

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Vol. 1, No. 4

Oct. 26, 1964

10 Cents

MAY 11 1964



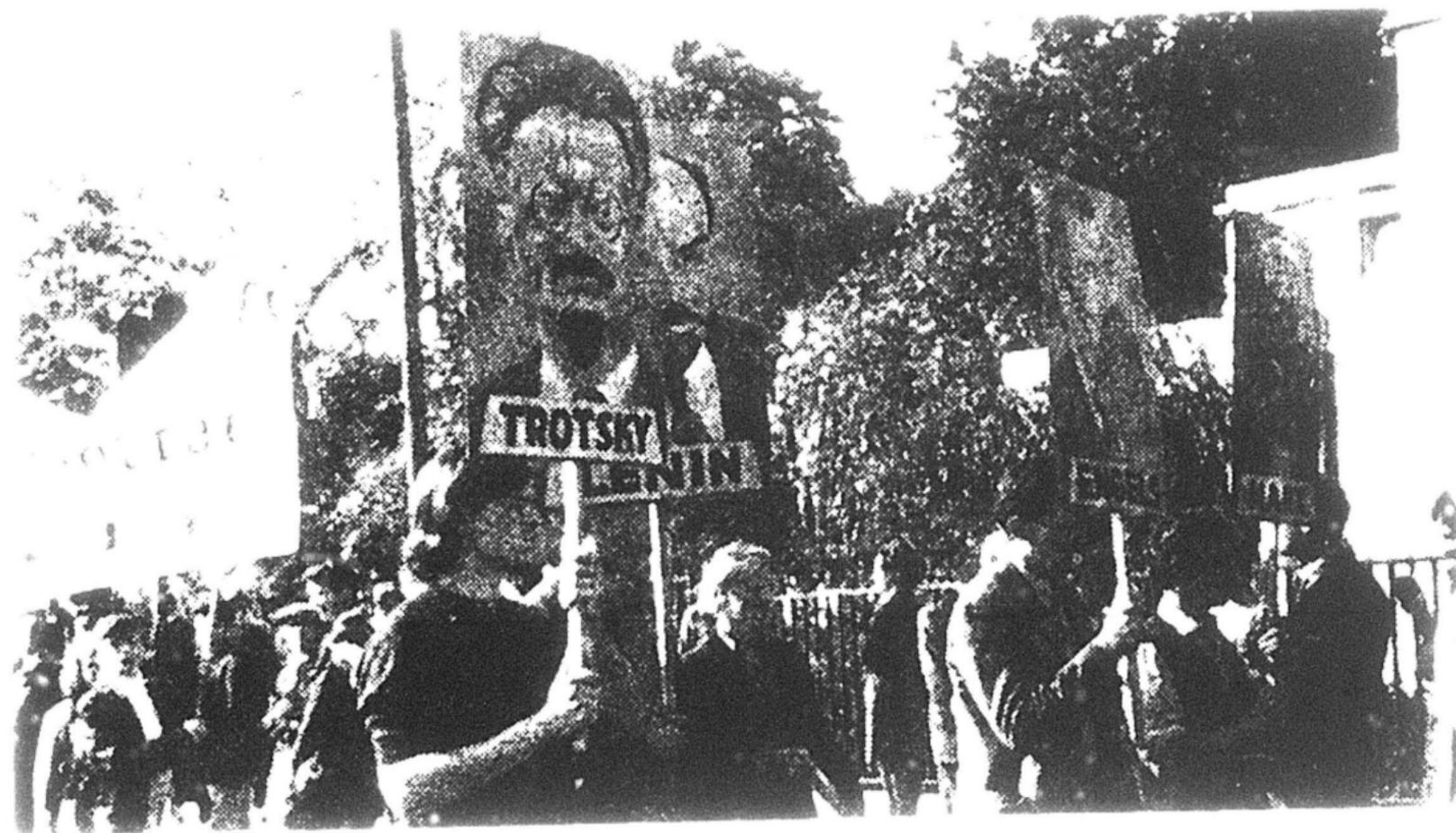
UNDER THE BANNER OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND TROTSKY

3000 Young Socialists March in Great Britain

Against the Tories and Toryism in the Labour Party

On September 27 3000 members of the Young Socialists, the youth affiliate of the British Labour Party, marched through London to protest against the Tories and against the right wing of the Labour Party which has been conducting the election campaign by aping Tory policies. Over 4000 gathered in Trafalgar Square to hear Dave Ashby, chairman of the National Committee of Young Socialists and recently expelled by the Labour Party bureaucrats.

The March to Trafalgar Square was led by the majority members of the National Committee of the YS. Following them were four young socialists proudly carrying portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, symbolizing the revolutionary traditions the young workers in Great Britain are now carrying forward. The marchers included contingents of young apprentices from various factories which are



household words in Manchester, the Midlands, Belfast and Scotland. Marching along with the apprentices were young students, members of the Young Communist League and contingents from Young Socialist branches all over Great Britain: from Scotland, from Wales, from North Ireland and from throughout England.

Speaking to the crowd of 4000, National Chairman Dave Ashby said: "The working class is sick of Toryism. That is why we have organized this rally." Because there was no lead from Wilson and the rest of the Labour Party right wing, he stated that the Young Socialists had the responsibility to build an alternative leadership so they could go to the working class and tell them the truth about automation, NATO, etc. "What is involved here is the future of socialism in Britain," he concluded. Other speakers at the rally including Sheila Torrance, YS vice chairman and also recently expelled from the Labour Party, Bill Dow, a prospective Labour Party candidate, and a number of young socialist leaders from around the country.

The center elements in the YS led by the revisionist Pabloites (supported in this country by the Socialist Workers Party) in league with the state capitalists refused as usual to support this demonstration and held a counter meeting which drew only 200. These sick centrists have supported the right wing against the left wing on every critical occasion over the past few years. The young workers in Britain, however, have rallied to the Young Socialist majority leadership which is seeking to carry out the policies of the Keep Left newspaper, and which is supported by the Socialist Labour League in England, alone of all radical formations.

The following is a background article on the Young Socialists written by a young American who recently spent a year in England.

* * *

While the Parliamentary Labour Party in Britain claims to represent the working class, there are certain sections of the class which the Party bureaucracy chooses to address by a different name. One of these sections is working class youth, which members of the bureaucracy have variously described as "rabble," "filth from the gutter" and "lumpen proletariat."

Observers do not have to wonder long why this is so. It is clear that this kind of vicious slander against working class youth sums up the Labour Party's role in British politics. The function of the Labour Party is to subdue the working class so that it will effectively meet the needs of its capitalist bosses. It does this by confusing the workers, pretending to be on their side and to operate in their interests, using their slogans, and

tricking them into following the leadership of a party which in reality fights for the interests of the bosses.

The Labour Party has its own youth group, called the Young Socialists. This group has been repeatedly set up and dissolved ever since the 1930's. Each time, the youth have managed to see through the Labour Party and refused to give in to the demands of the bosses. Each time the Labour Party has been forced to disband it. But the last time it was re-formed (late 1950s) the group was given leadership and guidance that has given it the strength to fight back against the bureaucrats.

This new Leadership is composed primarily of supporters of Keep Left. This printed monthly newspaper has been published for over seven years and is read throughout the country by 10,000 Young Socialists. The only group in England to give its wholehearted support to Keep Left and the Young Socialists is the Socialist Labour League. Because of the efforts of Keep Left and the Socialist Labour League, thousands of young workers have come to realize that socialism can only be realized in England by conducting a complete and uncompromising struggle against the agents of the capitalist class inside the Labour Party--the right wing leadership and those center formations like the Pabloites and state capitalists who support the right wing in the final analysis.

Nothing to Lose

The Young Socialists is composed of that section of the working class which in truth has "nothing to lose but its chains" in the struggle ahead. It is made up of school leavers who are still unemployed, apprentices who remain tied to their bosses for as long as seven years at a time, making less than half the amount of money one man can live on in Britain today. It is made up of young semi-skilled workers who see nothing ahead in their whole lives but long hours and hard work for low pay, and always the danger of being replaced by a machine which should benefit them through its efficiency, providing shorter working hours, but instead throws them out on the street.

In vain the workers have tried through their trade unions to fight back against the advance of automation, but even in the cases where the unions have tried to operate in the interests of the workers, the struggle to avert the danger of automation in capitalist Britain has failed. A good example is the Denby Dye Works in Yorkshire. Here a strike has continued for 10 long months, in which the workers have tried to stop the bosses from installing a machine which would put most of them out of work. While they were out on strike the machine was installed, and while they circle the factory on their picket lines, the bosses' profits have gone up 70%.

Only the Socialist Labour League and Keep Left has recognized that the workers' very lives depend on their ability to see that they cannot stop the process of modernization in capitalist Britain. Unless British industry automates, it will be left behind on the imperialist world market. The bosses recognize this, and if a choice is to be made between the worker's livelihood and the boss's profits, we all know which alternative the boss will choose. The Socialist Labour League and Keep Left have proved to young workers all over Britain that the only way they can save themselves from becoming refuse on the boss's rubbish heap is to socialize the means of production, and make it our automation and not theirs. If we own the machines, we will make them work for us, the goods they produce will be ours, the profits they make will pay us the full value of our labour, and their greater efficiency will bring us shorter hours.

Young workers in Britain are learning that the Socialist Labour League and Keep Left are right. They are continuing, through the Young Socialists, to call for truly socialist policies in the Labour Party, and with the increasing viciousness of the right wing backlash, more and more workers are coming to realize which side the Labour Party is really on.

The Witchhunt Does Not Stop Us

The National Chairman of the Young Socialists is Dave Ashby. Recently he was expelled from the Labour Party and his Young Socialist branch was disbanded, as many others have been when the adult Labour Party realized they were ready to fight for socialism. But a curious thing happened. Ashby's branch in Leeds, England went right on functioning under Keep Left leadership. So have the disbanded branches in London. The same is true all over Great Britain; the Labour Party disbands branches of its own youth organization, the Young Socialists, only to find that they pay no attention. They go right on recruiting new members, printing their paper, Keep Left, attending national conferences, and instructing more people about the need to struggle for socialism! Dave Ashby leads just as many factory gate meetings as he ever did, and the organization mobilized around him has become stronger in the fight against the Labour Party's right wing.

Critics from the outside have said that the League intends to "split" the Labour Party's forces just before the General Election and make it easier for the Conservatives to win. They say that the main task of all "progressive" forces in Britain is to prevent the Conservatives from being elected. But the British working class is now learning that there is no difference between electing Tories or a Labour Government with Tory policies. The League, together with the Young Socialists, is out to prove that the Labour Party is not really socialist, is not a genuine working class party.

Will this realization make the majority of the British people--who are working class--vote for the Tories, who never even pretended to be a working class party? The Socialist Labour League's campaign will not stop people voting for the Labour Party. The true friends of the Labour Party bureaucracy do not object to its non-socialist policies and will vote for it anyway. The people who listen to the League's advice will vote for the Labour Party as well, to bring it to power and expose it all the more!

Enemies of the League and the YS who are in the Labour Party's right wing circulated a forged letter, supposedly signed by Dave Ashby and some of his comrades in London, calling for a third party to be set up in Britain to split the working class vote and give the election to the Tories. This isn't true. The only party which could ever effect such a sabotage is the Communist Party of Great Britain. It is a parliamentary party; the Socialist Labour League is not. The League is fully aware that Parliament is a device, part of the state machine which is set up in the interests of the bosses. Through its channels, socialism will never come. But the enemies of the Socialist Labour League who have circulated this false document are no longer the real leaders of the British working class, and the League has used their forged letter as a weapon against them.

The Tasks of the Socialist Labour League

The Election draws nearer, and the Labour Party has prepared the working class to the best of its ability, to accept both the advance of automation and a drastic wage freeze which will prop up Britain on the capitalist world market. Only these measures will save capitalist Britain. If they fail, then the capitalist system in that country is doomed. If the working class is ready to meet the approaching opportunity, the capitalist system in Britain will be replaced by socialism in the years to come.

FRENCH, ITALIAN CPS SEEK 'INDEPENDENCE' FROM MOSCOW

But Is This Only Because They Are More

Dependent on Capitalists?

The French Communist Party has just issued a statement asserting its independence from control by the USSR. It states that henceforth its policies will be framed in accordance with the needs of the party and the situation in France. This strong "declaration of independence" comes only a short while after the publication of Togliatti's "Testament" by the Italian party along similar lines.

Both the Togliatti statement and the current French statement clearly endorse Khrushchev on all questions in his dispute with the Chinese and seem, if anything to go beyond Khrushchev. Clearly a new tendency within the international Stalinist movement is emerging which stands if anything to the right of Khrushchev on all international matters but which at the same time is opposed to any attempt by Khrushchev to assert any control over the world forces of Stalinism. The meaning of this new tendency is extremely important for revolutionaries to understand for it has deep implications both for the future evolution of the working class in countries with large Stalinist parties and for what it shows of the nature of Stalinism itself.

Both the French and Italian parties are immense organizations with control of important trade unions and are in themselves sizable bureaucratic political machines. For years these parties have carried out a policy of adaptation to the capitalists in their own countries at the urging of the Kremlin. The Italians, for instance, supported the Italian capitalists on entrance into the Common Market, currently support the capitalist coalition government with the Nenni socialists and is seeking itself to enter a capitalist government. The role of the Stalinists in France has been similar. During the Algerian War the Stalinists softpedaled opposition to the war so as to avoid a head on conflict with the capitalist government.

However, both parties have traditionally been tied to the bureaucracy in the USSR. At times, when the interests of the bureaucracy demanded it, they have even come into direct conflict with their own capitalists. True, such occurrences have been rare and are getting rarer as time passes on but it was these ties with the USSR, which remains a worker's state despite its present bureaucratic leadership, which distinguished these parties from the large social democratic parties in the rest of Europe.

Today, with the growing disintegration of the Soviet Camp these parties are beginning to pull away from their dependence on the USSR precisely in order to become more dependent on their own capitalists. Such a tendency cannot be welcomed by revolutionaries. Revolutionaries must support every effort of working class parties to break from the Kremlin in order to carry through a class struggle course but at the same time warn the workers when Stalinists break to the right in order to seek even closer collaboration with the class enemy.

The Renegades Are Routed

Not so long ago some renegades from the Trotskyist movement saw in Stalinism the "embryo" of a new bureaucratic ruling class. Most wellknown of these was Max Shachtman but Tony Cliff in England and the Socialism Ou Barbarie group in France represent a similar tendency. Other

renegades--the Pabloites with which the SWP in this country collaborates--saw Stalinism as being propelled to take a revolutionary course. No longer could Stalinism lead back to capitalist restoration in the Soviet Countries. Stalinism could only lead forward--though haltingly--to the overturn of capitalism through the formation of, perhaps deformed, workers states.

Both outlooks are now being totally repudiated by developments. The deep restorationist trend within Stalinism is now coming to the surface. The large Stalinist parties in Western Europe, rather than seeking to establish "bureaucratic rule" in their own countries, are moving deeper and deeper into the capitalist camp and in the process loosening their ties with the Soviet Countries. Within the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe capitalist restorationist trends are everywhere coming to the fore. How natural it is that Togliatti in his "Testament" should openly favor such trends by urging closer and closer collaboration with the West, an accommodation with the Church, more "freedom" not simply for working class tendencies but in particular for pro-capitalist tendencies in the Soviet countries.

Thirty years ago Trotsky warned that Stalinism played a dual role--on the one hand through Stalinism restorationist trends developed and grew and on the other hand within the USSR the bureaucracy was forced to defend, if only in a half hearted manner, the new property forms without which it would not exist. Today those massive parties schooled by Stalin move ever closer to the capitalists and increase the danger of the undermining of the property forms thrown up by October.

NEW LONGSHORE STRIKE THREATENS EASTERN PORTS

"Cooling Off Period" Isn't Likely to Cool Off Dockers

To a superficial observer the recent developments in the longshore industry leading to a strike which was immediately cut off by an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction, may seem a pretty routine affair of no special importance. It is true that the injunction cutting off the strike came so quickly that the fact of the strike itself may not have penetrated the minds of many. But behind the facade of business-as-usual which the government has erected for the 80 day period through its use of the Taft-Hartley law lies a power keg of irreconcilable class conflict. The issues of capitalist automation and threat to job security it brings are being posed very sharply in the longshore industry. Notwithstanding much "good will," notwithstanding much effort by government mediators to "compromise" the issues, the issues refuse to be compromised and the stage is set for a continuation of the strike. The "cooling off period"

cannot accomplish very much when thousands of longshoremen realize that their very jobs are at stake.

The stumbling block to a new contract remains the issue of the size of the work gangs. If the bosses had their way, the 20 man work gang would immediately be cut to 14 men. Three thousand jobs would immediately be at stake. Furthermore, as the New York Times reports, many longshoremen feel that the employers would quickly go on to cut the work gang all the way down to 5 or 6 men. This issue, involving the very livelihood of 60,000 families, 25,000 of them in the New York area, is the main "problem." Of course the problem wouldn't exist if the profits of the bosses were not involved.

Much as the union officials would have liked to play their usual role of collaboration with the employers and their government, the struggle made it just a bit too sticky for them at this point. Pressure is being exerted by the longshore rank and file. The union tops, for the present, have to talk militant, much as Reuther did when the GM strike began. The union leaders had no choice, for instance, but to reject the arbitration proposal which was eagerly supported by the industry.

The longshore strike began on the night of September 30. Although Thomas Gleason, ILA President, had ordered an "orderly walkout at midnight," longshoremen began to walk off the job at 5 PM in the afternoon. Gleason had "assured the New York Shipping Association," reported the New York Times, "that there would be no interference with ships scheduled to leave last night..." But Gleason was unable to deliver on his promise. The Times reported, "The defiance was viewed in the industry as a manifestation of some weakening of Mr. Gleason's control. There had been rumbling in the dockers' ranks at indications that the union hierarchy was ready to accept the Federal panel's proposed settlement terms."

Brother Gleason and Company can be expected to seek some face-saving device which enables them to settle with the employers before the 80 day injunction expires. Furthest from their minds is the idea of mobilizing the dockers and attempting to mobilize the strength of the entire labor movement behind the longshoremen's struggle.

The longshore struggle follows shortly after the auto contract negotiations, uneasily resolved at Chrysler and Ford, and not yet resolved at GM, notwithstanding Reuther and the President's re-election campaign. It also follows the recent flareup at the United Mineworkers Convention. Even during the height of the Johnson ballyhoo and the campaign to defeat Goldwater at all costs, the class struggle cannot be halted and the workers remain uneasy. A new period of growing industrial struggle is opening up. The significance of the longshore struggle is that it is on the issues raised in this strike that the future struggles can be expected to arise.

Bulletin | Supplement

A DISCUSSION OF

WASHINGTON'S GRAND DESIGN FOR WORLD DOMINATION

WHAT LIES BEHIND KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISM?

A Discussion of the Important Theoretical Questions Raised
By Progressive Labor's Latest International Statement*

The building of a new revolutionary movement in the United States requires more than organizational work, demonstrations, street meetings, picketing and all the determination and hard work that makes such efforts possible. Certainly such concrete struggles are a basic necessity for serious revolutionaries and the older groups like the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have no chance of playing any role in the future revolutionary developments as long as they continue to abstain from such actions. But all the revolutionary determination and militancy in the world will not bring down the capitalist government in the world's most powerful imperialist nation. To accomplish this task the working class must be guided in its struggle by a conscious understanding of reality, the reality of the world rule of capitalism and the character of the forces struggling against capitalism. This is the purpose of Marxist theory for reality cannot be changed unless it is understood. "There is no revolutionary action without revolutionary theory," Lenin once said.

We hold this is as true today as it was in 1917. Those who sneer at theory, who are uninterested in history, who castigate Marxism as dogma--such people are helping the bourgeoisie keep from the working class the one essential weapon they need to overturn capitalism. We do not care if they have been banged on the head a hundred times and jailed fifty times. Their efforts will no more bring the working class to power than did the heroic struggles of the Narodnik terrorists in early Revolutionary Russia. We agree that you

* "Washington's 'Grand Design' for World Domination," a Statement by the National Coordinating Committee of the Progressive Labor Movement. Marxist Leninist Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 2

cannot expect to build a revolutionary party without getting a few bumps on the head, but there must be something in the head that gets the bumps.

It is within this framework that we wish to seriously discuss the current statement of the Progressive Labor Movement on international questions: "Washington's 'Grand Design' For World Domination." Certainly Progressive Labor, more than any other radical group in the United States, has turned its back on abstentionism and seriously sought to intervene in the meaningful struggles of the American masses. Particularly its efforts to build a base in Harlem among the Negroes and in the Lower East Side among the Puerto Ricans has restored the faith of thousands of American socialists in the ability of revolutionists to give leadership to the masses in their concrete struggles. Today these efforts have brought forth the wrath of the capitalists who seek to crush Progressive Labor through legal actions precisely because of its efforts in behalf of the working masses.

These efforts make the theoretical development of Progressive Labor a matter of deep concern, not only to PL members, but to all socialists in the United States who are at all serious about revolutionary politics. It is in this spirit of fraternal communist theoretical interchange that we approach a discussion of Progressive Labor's theoretical positions. We know that the comrades of Progressive Labor will want from us an honest and straightforward presentation of the differences we have with them as well as what binds us together.

The strength of the Progressive Labor statement lies in its understanding of the real role of American Imperialism in the world and the role of Khrushchev and his supporters within the world Communist Parties in relation to this role of American imperialism. These are no minor questions for the very future of the working class in its struggles against capitalism all over the world -- including our own struggle in this country. Progressive Labor correctly sees the struggles in the United States as part of the worldwide struggle and not as an isolated national phenomenon. Thus they begin theoretically from an international point of view. This is the only way Marxists can begin, but it also has a danger within it -- if the international outlook is faulty, this inevitably has a deep impact on the national outlook of the formation. Thus while we will be addressing ourselves primarily to international questions, we will at the same time be discussing questions with a direct relevance to struggles in the United States.

The Tiger Has Claws and Cunning

Progressive Labor recognizes that American imperialism, despite the expansion of the Soviet camp, remains the dominant power in the world and the deadly enemy of the

working class everywhere. Much of its statement is in fact devoted to documenting the real power of American imperialism economically and militarily and the deeply reactionary role it plays everywhere. While this material is primarily aimed at Khrushchev's attempt to "prettify" American imperialism in preparation for a deal with it, it also dispenses with China's claim that the United States is a "paper tiger" even though the authors of the statement do not deal directly with this position of the Chinese. The picture that emerges from the statement is of a tiger made up of anything but paper with highly developed nuclear claws and a certain cunning as well.

We wholeheartedly agree with this assessment of United States power. It is about time socialists dispensed with the wishful-thinking view that the automatic "revolutionary processes" will take care of imperialism while they themselves keep safely out of the way of the tiger's claws by refusing to engage in real battle with the tiger. Much of the current abstentionism of older radical groups like the Socialist Workers Party is rationalized in this way. Socialists who simply sit on the sidelines "commenting" on the objective flow of events are only helping the tiger to entrench himself that much more firmly.

As we have noted the picture of the tiger which emerges from this statement is of a beast with cunning as well as claws. Not only has the United States built up a nuclear arsenal capable of overkilling the world's population several times and has further displayed its determination to use military intervention to perfect its domination in Vietnam and elsewhere, but the United States has other tactics to deal with threats which cannot be brushed off with military bludgeoning. As the statement puts it:

For the two-pronged U.S. strategy to break up and destroy the socialist camp consists of working two sides of the street. On the one hand there is the piling up of armaments and preparations for war (of all kinds) in order to achieve the desired goals by force if necessary. On the other is the use of this accumulated strength as a kind of 'carrot and nuclear blackmail' operation geared to simultaneously intimidate and seduce the socialist countries thereby creating the conditions for socialism's 'peaceful capitulation.'

Khrushchev Opens the Sluice Gates

It is within this framework that Progressive Labor sees the "peaceful coexistence" line of Khrushchev. ~~Khrushchev is seen as seeking to come to terms with imperialism precisely because he does not wish to really struggle~~

with the tiger, turns his back on the forces that fight imperialism, and relies rather on the "good wishes" of the imperialists. PL sees Khrushchev's efforts to come to terms with the imperialists as representing a dangerous opening for imperialism to undermine the Soviet Bloc countries and to encourage processes which eventually could lead to the reestablishment of capitalism there.

This is no mild charge and its meaning is immense. The present ruling stratum in the USSR and in much of Eastern Europe is seen as functioning to undermine the great social conquests of October -- the workers' state itself. Truly, then, Khrushchev must be a revisionist of the worst sort and the major threat within the working class camp to the defense of the workers' states and to the development of the world revolution. PL states:

Khrushchev's distortion of the Leninist concept of 'peaceful coexistence' to one of 'all-around US-USSR cooperation' has led straight to the inestimable folly of the Soviet leadership 'cooperating' in the isolation of the Soviet Union itself. The sluice gates are open and Washington is pouring its manifold resources into the breach in hot pursuit of its policy of severing the Eastern Democracies from the socialist camp country by country. These are to be 'peacefully' added to that 'free community of nations' within what Walter Lippman calls 'The great theme of European politics today ... the overcoming of the division of Germany and Europe.'

We are firmly in agreement with this essential outlook if not with the exact formulations. American imperialism does truly represent a dual threat to the working class through its military and economic might and its efforts to subvert and break up the workers states. The ruling stratum in the USSR and its allies in the East European workers states are seeking to cooperate with imperialism at the expense of revolutionary struggle and also at the ultimate expense of threatening the conquests of October -- conquests which are the conquests of workers throughout the world and which workers in all lands must defend with all their might. Yes, the defense of these conquests is not a simple matter of attacking the U.S. imperialists. It also requires a struggle within the working class camp against a revisionism which seeks to give in to imperialism. Such a struggle is the task of revolutionary workers themselves and must be conducted in common only with those with the utmost hostility to imperialism and with the aim of strengthening the workers states against imperialism.

It may come as a shock to some Progressive Labor members and supporters, but this is a position which has been fought for by the Trotskyist movement for some 30 years. It was the Trotskyists and only the Trotskyists who warned that the bureaucratic rulers of the USSR could not be entrusted

with the defense of the USSR. These bureaucrats both undermined the struggles of workers in other lands by urging them to support "peaceloving capitalists" and also represented within the workers states a potential source through which capitalist restorationist forces were generated. It has been our contention over this long period that the very defense of the USSR demanded an uncompromising struggle against this leadership which we call stalinist.

Khrushchevism and Stalinism

The question which Progressive Labor has yet to address itself to -- and it must do so if it is to achieve a full understanding of this great danger to the working class -- is how Khrushchevite revisionism arose? This question, which simply bangs one in the face from almost every page of this statement, requires a serious Marxist answer. Progressive Labor is claiming that the present leaders of the USSR have evolved to a position where they are caving in to imperialism and undermining the working class foundations thrown up by the greatest revolutionary event of our or any age -- the October insurrection. PL must explain in Marxist terms how this came to pass -- what is the social base of Khrushchevite revisionism?

Can we for one moment as serious Marxists hold that this is simply a matter of personalities? This is what the Chinese theory adds up to when they date the growth of revisionism in the USSR with the death of one man, Stalin, and the coming to power of another man, trained by Stalin, Khrushchev. No, we cannot accept such a position as a "theory." We are compelled to probe deeper.

We see Khrushchev's present course as nothing but an extension of the course charted by Stalin himself many, many years ago. In the 1930's Stalin also sought to come to terms with imperialism much as Khrushchev does today. First he sought an accommodation with the "democratic" imperialists -- precisely those imperialists who today dominate the world: the United States, England, and France. In all these countries the Communist Parties, under Stalin's orders, supported capitalist parties and refused to struggle for a working class revolution. In the United States the Communist Party threw its support behind FDR and the Democratic Party. Is the present policy, which PL correctly condemns, of supporting the Democrats any different from the CP's policy in the 1930's?

In 1939, after Stalin had obviously failed in stemming the tide of fascism through support to one imperialist camp rather than the working class, he suddenly came to terms with -- Hitler. Is it not a fact that Stalin signed a pact with Hitler and all over the world the Communist parties suddenly discovered that the U.S. and England were imperialist countries? But this pact did not save the USSR from invasion by Hitler. When Hitler invaded Russia, Stalin was so taken by surprise that he was unable to muster any

serious resistance until the Nazis had siezed a huge section of the USSR. This is the way Stalin "defended" the USSR -- it is also Khrushchev's way.

During the war Earl Browder dissolved the Communist Party under Stalin's orders and reached out his hand to the capitalists. Harry Bridges came out for a permanent no-strike pledge to be extended into the indefinite future in peacetime. In Italy the Communist Party supported the re-establishment of a monarchy in that country only to change its line when the Italian people forced it to. Is it any wonder that the Italian CP stands, if anything, to the right of Khrushchev today? And who but Stalin and his ruling clique are responsible for the political evolution of Togliatti?

In the immediate postwar period the Communist parties in Europe joined in common governments with the capitalists forsaking the struggle for workers power precisely at a time when the workers and peasants were armed as partisans and were the dominant force in the major European countries. Only the encirclement of the USSR by the imperialists and their obvious warlike intentions forced Stalin to consolidate workers power in Eastern Europe where originally he also had supported "all-class" governments.

The current position of Khrushchev is nothing more than an extension of a line first formulated by Stalin. Stalin was Khrushchev's teacher, but the pupil finds it opportune to cover his own betrayals by attacking his dead teacher.

The Social Base of Stalinism

The question arises, how did all this come to pass? Now that we have shown that Khrushchevism is nothing more than a modern version of Stalinism, what then is the social base of Stalinism? It is impossible to deal seriously with this question without acquainting oneself with the works of Leon Trotsky, in particular his book The Revolution Betrayed.

Stalinism grew out of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution brought about by the failure of revolution in the West and the isolation of the revolution in a backward country. An immense bureaucracy grew up and the working class was removed from any direct influence either over the Bolshevik party through the Soviets or through the party itself which became simply the instrument of the bureaucracy.

This process was completed only through the actual extermination of the old guard in the party which had led the October Revolution. This is the meaning of the famous Moscow Trials. One after another of the key leaders of the October Revolution were forced to "confess" and then were summarily executed.

This new bureaucracy, while it deeply distorted the conquests of October, was incapable of fully overturning them. The result was what we call a degenerated workers' state. Although the workers were removed from direct rule, the bureaucracy could not consolidate itself as a new class, for it depended for its existence on the very working class property forms that differentiated the country from the capitalist countries. Those who tried to claim that this new bureaucracy was a new class were vehemently fought in 1940 by Trotsky himself, and finally have ended up in the camp of imperialism.

This new bureaucracy represented a retrogression in the direction of capitalism and thus today it plays the role Progressive Labor aptly describes of opening up the "sluice gates" in Eastern Europe to capitalist penetration. Only an understanding of Khrushchev's base in a bureaucracy which itself marks a degeneration towards capitalism can explain this phenomenon. This, sketchily, is the position our movement has held for some years and it is precisely this analysis which today can explain the role Khrushchev plays in world politics. We urge all Progressive Labor members and sympathizers to look deeply into this question and to study the works of Trotsky. Judge for yourself whether or not he was right, and if not, whether there is any alternative Marxist explanation for the growth in the USSR of a revisionist leadership which today threatens the very continued existence of the workers states.



Now that we have achieved, if only in outline, an understanding of the role of Khrushchev in world politics, we need to look at the role played by the Chinese. What is the real nature of their political line in the world today both in their statements and in their concrete actions? What are the reasons China plays the role it does play, the Marxist reasons. What is the meaning of the Chinese line on the "national liberation struggle" and what are its implications not only in the colonial world but in the United States as expressed through PL's assessment of the Negro struggle and the working class struggle as a whole? These are some of the questions we will seek to discuss in the next issue of the BULLETIN.

KHRUSHCHEV OUSTED, CHINA EXPLODES A-BOMB

As we go to press events of extreme importance have taken place which will have a deep impact on the building of a revolutionary movement here and throughout the world. The ruling bureaucracy in the USSR is once again in the throes of a deep crisis expressed through the unceremonious ouster of Premier Khrushchev after 11 years of rule.

At the 20th Party Congress Khrushchev sought to dismiss all that was wrong with past developments in the USSR as brought about by the man Stalin and his "personality cult." Now Khrushchev's successors will seek to blame all the manifestations of the deepening crisis of Stalinism on the man Khrushchev and his "personality cult." Marxists cannot for one moment accept such "explanations."

As we have noted in the previous article, Progressive Labor has made some very fundamental charges against Khrushchev. In effect they have accused him of collaborating with the capitalists in opening up Eastern Europe to capitalist penetration. Now Progressive Labor must decide whether such a development, which threatens the very existence of the workers states, was a result of one man's quirks or has deeper causes. PL members must insist on nothing less than a full, complete, penetrating analysis of the origins of Khrushchevism in Stalinism, and of the role of the present leaders of the USSR as the continuators of both Stalinism and Khrushchevism. PL must demand of the Chinese leadership a critical examination, not only of Khrushchevism but of Stalinism. They must also insist that the Chinese continue a struggle against revisionism even if the current leadership of the USSR seeks a friendlier attitude towards China as a country while it continues to play a revisionist role in relation to imperialism.

On top of these developments in the USSR comes news of China's exploding an A-Bomb and breaking the nuclear monopoly of the "great" powers. This development also cannot fail to have deep repercussions on the international scene. The next issue of the BULLETIN will contain an analysis of both the ouster of Khrushchev and of the meaning of the Chinese bomb. Never more than today has a solid Marxist understanding of world events been needed. The BULLETIN will continue to seek to contribute to such an analysis.

ACT NOW - SUBSCRIBE to the BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

_____ Special Introductory
Sub - 10 Issues - \$.50

_____ Full Year - \$2.00

Name.....

Street.....

City.....Zone....

State.....

Send to: BULLETIN, Box 721,
Ansonia Sta., NYC 10023
Make checks payable to:

Wohlforth