seem to them possible of being granted.

Today, this consciousness is still limited to that of pressure upon the big powers, and only allows as possible campaigns, progressive demands that it seems the big powers may conceivably grant. Thus--the campaign against rearmament of the German working class at the time of the London Talks

The Austrian treaty made for a fundamental break in the mood of the European masses. For the first time since the Cold War broke out it seemed that a big power (Russia) as for a major change in the status quo that they could support. At this point, just prior to and during the Summer Talks, a tremendous opportunity was missed by the Social Democratic Party of Germany. A campaign could have been conducted which would have both made it infinitely more difficult to bury the question of German Unity, and raised the level of consciousness of the working class.

German unity on any democratic basis would constitute an enormous progressive step. In a united Germany, the dominant political force would in all probability, be the working class parties. The Eastern section of Germany has always been the stronghold of the extreme left and, as was indicated in the June days of 1953, this does not appear to have changed under Stalinist rule. Indeed, through the proletarianization of other classes the power of the East German working class has probably shown a relative increase under Stalinism.

That such a unified Germany would be "neutralized", i.e. would pledge to limit arms to those necessary for the maintenance of internal order, would not

change the progressive consequence. For one thing, such an agreement is something of an abstraction; its real worth is that of the social forces involved, and the power of a unified Germany should make it clear that limitations upon its sovereignty are temporary. We should, therefore, be willing to accept the neutralization of Germany as a means to its unity.

In all of this, as a matter of fact, we should see a unified Germany as a step in a progressive direction. We should not lay down a shematized version of sovereignty and demand all or nothing.

In Europe, we call upon the socialist movement to demand that their Governments firmly commit themselves to German unity on the basis of free elections plus neutrality. In doing this, it will be possible to expose the nature of the ties between these Governments and the United States. Thus, the effect will be an intensification of the pressure on the United States.

In the case of our German comrades, the situation is somewhat different from that of other European socialists. The West German workingclass has already responded to the rearmament policy with mass opposition. The youth, in particular, have waged a militant campaign. We hope that these campaigns will intensify on the issue of unity, demanding German freedom from the imperialist powers. Also, we look to a continuation of the non-cooperation with rearmament which the Germans have already carried out.

The failure of the Summit talks to solve anything, in the face of mass pressure, would have begun the dissolutionment of broad sections in Europe in the Big Powers, and the possibilities of negotiations. Without this mass pressure, however, the result has been a strengthening of these illusions and a deepening of the Detentist mood.

(defeated)

AMENDMENTS TO NAC DRAFT RESOLUTION
ON AMERICAN QUESTION

I. P. 2, par. 2 ---- Mel (Pitt) moved to add the following after (2):

"The condition of unemployment brought about by automation is of a permanent nature rather than of a seasonal or temporary nature, therefore it must be looked on as a threat to the strength of labor." (defeated)

II. P. 8, par. 1, line 16 ---- Shane moved to strike "tendencies toward" and after "it will also", strike "lay the basis" and insert "provide an arena". (defeated)

AMENDMENT TO NAC DRAFT RESOLUTION
ON YSL-ISL RELATIONS

I. Vol. 2, No. 1., P. 41, par. 3 ---- Harris moved to add after words "membership" the following:

"The YSL invites young members of the SWP and SP to join the YSL. It offers them full organizational rights in the YSL provided they carry out YSL activity in a disciplined manner. The YSL aims to break these comrades from the ideas they hold in opposition to the YSL. (defeated)

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

I. Vol. 2, No. 4., P. 37, Art. V, Sept. 1 D ---- Morse moved to add to end the following:

"When a division is called in a Unit, both the minority and majority must

declare in motion a resolution form the basis on which they want to elect delegates to the convention.

The groups which then separately elect their own delegates are three:

1. Those voting for minority statement
2. Those voting for majority statement
3. Those voting for neither statement

(withdrawn)

II. Vol. 2, No. 4, P. 37, ArtV, Sect 1D, ---- Shance moved to strike from "division" to "tendencies" on first and second line, and to insert:

"unanimous agreement of all members present to elect delegates by majority vote."

(withdrawn)

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