

YOUNG SOCIALIST

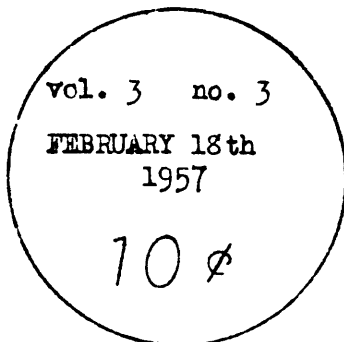
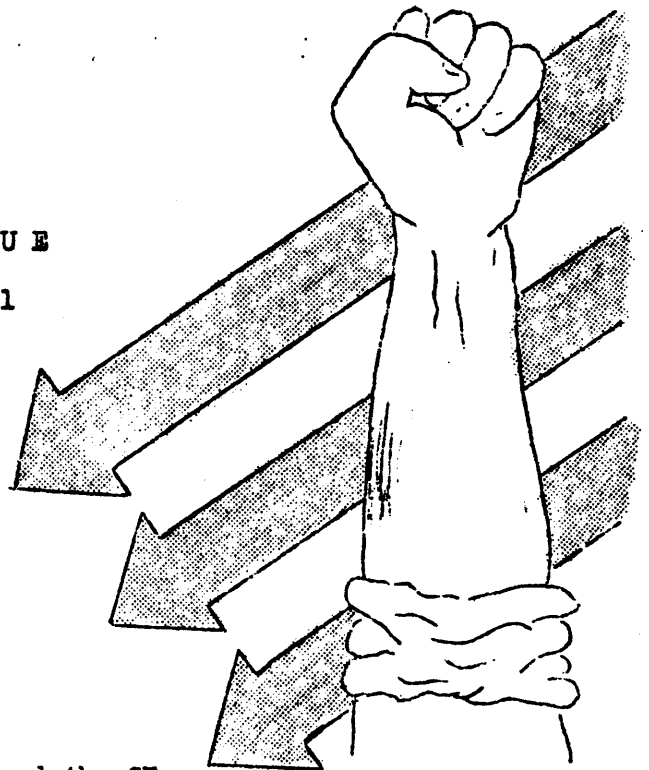
REVIEW

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SPECIAL N.E.C. PLENUM ISSUE

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INFORMATION AND
DISCUSSION BULLETIN
OF

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Special Issue of YSR
YSL National Executive Committee Plenum Documents, Jan. 26-27, 1957

This YSR is a special issue devoted to the documents presented and the resolutions passed at the January 26-27 session of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist League.

Three resolutions were adopted by this Plenum: (1) Resolution on Socialist Realignment and Socialist Unity. (2) Resolution on Developments in the Communist Party. (3) Resolution on Civil Rights. The first section of YSR contains these three resolutions in their FINAL, AMMENDED form.

Aside from the final amended resolutions there were also several amendments offered which were defeated by the delegates to the session. The two amendments offered to the resolution on unity, one by Comrades George and Bogdan of New York and the other by Comrade Marty from Philadelphia, are presented at the beginning of Section II of this YSR. Also included in Section II are several amendments offered to the resolution on "Developments in the Communist Party." One defeated amendment was offered by Comrades George and Bogdan, and the other by Comrades Shane and Tim. Both these latter were amendments to Section 14 of the resolution on the Communist Party and deal with "united fronts."

Section Three includes a series of resolution and motions offered by Comrade Shane and Comrades Shane and Tim as substitutes for various whole resolutions. These include three resolutions generally relating to the question of the Socialist Party and socialist unity. These were considered by the Plenum as substitutes for the Resolution on "Socialist Realignment and Socialist Unity" and were defeated. Also included is a substitute resolution presented by Comrade Shane on the Stalinist movement in the United States.

The regular bi-monthly YSR will be appearing shortly - publication date is March 1st, copy deadline is February 23rd. The issue after that will be published on May 1st, copy deadline mid-April. **KEEP THOSE DATES IN MIND!** Unit organizers should also remember to send in unit reports for the YSR. And remember, YSR is now published in Chicago - send material to 1343 E. 50th Street, Chicago 15. And **WHENEVER POSSIBLE PLEASE SEND STENCILLED COPY!!**
Thanks.

Debbie Meier, editor

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Y.S.L. RESOLUTIONS

Young Socialist League Resolution
on
Socialist Realignment and Socialist Unity
(as amended and passed by YSL NEC Plenum of Jan. 26-27, 1957)

1. There exists no real socialist movement in the United States today, but rather a number of different groups, each tiny and isolated from the working class and from political life in general. All are, in other words, sects. The Young Socialist League has never glossed over this unpleasant truth and has looked forward to the time when it could diminish or eliminate its own sect character as well as contribute to the elimination of the general sect-like nature of all the socialist organizations in the country. On a modest scale the formation of the YSL itself was a step in this direction.
2. In recent months many socialists have been giving attention to this question—under the heading of unity, realignment, regroupment, etc. The YSL takes this opportunity to make clear its own perspectives and views on this subject.
3. We have never felt that our organization constituted the future organization of American socialism or that the success of socialism would come through the process of accretion to our ranks. None of the socialist sects in existence can "lead" the workingclass or act as the "vanguard" party for a workingclass struggle for power. Instead, we have oriented towards the creation of a labor party as the next important progressive step in the development of the American workers. Such a development will precede the development of a socialist workingclass. While such a labor party will at the outset be a conservative non-socialist party, in all likelihood, it will nevertheless mark a revolutionary advance for the workers and in American political life, and will merit the support of all socialists, as a step towards the creation of a working-class socialist movement. It is impossible to predict the exact road which the working-class will traverse from the establishment of a labor party to the creation of a mass socialist movement. Nevertheless it is clear that the creation of such a movement will arise out of and through a labor party.
4. Our tasks in connection with a labor party will be to support it, to participate in it fully as a loyal left-wing, and together with other socialists, to constitute a socialist wing in it which would aim at winning the party as a whole to a socialist program and a socialist leadership. While maintaining our program and forces and endeavoring to win the most advanced workers to them, we will simultaneously work at building a broad, inclusive socialist tendency which will aim at winning the labor party to socialism in a broad, general sense. We will try to unite with various socialist elements in the labor party for this aim, rather than operate as a "closed sect" aimed only at winning the most advanced workers to our full views. Thus we have always in a sense thought in terms of a realignment of socialists, but have conceived of its taking place inside a labor party and after its formation.
5. Our labor party orientation and our conception of the role of revolutionary socialists in the labor party after it is brought into being remain our general perspective for the next developments for socialism in the United States. They retain full validity. Meanwhile, however, the labor party is slow in coming. Indeed, one reason for this lies in the absence of a socialist movement to stimulate its appearance on the American scene. The

slow tempo of development of many other progressive transformations are in part also attributable to this lack. At the same time, however, there have recently come into being new possibilities for the creation of a broad socialist movement, and new opportunities for such a movement to play an important role in events leading toward the more long range aims of creating a labor party and subsequently a mass working class party of socialism. A broad socialist movement created today will not have a mass character, as measured against the scale of the American working class and its union movement, but will be a mass movement as compared to the presently-existing socialist sect organizations.

6. The growing unity and strength of the labor movement as marked by the merger of the AFL and CIO, the militant struggle of the Negroes against Jim Crow which has recently emerged, the relaxation of political repression and the witch-hunt in the last few years, the disintegration of the Communist movement both internationally and in this country: these events form the political background for the new possibilities which exist for socialist realignment and the creation of a broad socialist movement. These possibilities have become concretized in the wide interest in unity among socialist groups, in the fact that the last convention of the Socialist Party witnessed a proposal for unity between the SP and the Independent Socialist League, in the large number of forums, discussions and conferences on socialist realignment which have been held and are contemplated, in the interest which the Gates tendency in the Communist Party displays in a "new, united, mass party of socialism," etc.. Socialist realignment and socialist unity are "in the air" in all circles.

7. Corresponding to the new possibilities for socialist unity there are new opportunities for a broad united socialist movement to play a significant role in political life. In the first place, there exists the influence which such a socialist movement could exercise in the labor movement, influence for the creation of a labor party and for other progressive developments. The recent creation of a united union movement comprising some 18 million members removes one of the last objective difficulties to the organization of an independent party of the working-class and to a general labor resurgence. While labor unity has not yet resulted in the realization of any of the significant potentialities created by it, the increasing impossibility of labor having its needs in any way satisfied by the Democratic Party portends the future break between it and this capitalist party. A socialist movement which had its face turned towards these developments could play a significant role in hastening these developments and in influencing at an early date the program of a labor party, a role which is presently denied to all of the socialist sects.

8. In the last year or so there has emerged a new militant movement of struggle for equality and democracy on the part of the Negro people, best symbolized by Montgomery. Unlike all such past struggles by Negroes, this one is not only not under the leadership of socialists or Communists, but is entirely uninfluenced by them. Were there a significant socialist movement in this country today, it could play an important role in participating in and aiding this struggle, helping to advance the aspirations of the Negroes and at the same time helping to further radicalize the Negro people and bringing the ideas of socialism to large numbers of Negroes.

9. For many years the Communist Party had a large hold, almost a monopoly, on radical sentiment in the United States. It was generally regarded as the radical center in the country by public opinion, and tens of thousands of people who became radicalized and imbued with idealistic sentiments for radical change gravitated towards it. While the increasing conservative atmosphere in the country in recent years reduced the number of people becoming radical, and while the ever-clearer general recognition of the true nature of Stalinism repelled many of those who became radicals, the Communist Party still continued to attract the majority of those developing radical views. The recent earth-shaking developments in the Stalinist world and in the international Communist movement have once and for all eliminated the CP from being able to play this role, from remaining the "radical" center. A new broad socialist movement could establish itself as the center of radicalism and socialism in the United States, as the force towards which all in whom radical and socialist views awakened would gravitate, whereas none of the existing sects can do so. It could also win to itself elements currently in and around the CP who genuinely break with Stalinism and move towards democratic socialism, again something which the existing sects cannot do on any large scale.

10. In addition, the mere fact of realignment and unity would in and of itself create an eddy to which many socialists who today belong to no organization and many ex-socialists would be attracted. All mergers and unifications have this effect, as the formation of the YSL out of the merger of the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Socialist Youth League showed. There exist in this country tens and tens of thousands of people who were once members of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party or of various socialist groups which have existed during the last forty years. Many, perhaps a majority, have abandoned their radical or socialist views, have given up the socialist idealism which once brought them to these movements, and have made peace with capitalist society. But many continue to regard themselves as radicals, or socialists, or socialist-minded people in one way or another. Included in this category are thousands of trade-unionists. It is of course impossible to predict how many of these people would join a new socialist movement today, but that some and perhaps many would, is extremely likely.

11. Our interest in socialist unity is based precisely on these considerations, and mainly on the view that it would produce a movement which in numerical strength and influence would far transcend the arithmetic addition of those sects participating in the merger. If unity between ourselves and the Socialist Party, for example, were only to produce an organization composed of the members of the YSL and SP, then its value would be negligible, and perhaps it would contain more negative features than positive ones. But because a unity would mean much more than that it becomes a desirable goal.

12. Because of its name, tradition, history and general character, the Socialist Party can play a key role in the creation of a new socialist movement. The SP today is a sect like the other socialist groups from the standpoint of size and influence. Nevertheless, it is regarded by the public at large, by the labor movement, and by thousands of socialist-minded Americans, as the "party of socialism" in the United States. It is the party of Eugene V. Debs in the eyes of those elements who are most likely to comprise a new socialist movement.

13. Also in its general character the SP remains today best suited of all the sects to be a center for realignment since it is the broadest of the groups in its structure, its composition and its political program. Both in tradition and fact it has been the most diverse of the American sects, and thus the one more readily associated with the idea of "socialism in general" rather than the "specific" socialist analyses of the other various sects. These characteristics give it certain advantages for playing a key role in socialist realignment.

14. Thus, when a section of the Socialist Party proposed at its last convention the unification of the SP and the Independent Socialist League, the ISL welcomed this move. That this proposal was defeated at the SP convention does not, in our opinion or that of the ISL, close the question. The ISL subsequently indicated its support to the proposition of unity between the SP and itself, and the YSL went on record as favoring the exploration of the possibility of a similar unity between itself and a unified Socialist Party and ISL. The YSL endorses the idea of unity between the Socialist Party and Independent Socialist League and urges those organizations to endeavor to affect it. It stands ready to participate in a merger by constituting together with other socialist youth, the youth section of such a united movement.

15. There are a series of "historical" issues which divide the traditions of the SP, ISL and YSL. In the past, and even now, debate over questions of fact has been the basis of much acrimony between the various tendencies and has contributed toward keeping them apart. We do not believe that such questions are unimportant, nor do we underestimate the importance of the political differences between the organizations - on the Third Camp, the role of American imperialism, the need to defend civil liberties and academic freedom for ALL, greater emphasis on the need for a labor party, etc. We do not believe that they should be a bar to the formation of a broad inclusive socialist organization. We do not feel that we, the SP or any other grouping in the new socialist movement should give up its political ideas or its efforts to convince others of their viability. We would seek to influence the united Socialist Party in the direction of our views on specific current issues as they arise and would constitute part of a left-wing tendency within the organization. At the same time, our aim is not to take over the new organization or have it adopt our complete worked out political and theoretical program as the program of the new party. Such an orientation would be inconsistent with our conception of a broad Debsian socialist movement and its role in the coming period. It would defeat the purposes, as we conceive them, of such a movement and throw the organization right back into the sectarian existence of today. Within the new framework, the issues of the past and present can be fraternally discussed.

16. While the exact details of any merger between the SP, the ISL, and the YSL would have to be worked out through negotiation, the YSL should not and does not make changes in the program or leadership of the Socialist Party conditions for it. On the contrary, it is ready to unite with the Socialist Party as it stands today. Nor is the YSL proposing unity between itself and any section of the SP. On the contrary, it stands for unity between itself and the Socialist Party as a whole.

17. The unity we stand for is not that of a "raid" by anybody on anybody else, nor a unity which would lead to any subsequent split. We stand for that kind of realignment and unity which would lead to the permanent and fruitful coexistence and collaboration of the merged forces on a healthy basis and

which would make possible the emergence of a new, enlarged, invigorated broad socialist movement in the United States. Such a movement, democratic in organization and democratic in its principles and program could reverse the tragic decline of socialism which has occurred in the United States in the last decade and a half.

18. Our conception of such a new party or movement is that it should resemble the old Debsian Socialist Party with modifications necessary to cope with contemporary conditions. It should be broad, and loosely structured rather than a highly-disciplined or tight organization. Its organization should be completely democratic, and within the general confines of the party's program should allow a certain amount of autonomy to branches, district and state organizations and tendencies. It is impossible to spell out in advance any of the details of the organization of such a movement, but its general character can best be indicated by the term, "a Debs-type movement." It is also not possible to decide in advance whether or not such a movement should constitute itself as a party, a propaganda league, or other type association, this depending upon a number of unpredictable conditions, primarily its strength.

19. Such a unity between the SP, the ISL and the YSL would, in our opinion, create the type of organization which would be a center for further realignment and unification of the American left. It would provide a polar of attraction around which many could rally.

20. In recent months the stirrings in the CP and the attention to socialist unity paid by groups which we designate as Stalinoid (such as the group around Cochran and the American Socialist magazine) raise questions about their place in a new democratic socialist realignment in the U.S. Of most importance is the emergence of the Gates tendency and its developments away from Stalinist totalitarianism and toward democratic socialism. It is not a question of a few individuals or small groupings which break with Stalinism since naturally a new socialist movement would attempt to attract them. It is rather a question of whole tendencies and of their participation in this new movement, although we do not view the Gates tendency or the Stalinoid groupings as the focus of the new movement.

21. We are not for excluding anybody from this movement on the basis of their past activity or beliefs, nor on the basis of their present state of theoretical development. We have one test which we apply to such tendencies-- the test of whether they genuinely stand today for democracy and against totalitarianism and dictatorship. All who do can play a role in building a new movement of socialism in America.

22. The new movement as a whole cannot be in any way committed to the proposition that Russia is a socialist society, and must unambiguously be an opponent of the totalitarian regime in Russia, otherwise, it is doomed in advance to futility. At the same time, groups and individuals in the movement can have different theoretical views on Stalinism, or concretely, we do not make the test for participation in the new movement that tendencies have our views on Russia. They may believe it to be bureaucratic-collectivist, state capitalist, a degenerated workers state, or even some kind of socialism, providing in the latter case, it is not the kind of socialism they stand for. They may believe that a social revolution is necessary, or a political revolution, or some kind of drastic and fundamental reform. What is decisive

is that they clearly and unambiguously stand for democratization and support all efforts by the Russian and Eastern European people to eliminate the totalitarian society and secure democratic socialism. A commitment to democracy is the key to the new movement and the key to whether various groups and tendencies will be able to play a role in it.

23. It is impossible to foretell in advance whether or not various elements in and around the Communist Party can play a part in the building of a new socialist movement in the United States—that depends on whether they are able to fully break with Stalinism and become democratic socialists. That a movement toward democratic socialism exists among elements is a definite fact. We can only welcome it, attempt to intervene in the discussion in the Communist Party with the aim of accelerating this movement, and make clear our position that all who genuinely come to socialist democracy can have a place in a revived socialist movement in this country. In addition to Communist elements and tendencies, there exist other socialist groupings in the United States which in our opinion have mistaken theoretical views on Stalinism. They, together with groups whose views on other questions we reject, can play a role in a new movement, in so far as they are willing to do so, and are willing to be in a movement which stands for democratic socialism.

24. At the present moment, our views on socialist regroupment have in large part a propaganda character. These are the views which we wish to present in all of the various discussions which are taking place among groups who regard themselves as socialist. We are interested in participating in all discussions, conferences, forums, etc., now taking place and which will take place, discussions in which we wish to advance our views in general, and need a set of ideas on the question of socialist regroupment since this is of interest to all. But we do not merely regard them as that. On the contrary, we hope and believe that in the future they will take on a significance for the actual organization of such a movement, that they will play a role in advancing that development and in giving it the character which we wish it to have.

25. At this stage, it is neither necessary or even possible, to examine in detail all of the questions which arise in connection with such a new movement, and with the road toward it. Nor can we at this stage of the situation deal with the youth aspects of such a development. One reason for the latter is that there do not exist the same number and diversity of groups in the youth field as there do in the general "adult" socialist field. Nor can we foresee the exact ramifications and results of socialist realignment among students and young people generally. What is clear is that socialist unity would produce very positive developments for socialism among youth and would create great opportunities for the socialist youth movement. We therefore welcome the idea of socialist realignment and unification and are ready to participate in building a youth movement for a new socialist movement.

26. While it is not possible to predict the exact details of the creation of a revived socialist movement, it is possible to delineate its general outline as we see it: To reiterate: We stand for a democratic socialist movement which will be open to all groups regardless of their pasts and regardless of their theoretical analyses, which genuinely stand for democracy and whose conception of the socialism they favor is a democratic one. We stand for a broad, loose socialist movement which will be able to embrace various different tendencies and which will be able to appeal to presently non-socialist Americans who become convinced of the need for socialism. We favor a socialist movement which will orient itself towards the wedding of socialism to the American working-class and labor movement, and make possible the creation of a mass socialist working-class party in the United States.

YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE RESOLUTION
ON
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. The world Stalinist movement is in crisis. Not since the Moscow trials of the Thirties or the struggle with the Left Opposition in the Twenties, has the Stalinist movement been in such a turmoil. While the two former periods represented the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, today we see its decline and disintegration.

2. The current stage in this crisis began with the death of Stalin in 1953. The first overt sign of the disintegration was the East Berlin uprising of June 1953 led by the East Berlin working class. The immediate demands for food and better living conditions instantly became political demands for freedom and for the end of the Russian occupation.

3. This stage has reached a series of crescendoes beginning with the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party and Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin as an tyrant who framed-up innocent people. Then in rapid succession came the Poznan uprising, the October days in Poland and the Hungarian Revolution. The flagrant and brutal suppression of the Hungarian people by the Russian army and the magnificent resistance which continues to this day have brought this crisis to the forefront of political discussion among the Stalinists themselves. The myth of the invincibility and progressiveness of Stalinism is in the process of being destroyed.

4. The effect of these events on the Stalinist movement has been to throw it into confusion. Stalinists who yesterday were little more than cynical parrots of Moscow's line have taken the lead in attempting to re-evaluate the politics of the movement. Democratic socialists welcome and encourage these developments.

5. In the past several months a real struggle has developed in the Communist Party of the United States. In the past there have been "discussions" in the CP which were little more than a sham. Differences and distinctions were raised over secondary and tertiary questions, but never discussion leading toward an evaluation of fundamental political concepts. However, under the pressure of the above-mentioned events a tendency centering around John Gates, Editor of the Daily Worker, has raised the question of democracy in a serious fashion. It is this discussion which has centered the interests of democratic socialists in the Communist Party.

6. Prior to the Russian and Hungarian events, the nature of the differences inside the CP were not apparent. In preparation for the February 1957 Convention of the CP, a Draft Resolution was unanimously passed by the National Committee. It called for a new turn in the CP's approach to the American scene, and appeared to be the formalization of the new "popular front" which the world Stalinist movement was adapting. There was the expected criticism of past functioning, of left sectarianism, of bureaucratism and the past errors which isolated the CP from its former base. It had all the signs of a new label for the old Stalinist politics.

* Later William Z. Foster and Ben Davis voted against it.

the

7. However / Draft Resolution concealed the fundamental differences which were in the process of development. It is now apparent that three more or less distinct tendencies exist:

a) The tendency centering around John Gates, the staff of the Daily Worker and the New York State Committee of the CP. This group has raised the question of democracy in the CP and under a socialist regime in the sharpest form (in the CP thus far.) This group has been the center of criticism of Russian intervention in Hungary and the supporters of the Gomulka regime in Poland. In short, it has been most affected by the events in Poland and Hungary, and the Khrushchev revelations of the lack of democracy in Russia. It has criticized the CP for being slavish followers of the Russian line and for appearing to be little more than "Russian apologists;" it has criticized the absence of party democracy and calls for the end of "democratic centralism;" it calls for the re-evaluation of principles such as "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the "peaceful road to socialism" and the defense of democratic rights of all points of view. This tendency can be characterized as the anti-Russian, pro-democratic grouping.

b) At the opposition pole is the tendency around William Z. Foster, which has to be characterized as the pro-Russian, Stalinist faction. For it, all the events of the recent past mean nothing. The only problem is how to surmount the crisis and discussion they have engendered and to proceed on with the old Stalinist politics under the new label. It is willing to admit to errors in past function, but at bottom insists that fundamental Marxist-Leninist (i.e. Stalinist) principles are still valid and that now they have to be applied correctly.

c) Intermediate to the two is a center group which attempts to straddle the issue. Formerly it appeared to center about General Secretary Eugene Dennis, who has since capitulated to Foster, but now it lacks a distinct spokesman. While this tendency is fundamentally in the Foster camp, it is nevertheless moved by many of the criticisms raised by the Gates tendency without seeming to draw the same political conclusions, and therefore remains firmly in the Stalinist mold. It is the presence of this grouping which prevents the Fosterites from dealing with the Gates tendency in the manner it normally uses. They recognize the depth and severity of the crisis in the CP and that it is not going to be solved by silencing all discussion as the Fosterites would like to do.

8. Democratic socialists should welcome the appearance of the Gates tendency in the CP, for it indicates the development of a group which is making the first steps toward a re-evaluation of Stalinist politics from a democratic viewpoint. We also welcome it because it indicates the further degeneration of the Stalinist movement and thus opens new perspectives for the growth of the democratic socialist movement since many, upon first becoming radicals and interested in socialism, were attracted toward the Communist Party.

9. The Gates tendency still has a long distance to travel before it has broken with all of its Stalinist politics, and democratic socialists should not preclude such a break and a democratic socialist development. In the context of the struggle in the CP, the Gates tendency represents the left wing since it is moving in a pro-socialist and pro-working class direction. In narrower political terms, this tendency is adopting the political coloration of social-democrats and a reformist attitude

toward the Democratic Party and American capitalism. However, given their past and present politics, this entire development is progressive. The danger in considering the Gates tendency is not that it will evolve in a reformist direction, but that it will not proceed far or fast enough in ridding itself of Stalinist politics and attitudes. A great deal about its future evolution depends on the outcome of the February convention. The presence of the center group in the CP protects the Gates tendency from the Stalinist onslaughts of Foster, but at the same time it retards its political development. As long as the Gates tendency has the perspective of working inside of the CP for its reforms, it can not move too far to the left (pro-socialist, anti-Stalinist position) without alienating the center grouping which is still fundamentally in the Foster camp.

10. This past period has also seen the further disintegration of the Stalinists as a force on the campus. The crisis inside of the world Stalinist movement has brought the activities of the Labor Youth League and other CP fronts to a virtual halt. At the present time all indications point to the dissolution of the LYL, and the New York State Committee of the LYL has already voted to disband the organization. Given the weakened condition of the Stalinist forces and the general demoralization which has set in, it is difficult to foresee a revival of Stalinist influence on campus in the near future. What will be the new organization form to come out of the coming convention of the LYL is an unknown quantity at the present time. At a minimum, it appears that the CP youth will be directed toward entering into existing organizations, such as the NAACP campus chapters and youth councils, and YMCAs. Their activities will probably be of a makeshift character until a resolution of the struggle inside the CP.

11. Given the new situation inside of the Stalinist movement, democratic socialists should pay close attention to the developments and attempt to establish contact with those closest to the Gates point of view. We should attend their open forums and meetings, read their press, and if circumstances warrant it, attempt to establish informal discussion groups. Many Stalinists have been shaken to the very foundations of their political beliefs about the Russian society and are ready to discuss political questions about socialism and democracy in a more sincere and consequently more meaningful way.

12. In the past we have hesitated and generally rejected debates and symposiums with Stalinists on such broad topics as "The American Road to Socialism" or "How to Preserve Democracy in the United States" because such meetings would not get down to the meaningful difference on these questions. Today the situation has changed. Topics such as those above, can and have become the basis for a fruitful discussion of socialism and democracy with the pressure being applied on the Stalinists defense of the Russian system. The Stalinists, primarily the Gates tendency, themselves are raising these questions. We should not hesitate to participate in such meetings because now the Stalinists are open to the pressure of socialist arguments for democracy. In the past, unless the topic was on Russia itself, any criticism would be greeted by charges of "red herring" and "disruption".

13. While we seek to establish contact and encourage the Gates tendency, it does not mean that we abandon our criticism of Stalinism. The essence of our criticism of Stalinism is that you can't have socialism without democracy, that democracy is the essence of socialism, that you have to be

for democracy everywhere, not only in the U.S., but precisely where the CP is in power. We leave to Cannonites exclusive title for criticizing the Stalinists for adopting reformist policies.

14. Our bridge to the CP is our understanding of the current developments and our intention to encourage and participate in furthering it. However, this does not mean that we welcome Stalinist youth into united front activities as "comrades". What our attitude should be in any particular circumstance should be dependent upon which tendency the particular Stalinist youth group falls into. In the united front activities, where possible, we still try to raise the political criteria of opposition to totalitarianism and dictatorship everywhere. At the same time we do not have a policy of excluding Stalinist organizations from United Front activities, nor are we in favor of including these groups under all circumstances. Due to the flexibility of the current situation and the broader consequences of activity in local areas, all units, fractions and members at large must discuss with the N.O. all questions of their activity in respect to Stalinist youth organizations. While we do not believe that democratic socialists should provide a cover of respectability for the Stalinists under which they can resolve their differences in peace and quiet, on the other hand, we reject the sectarian attitude of those who refuse to have anything to do with the Stalinists until and only until they have made the complete evolution toward democratic socialism.

##

On Civil Rights

(Resolution of the NAC submitted for discussion and vote at the NEC. Passed unanimously by the NAC.)

I. The Recent Period

(1) The two and a half years since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, have seen an unprecedented sharpening of the struggle for Civil Rights. And this had had ramifications in every area of American society.

(2) The most marked change has taken place among the Negroes themselves. A mood of militancy has swept over the urban Negroes. In the South, this has resulted in the creation of mass movements, such as those in Montgomery and Tallahassee, with a new leadership and new tactics. The old emphasis on the court-room, put forth by the middle-class leadership of the NAACP, has been challenged by the rise of new methods of struggle in the areas of the greatest conflict. The urban Negro masses have become conscious and active in their own cause. At the same time, rural Negroes in the deep South have not been effected in the same way. In a section like the Delta Country of Mississippi, the NAACP has lost ground, been driven underground, and the White Citizens Councils have been able to persuade and/or coerce a significant number of Negroes to take a passive attitude. However, even this fact must be placed in context, for the last decade, and especially the last two years, has seen a considerable Negro emigration from the rural South. In part, this is due to racist terror (after the Till murder, 65% of the Negroes in one Mississippi county left), in part it is a consequence of the mechanization of Southern agriculture and the possibilities of industrial jobs in the cities.

(3) We cannot go into these developments in detail. What must be stressed is the tremendously significant over-all fact: the emergence of a Civil Rights consciousness to a degree hitherto unknown among the Negro masses.

(4) The American labor movement remains the chief ally of the Negroes in their struggle, but the sharpening of the conflict has had its effect in this area of society as well. One section of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy (Auto, Textile, Oil) is committed to a policy of support for integration. But there is a strong conservative element in the labor movement, fearful of the pressures of the old-line craft unionists in the South, and intimidated by the possibility of racist secession. In various places in the South itself, it is necessary to speak of a retrogression in Civil Rights during the past two years in the workingclass movement. In Chattanooga, the rank and file repudiated an integrationist line; in some UAW locals, lilly-white factions have arisen; and in at least one case, the Oil Workers International was forced to take legal action against one of its own locals.

(5) Nevertheless, the coalition of Negroes and labor remains in tact. The largest and most powerful institutions in our society

committed to integration remain those of the American workingclass. And, as the inevitable organization of the South takes place, this unity offers the main basis for the progressive solution of the present struggle.

(6) Racism itself has been effected by the events of the past two and a half years. The White Citizens Councils have developed throughout the South. In some areas, they constitute extreme right-wing groupings, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-labor as well as anti-Negro; in other places, they are more organized on a minimal program of preserving segregation. In a few sections of the South, the moderate racists have even taken an attitude toward the struggle which is heavily based upon a conception of "respect for law." In Clinton, this kind of a grouping even gave passive support to integration because of this attitude.

(7) Politically, the events of the past period in Civil Rights have been explosive. Stevenson and the Democrats attempted to temporize with the issue (as indeed they must as long as the Democratic Party remains a coalition of extreme racists and anti-racists) and they were repudiated by masses of Negroes. Indeed, the farther South one goes, the more significant the defection. In a militant Negro community like that of Montgomery, an overwhelming majority cast their vote for Eisenhower and against Stevenson. The Negro shift was not so great, but quite significant, in the North. In New York, it may well have cost the Democrats heavily in their senatorial campaign.

(8) Thus, in a brief and summary form, some of the highlights of the momentous developments since May, 1954: among the Negroes, a tremendous intensification of consciousness, the emergence of a mass movement; in the labor movement, a continuation of the Negro-workingclass alliance, with sharp differences of position within the AFL-CIO; among the racists, the growth of the White Citizens Councils; and politically, an explosive situation which will dog the Democratic Party throughout the next four years.

(9) It is clear that the conflict over Civil Rights will become even more intense in the days to come. We, of course, take our side with the militant wing of the Negro-labor alliance, and see in independent political action on its part the next tremendous step forward.

II. The Civil Rights Organizations

(10) Almost all of the organizations fighting for Civil Rights are in a state of flux as a result of recent events.

(11) The NAACP. The developments of the past two and a half years have had a considerable effect on the NAACP. Thousands have moved into this organization. In various areas of the South, it has become an instrument of mass struggle. And yet, the bureaucracy is still in the hands of the older leadership, court-oriented, hostile or neutral to Montgomery-type direct action. This situation is

further complicated by the fact that the NAACP is extremely bureaucratic in structure in many areas, that many of its local branches do not provide for free discussion and debate. Still the NAACP must be recognized as the prime focus of the struggle at the present time, and we must seek to aid in its transformation into an organization more directly expressing the consciousness of its membership.

12.) CORE. "CORE" was founded by radicals and pacifists as a group which would use direct action for Civil Rights. In many instances successful campaigns were carried out, e.g., Palisades Park in Jersey, the Walgreen Drugstores in St. Louis. However, at the present time CORE has ceased to be a national organization. Wherever groups are functioning locally, they should, of course, be contacted, but our main emphasis remains upon the NAACP.

13.) The Urban League. The Urban League is a middle-class organization primarily concerned with the problem of discrimination in employment. In some areas, it is so respectable that it has been taken into the Community Chest. Recently, however, it has been going through a crisis brought about by the Supreme Court decision. With the sharpening of the struggle, it has become more and more impossible for the Urban League to maintain itself on the old basis. In general, this organization provides no arena for socialist activity.

14.) The Randolph group. This is an informal group, centering around A. Phillip Randolph in New York. It is labor oriented, even social-democratic, and has been active in some of the most militant campaigns of the Negro fight, e.g., the March on Washington, the post-war battle for integration of the armed forces. It was the Randolph group which played the leading role in the Madison Square Garden rally last Spring. However, two important factors are currently at work; the disappearance of the Pullmans is depriving Randolph of his labor base and he has not developed an alternative source of strength; Randolph himself may well have been somewhat conservatized by his election to the Executive of the AFL-CIO. Still, this grouping represents the most militant wing of the Negro labor alliance and is, of course, of great importance to socialists.

15.) The religious groups. Various church organizations have been organized to fight for Civil Rights. Some of them - Friendship House, the AFSC, the Catholic Committee of the South - have taken a clear and unambiguous stand and include radicals among their number. In many cases, socialists can fruitfully cooperate with these religious organizations on specific issues.

17.) NAACP Youth Councils and Campus Clubs. This should be taken up apart from the NAACP itself. In the one area where we have had experience with an NAACP Youth Council (New York), it has proved to be a relatively inefficient and inactive coordinating body for local NAACP youth groups. Nevertheless, we should work with NAACP Youth Councils wherever they exist, and try to make them into more effective bodies, and, in particular, into more effective inter-racial bodies. The Campus NAACP's vary widely in strength and effectiveness. Here we should be concerned with developing NAACP's on every campus where we exist, to work in already organized groups. We should try to make these active and inter-racial organizations, with a particular emphasis on the latter.

III. General Orientation.

18.) The most important fact about our general orientation is this: that we are isolated from the Negro movement. Our first task, then, is to establish real contact. To do this, we must look toward a period of hard Jimmy-Higgins work, quite possibly showing little or no organizational gains. We must make it clear that we are not for Civil Rights as an "alien" organization, bent only on recruiting and implementing ~~it~~ a line. We must win the respect and cooperation of militant Negroes.

19.) In this situation, our main job will be to work hard in the immediate struggle. Politically, our attitude is, of course, to push for independent political action on the part of the Negro-labor coalition, i.e., for a labor party. We must, however, make clear that we regard the immediate struggles as important in and of themselves, that we do not think of the race question as simply a subordinate element of the social question.

20.) Inside the movement, our natural allies will be among the labor and pacifist elements. The latter have a particular importance since Montgomery, and some of the very best of the Negro militants are moving in a Gandhian direction. And we can, of course, wholeheartedly endorse the tactical application of non-violence, even while maintaining the socialist criticism of Gandhi-ism as an overall philosophy of social change.

21.) The role of the Stalinists in the Civil Rights movement depends, to a great extent, upon the resolution of the present crisis in the CP. But if the CPers do manage to weather the storm, it will probably allow them to play an effective role because of their abandonment of the dual institutions and ultra-left slogans. While vigorously attacking the Stalinists on the basis of the issues as they arise, we must not allow ourselves to join in the red-baiting which the NAACP leadership sometimes uses. To the bureaucracy, a Stalinist and a radical are pretty much the same thing.

22.) In conclusion, our task is to immerse ourselves in the Civil Rights movement as loyal and whole-hearted participants. We cannot be thinking primarily in terms of recruitment or political leadership, because that is impossible at this time. We are now faced with one main problem: to gain a real place in the ~~strug~~ struggle through active, hard work.

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DEFEATED AMMENDMENTS

AMENDMENTS OFFERED TO RESOLUTION ON "SOCIALIST REALIGNMENT AND UNITY;"
which were defeated by the YSL NEC Plenum of Jan. 26-27, 1957

Amendment presented by Comrades Bogdan and George to replace Section 15 of the finally adopted resolution.

The basic differences that exist between the SP and our tendency result from our different analysis of the American social system and state. The majority of the SP and particularly those who are its major public spokesmen hold that class conflict in America, to the extent that it has ever existed, is so ameliorated as to be a minor question. They hold that the state defends the society as a whole rather than the narrow interests of one particular class. Thus they consider themselves responsible critics of the state Department abroad and thus Justice Department at home. Thus they defend aspects of the witchhunt against the Communists--e.g. denial of the right of Stalinists to teach; as well as defending the general political and economic interests of American capitalism abroad--e.g., the Marshall Plan and NATO. Therefore many of them generalize this view to deny the need for a class party of the working people, i.e. a Labor Party, and think in terms of a classless "people's party."

Our differences with these views are basic. We would therefore be opposed to unity if the purpose were to build a homogeneous, highly programmatic party, but rather, we counterpose a broad Debaian inclusive party which would permit full right to express differing viewpoints within and without the Party.

Amendment presented by Comrade Marty of Philadelphia to replace Section 16 of the finally adopted resolution.

We realize that such a regroupment would indicate on the part of the SP-SDF that deep changes had occurred in its attitude towards us and towards the American scene as a whole. Until such a change does take place, and we hope to help in developing it, we regard this discussion in a sense as academic, at least in its beginning stage. This change of attitude will take time. The SP-SDF will not then be what it is today; we too shall have changed in that period.

AMENDMENTS OFFERED TO RESOLUTION ON "DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY," which were defeated by the YSL NEC Plenum of Jan 26-27, 1957

Both these amendments deal with the question of "united front" activity in cooperation with the CP or CP-oriented groups.

Amendment presented by Comrade Shane to replace all of Section 14.

We seek to achieve the closest possible relationship with youth affiliated to the CP. This should be done by carrying out united front activities wherever sufficient agreement exists on a specific issue, such as the Negro struggle or civil liberties; by forming with CP youth discussion clubs and forums of a permanent nature wherever possible, and by establishing the best personal relationships with them through attendance of our members at their meetings and social functions, and inviting their members to ours.

Amendment presented by Comrades George and Bogdan to replace all but the last sentence of Section 14.

(a) Our policy will be to continue the isolation of the CP youth organizations from progressive student and youth groups. (b) In local situations we may attempt to initiate joint activities organized around protests against Stalinist repression, e.g. the defense of the Hungarian working-class, with dissident Communist youth or "stalinoids" as a means of widening the gap between these groups and the official Communist movement. (c) However, the Young Socialist League is opposed to engaging in co-operative activities of a general socialist and democratic nature, e.g. activities on civil rights and civil liberties, jointly sponsored discussions on "problems of American socialism," with Stalinist youth groups. Exceptions to this may only be made by the N.A.C. No steps initiating such activities may occur without prior approval of the N.A.C. (d) Debates and symposiums where we are able to discuss the issues over which the Young Socialist League opposes the Communist movement, e.g. opposition to the Russian ruling class and state, the relationship between the CP and LYL's subservience to the Russian bureaucracy and the nature of its political line are encouraged. In such debates and symposiums it must be made clear that the sponsoring organizations are counterposing their viewpoints.

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III

DEFEATED RESOLUTIONS

RESOLUTION ON THE UNITY QUESTION (by Shane Mage)

For the first time in decades the regroupment and unification of the dispersed groups of the American left has become the subject of serious discussion among socialists. This corresponds to a pressing need of the American socialist movement and to a radical change in the objective situation confronting socialists in a world scale.

The need for regroupment of the American left has been evident for a long time. True, until economic and social changes sufficient to bring about the general radicalization of the American working class have occurred, no organizational move can lead to establishment of a mass party of socialism in the U.S., nor will American socialists be able to break out of their present isolated propaganda-group existence.

Nevertheless, within the limits of the present social and economic conditions of the U.S., the perennial disunity and fragmentation of the Left exerts a very harmful influence. This disunity seriously hampers socialist propaganda and virtually precludes any serious socialist agitation. It also is an obstacle to a future breakthrough of American socialism for its present isolation.

Unfortunately as the consequences of socialist disunity have been, the fragmentation of the past period has been absolutely necessary. At the time of the first imperialist war the world working-class movement was torn asunder by the split between reformism, opportunism, centrism, social-patriotism and all varieties of class collaborationism, on the one hand, and revolutionary Marxism on the other. Since that time this split has only deepened, despite (or rather, because of) the epochal defeats suffered by the international working-class, and therefore by revolutionary socialism. The YSL continues to believe that only the political victory of revolutionary socialism over social democracy can establish the necessary precondition for successful proletarian revolution.

Superimposed upon this fundamental division has been the influence of Stalinism, the counter-revolutionary product of the degeneration of the Russian revolution. The influence of Stalinism and Stalinist ideology has crippled and paralyzed the best, most revolutionary sections of the working class, and has contributed in no small measure to the preservation of capitalism and social-democracy.

The great, fundamental change in the objective conditions of today is the disintegration of Stalinism. The international working class is now well advanced toward throwing off the Stalinist incubus; through the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Eastern Europe and the collapse of its political instruments, the CPS of the Western World. Stalinist ideology has, in the course of the last year, been reduced to a shambles and is rapidly losing its grip over elements, both intellectual and proletarian, hitherto held firmly in line. In America it is the crisis of Stalinism; the disorientation of the "Stalinoid" groups (Sweezyites, "Progressives", Cochranites) and the emergence of CP elements moving in the direction of authentic revolutionary-democratic socialism, that provides the context for socialist regroupment.

In proposing socialist regroupment we are not proposing that other groups accept our entire program as the basis for unity. We do not propose a magic formula which will enable American socialism to break out of its isolation nor do we promise fantastic gains for a united left-socialist movement. Still less do we propose a vague, all inclusive group which would give social-democratic agents of the U.S. State Department or apologists for the Kremlin equal status with genuine socialists. What we propose is a form of regroupment which would unite American left-socialists, whatever their differences on many theoretical and political issues, around the basic principles of revolutionary socialism: class struggle, democracy, internationalism.

Spelled out concretely, we propose regroupment of American socialists in a new united organization on the following political basis:

1. Clear and unequivocal defense of democratic liberties of all and a no less unequivocally democratic conception of socialism.
2. A clear break with the Stalinist bureaucracy, calling for the replacement of its rule by democratic socialism and siding with the Polish and Hungarian workers in their freedom struggles.
3. A resolute policy of independent working class political action in the U.S., calling for formation of a Labor Party and opposing the capitalist parties on a principled class basis.
4. Opposition to the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism and support to all colonial revolutionary movements (without prejudging the question, which can be decided by majority vote of the new movement, of whether Stalinist-led movements should be considered part of the colonial revolution.)

In its internal life a united American left-socialist movement would seek to encourage the fullest and freest discussion of all practical and theoretical problems of the international workers movement - but it would not be afraid to take its own position on these problems. It would not make a fetish of "discipline" and it would be helped in this by the healthy revulsion of its ex-Stalinist militants against the Stalinist perversion of "democratic centralism" -- but it would recognize that its activities in mass organizations need to develop in a disciplined fashion, not only because united action is the only way to implement an agreed policy effectively, but, equally important, because only if leaders are subject to control of a "rank and file" majority, can the emergency within the party of a stratum of privilege bureaucrats be prevented.

In conclusion: The YSL has no illusions as to the likelihood of a quick, broad and sweeping socialist unification, but it makes these proposals with the utmost seriousness. We declare our willingness to undertake negotiations for unification at any time with any group of socialist youth on the basis of the political principles set forth in this resolution. We urge the various "adult" left-socialist groups to unite on this basis, and we seek to intervene for this objective in all public discussions and forums on the subject of socialist regroupment. SHANE MAGE

On the American Socialist Party
Shane Mage

The Socialist Party has merged with the Social-Democratic Federation at a convention held January 19-20. The political character of the new organization is indicated by Thomas' statement that no political differences exist between the unifying groups.

The SDA has virtually since its inception been a loyal supporter of US imperialism and the Democratic Party. That Thomas is right and that the merged organization will clearly have the politics of the SDF, is shown by the joint SP-SDF "Memorandum of Understanding" which praised the Marshall Plan and endorsed its members supporting Democratic (and Republican!) party candidates. The politics of this organization can be defined as "State-Department Socialism" and "Democratic Party Socialism."

The political role of the merged SP-SDF is that of socialist cover for U.S. imperialism and "liberal" big business. The YSL has nothing in common with the "Socialism" of the State Dept. and the Democratic Party.

We consider the influence of the SP-SDF within the labor movement to be reactionary and seek to combat it politically.

We call on all left-wingers in the SP who refuse to go along with State Dept. Socialism to leave the SDF-SP and join a genuine socialist organization, the YSL.

At the NAC of January 22, 1957, the above motion was defeated

TW For, all else Against

Motion on the Recent Political Course of the Y.S.L.

Submitted to the NEC Plenum by Shane Mage and Tim Wohlforth

The NEC takes note of the following political acts undertaken by leading bodies and organs of our movement and of the fraternally related ISL.

1. We note the support offered the SP by both the YSL and ISL in the last election as against all other socialist candidates. We note that this support was offered with no criticism of the SP's political line during the election. Labor Action in its electoral statement and Max Shachtman in his Liberation article mentioned the existence of "differences" between the two tendencies—but he did not mention the nature of these differences. No criticism was offered of the support given to American imperialism by Hoopes and Friedman during the election. We consider this to be in violation with the position adopted by the last meeting of the NEC, which, while supporting the SP, attempted to exclude support of the SP's politics.
2. We further note that ever since the de facto adopyion of a policy in favor of unity with the SP, no criticism has been made wither in Labor Action or the Young Socialist Challenge of the pro-imperialist policies of the American representative of the social democracy, the SP-SDF. The SP's action in support of "internationalization" of the Suez Canal--i.e. turning it over to American capitalism--plus statements in the December Call in support of UN intervention into Hungary--i.e. turning the Hungarian workers over to American capitalism--offered ample opportunity for such criticism. In addition the recent merger of the SP with the SDF on a program of State Department socialism also demanded a principled, critical attack from revolutionary Marxists.
3. Max Shachtman--head of the fraternally related ISL--appeared before the radical public in NYC at the recent forum on regroupment and refused to mention a single criticism of the pro-imperialist policies of the SP-SDF. This act was defended by the majority of the YSL NAC.
4. The New York YSL Executive committee recently passed a motion to begin sales of the Call on a regular basis on the literature tables of the YSL during all our functions. We note that the policies of the Call are contrary to those of the YSL and are precisely the politics which we find it necessary to break many of our contacts away from.
5. The New York YSL executive committee and Labor Action are supporting the meeting sponsored by the SP-SDF and LID at which Anna Kethly spoke. We further note that according to the December Call Miss Kethly, upon being recognized by the UN as a delegate from Hungary, will "call for a United Nations Emergency Force to be dispatched to Hungary." We consider such a force to be the arm of American imperialism and dedicate ourselves to protect the Hungarian revolution from both Stalinist counter-revolution and American imperialism.
6. We observe that because of the general orientation towards unity with the SP on the basis of the SP right wing's politics and because of the lack of any effort by the leadership, our membership is not being educated about the nature of Social Democracy. This lack of revolutionary Marxist

education is so deplorably evident that a member of the NAC who supports unity recently remarked that an invasion from the right could sweep away many of our members and that some members are proposing entrance into the SP now as individuals.

Taking into account the above trend which when looked at in its entirety spells out support for the defenders of American imperialism within the socialist movement, we wish to make known our basic disagreement with the approach of these bodies and organs of our movement. We call for a reversal of this right wing opportunist course. This entire course is in violation of the fundamental principles upon which our movement was created--revolutionary socialist opposition to capitalism and Stalinism.

We of the NEV remind the comrades that opposition to capitalism and its agents is no whit less important than opposition to Stalinism and its agents. We call for a return to this basic conception. We call for a struggle to maintain the YSL as a revolutionary Marxist youth organization.

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Resolution: On the Crisis in the Stalinist
Movement

Shane Mage

The events of the past year; the "Kruschev revelations" of the real character of Stalin's rule, the Polish and Hungarian revolutions, and the openly counter-revolutionary role of the Russian army in Hungary, have profoundly shaken the international Stalinist movement in general and the American CP in particular. The crisis in the American CP has taken the form of an open factional struggle in the course of which many of the basic aspects of Stalinist ideology have been called into question.

The initiator of this struggle has been a group centering around the staff of the Daily Worker and led by DW editor John Gates. This tendency has broken with Stalinism most sharply over the Hungarian revolution - although hesitantly and unclearly, it has opposed the counter-revolutionary policy of the Russian Stalinists. It has also attacked many of the past organizational practices of American Stalinism, particularly its totalitarian monolithism and its arrogation to itself of the "leading role" among socialist groups.

Opposed to this action is an orthodox-Stalinist group led by Foster. There are also many elements seeking to reach a compromise between these two groups in order to preserve the party.

Among these groups the attention of revolutionary socialists should center on the Gates tendency. On all points which oppose it to Foster, its position is relatively to the left: less opposed to the workers struggles in Hungary and Poland, less subservient to the dictates of the Kremlin, more appreciative of the need for internal democracy as the basis for socialist organization. For this reason it has provided a center of attraction to those groups in the CP who, in the process of breaking with Stalinism, are seeking to find a way to genuine Communism.

Under the pressure of the workers revolution in East Europe and the disintegration of Stalinist ideology, Gates and his associates have moved substantially to the left of their rigid Stalinist politics. However, they have yet to break with much of Stalinist politics. They continue to regard Russia as a socialist state, to attempt to apologize for Stalinist actions, to repeat Stalinist slanders against the Hungarian workers, to solidarize themselves politically with other Stalinist parties. Equally important, they have made no move to break with the class-collaborationist, reformist, and co-existence aspects of Stalinist politics. In the recent election campaign the Daily Worker supported Stevenson openly and vigorously. The Gates people rejected the perspective of a labor party and proposed instead a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" which would include sections of the capitalist class. New Deal type class-collaboration is similarly the real content of Gates proposed "American path to socialism", which is strictly parliamentary and reformist in form. The Gates group continues to support the Kremlin foreign policy of co-existence deals with Western imperialism, and slanders revolutionary socialist opponents of co-existence as "McCarthyite."

The Gates group, being vulnerable for these reasons, Foster has raised the slogan of "Marxism-Leninism" in purely demagogic fashion. In fact, Foster is even less of a "Marxist-Leninist" than Gates, for Gates has at least taken the first steps toward Leninism

by starting to break with the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy, while Foster remains a servile tool of the Kremlin. On those issues where Gates position is absolutely incompatible with Marxism-Leninism - support to the Democratic Party, American road to Socialism, co-existence, Foster has no disagreements with Gates, for these are cardinal points of Stalinist politics.

Our task in connection with the American CP can be summed up thus: to push the left wing of the CP to a complete break with Stalinism, and to win over to revolutionary socialism as large a section of this group as possible.

To accomplish this the activity of the YSL should be guided by these four policies:

(1) We intervene in the CP crisis as actively as possible by giving critical support to the Gates tendency. While hoping for its victory over Foster and striving to help it in this, we counterpose class-struggle policies to its class-collaborationist positions, and call for it to break clearly and decisively with the Russian Stalinists and international Stalinism.

(2) We seek to carry on public discussion with the CP on the widest possible scale. We try to organize debates and forums together with the CP and other "left" groupings on every topic on which the revolutionary socialist position clashes with the Stalinist line.

(3) We seek to achieve the closest possible relationship with youth affiliated to the CP. This should be done by carrying out united front activities wherever sufficient agreement exists on a specific issue, such as the Negro struggle or civil liberties; by forming with CP youth discussion clubs and forums of a permanent nature wherever this is possible; and by establishing the best possible personal relationships with them through attendance of our members at their meetings and social functions, and inviting their members to ours.

(4) We are for inclusion of those groups now in the CP who are moving toward revolutionary socialist positions in the general American socialist regroupment the YSL advocates.

At the NAC of January 22, 1957, the above resolution was defeated. The vote was:

on paragraph 3 above alone: For: TW
V: all else

on the document as a whole: For: None
V: all else but
TW Abstaining