

# YOUNG LATE SPRING

JUNE 1952

Not in  
ISL Mimeo-graphy  
-MEX

# REVIEW

AGAINST BOTH WAR CAMPS  
NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

S  
O  
C  
I  
A  
L  
I  
S  
T

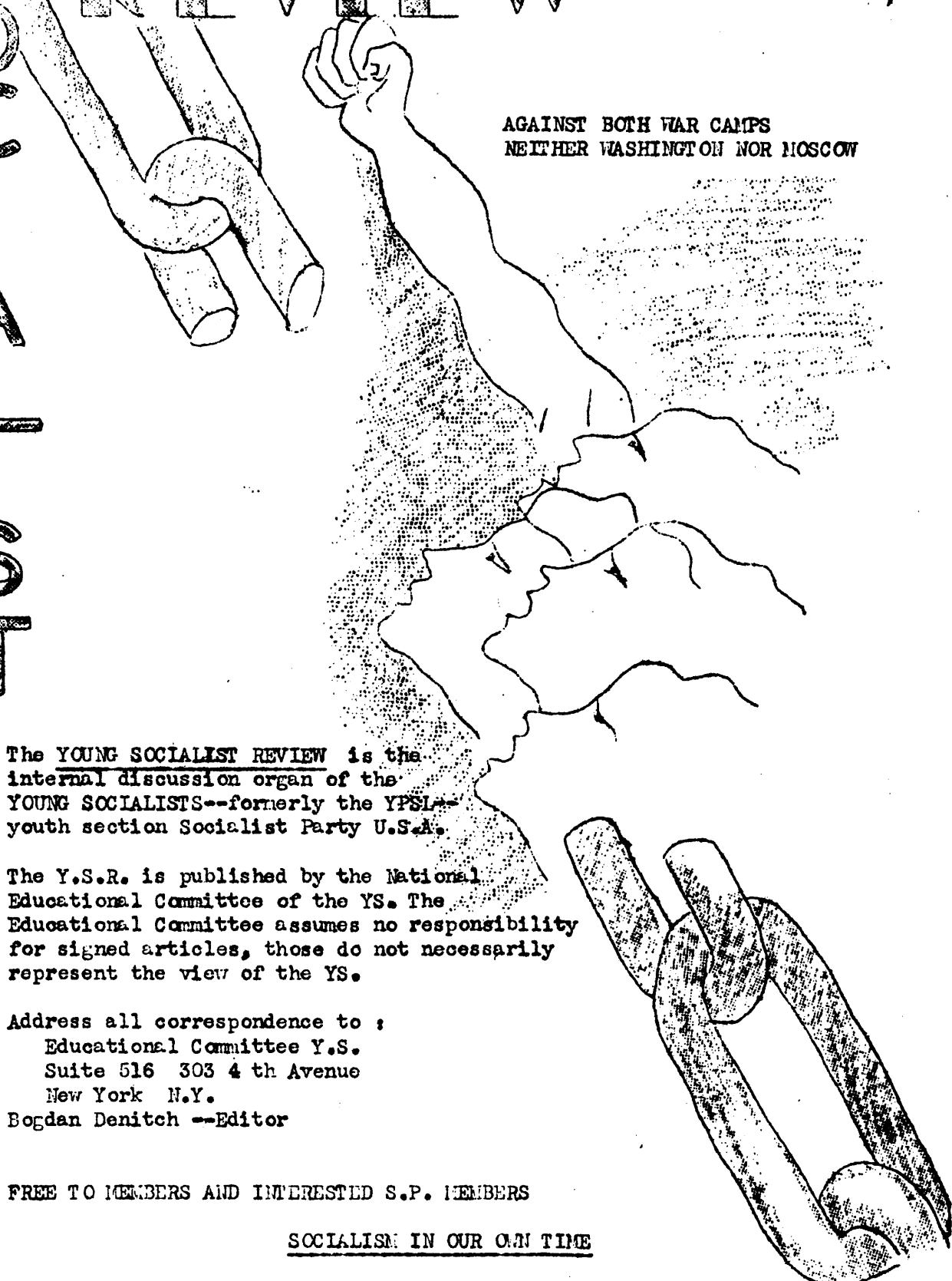
The YOUNG SOCIALIST REVIEW is the internal discussion organ of the YOUNG SOCIALISTS--formerly the YPSL--youth section Socialist Party U.S.A.

The Y.S.R. is published by the National Educational Committee of the YS. The Educational Committee assumes no responsibility for signed articles, those do not necessarily represent the view of the YS.

Address all correspondence to :  
Educational Committee Y.S.  
Suite 516 303 4 th Avenue  
New York N.Y.  
Bogdan Denitch --Editor

FREE TO MEMBERS AND INTERESTED S.P. MEMBERS

SOCIALISM IN OUR OWN TIME



YOUNG SOCIALIST REVIEW  
 THE INTERNAL DISCUSSION ORGAN OF THE  
 YOUNG SOCIALISTS (formerly the Young People's Socialist League)

CONTENTS:

page:

A. EDUCATION:

"Who am I" (part I of a series)	by Bert Herman	2
Introductory Bibliography	by the Educational Committee	6

B. DISCUSSION:

Anvil Report	by Steve Siterman	9
Notes on the Siterman Report	by Bogdan Donitch	12
Joint Statement	by V. Davidson and B. Donitch	5
Notes on the S.P. Convention	by Bogdan Donitch	13

C. THEORY:

Resolution on the Third Camp	by Dick Fredrickson	16
Why--a revolutionary Third Camp	by the Luxemburg Tendency	14

Who's who in this issue:

Bert Herman is a member of the Central Manhattan Circle; The Educational Com. is composed of comrades Cahill, Donitch, Senos, Helman and Holmes; Steve Siterman is the state Secretary of the New Jersey SP; Bogdan Donitch is the District Secretary of the N.Y. League; Vern Davidson is the National Secretary of the YS--hails from California; Dick Fredrickson is the National Chairman of the YS and has recently organized a circle on the South Side of Chicago; the Rosa Luxemburg Tendency is the N.Y. District "majority".

Reprints of YSR articles are available to any Circle that wants to use them in quantity. We suggest that you make good use of the Bibliographies which will appear regularly in these pages.

Submit your articles to the educational Committee--but note that the material of general interest should go into ANVIL rather than the YSR which is the Yipsel theoretical organ. Parenthetically all interested members of the Party are welcome to the YSR--just write in to the Educational Committee (we suggest a small contribution be included).

The Educational Committee is proud to announce the new Yipsel paper. It is called LEFT and is available for mass distribution. It is printed, comes out once a month and should be very useful to the Circles and would-be Circle organizers. Order in quantity from the National Office. (The price is \$1.00 for a hundred).

-----0

HELP THE 1952 CAMPAIGN --FORM A LOCAL YOUTH FOR HOOPER AND FREEDMAN BRANCH

BY BERT HERMAN

Introduction:

In the recent times there has been little if any discussion of the relation of the basic social institutions to the problem of building a socialist society. The present day anarchists have done pioneering work in this field and we have much to learn from them. This series in the Review is a project of the Educational Committee, we plan to start a discussion about the basic social institutions, the family, sex mores and religion in their relation to the problem of rebuilding the society. It is not enough to merely stress the economic environment as a former of character traits -- while basically true, it is inadequate to begin with.

I think it is high time that we started using our talents. The League today is mostly composed of students. Good, in that case let us apply that knowledge and training to politics. Let us start trying to tie in what we learn from modern anthropology, sociology and psychology with our day to day work and goals.

This series is wide open. Let us hear from you.

Ed.

---

 " WHO AM I "

In a period of rapid economic change, dying social institutions are customarily shown to be propped up by widespread false ideas. If the people act to overthrow the old institutions it is, naturally, because they are aware of the falsity of the older ideas. Probably, altho they might not completely agree with each other they do have ideas about how the new economic institutions ought to pay off for them.

However they find it necessary to put the new ideas in many fields into practice. Usually they find themselves in for a lot of surprises, because people can seldom predict the future too accurately. If ideas haven't been clarified in other areas even socialists tend to combine their new ideas on economic institutions with their old ideas held over from other fields. Sometimes the conclusions, if put into practice, can mold the new economic institutions so much that they hardly pay off at all.

The way to avoid this is to find out what old ideas need replacing in other areas of life. This way, we get the full benefits of the new economic institutions.

Our ideas and habits don't come piecemeal, and not just any new ideas will work; for, if they are at all deeply rooted inside of us, a change in one means a change in all the rest. But sometimes, as when the adolescent has one foot in childhood and the other in adult life, there is a temporary imbalance. If there are plenty of compensations in being mature and he is helped by his parents and friends, he becomes a mature adult; if not, he is liable to limp along into some parody of childhood.

The same thing can be true of a people which has had the good sense to throw out old economic but don't realize that they have to rehaul their thinking in other important areas. People who ignore this are called "economic determinists" if they think a basic change in economic institutions and ideas is sufficient to determine the nature of the new society. Other people called "factor analysts" think it is enough to have new ideas on economic questions and any other new ideas on the other important areas of life experience. They forget that people need a consistent set of ideas in order to function, and that unless the particular new ideas suggested are compatible with the new economic institutions, both

sets of ideas will combine to set up a warped edition of the new economic institutions.

Socialists have always asked which of the other old ideas are dangerous to the success of an economic change in society and have set about the task of finding consistent new ideas in those areas. They found in each case that some institutions in the old society were served by the old ideas. They found that ideas like keeping the Negroes separate or farm served to disorganize everyone and to divert their attention from the great advantages they could get if they went after better housing, farm and factory conditions, together. They found that religious workers were often advised by their religious leaders against the workers own real interests. This is so when the basic message of brotherliness (we socialists call it "comradely relations") and hope for a better future is changed by the influence of richer parishoners more interested in how nice the old institutions serve them in the here and now.

We all remember how sad we were when the Labor government in Great Britain kept so much of the old Tory foreign policy. If they had worked out the new ideas consistent with socialism, they would probably be in the midst of a powerful and thriving commonwealth federation, with many allies in the Middle East, instead of squeezed desperately between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Finally, and not surprising, socialists have found the particular set of old ideas most likely to mess things up at the start. It is not surprising because it is part of the very idea that makes people socialists in the first place. It is the answer to the question "who am I?" The adolescent who correctly answers this \$64 question receives more than 64 bucks -- he gets maturity. Ditto with the socialists - they get socialism.

The first, and non-theoretical answer to the question is that I'm a guy (or girl: let's not forget the socialist leadership in the fight for women's rights) who wants an economic system with more in it for me and my buddies and, By God, (The Prince of Peace) that means everyone who is not getting a square break! A good answer like that means that a lot of old habits are supplanted by new and better ones. (Of course, they only date back to Jesus in telling us what people are basically like; and to the early Christian Socialists like the Levelers and Bishop Huss in their preaching that the economic change is the key that unlocks the door to what is really wanted.

But what happens if I unlock the door, let someone else at the best pickings, and let him tell me what small part of it can belong to me? Then who the Hell am I anyway!!! Well, of course, it was an old habit of mine to listen to my "betters" (ouch!), I couldn't help myself or I'd get fired or court-martialed, or they were really people whom I thought knew better. Dutt, it's true enough, I've taken a lot of orders in my time. (And I have half a mind to point out that I directed the education of my kid and he's the better for it. Surely, socialists aren't against all direction.)

Socialists aren't against direction but they think that each society has a certain kind of direction and that the kind of direction called ordering people about is the worst of the old ideas, which has to be replaced because it molds a man more into being a robot than a free person. And robots don't build socialist societies no matter what economic changes are made.

The goal of having a people making decisions together instead of taking orders is not precisely the monopoly of socialists, but only socialists realize that such people only develop through a different concept of direction, which can only be generally practised if there is a basic economic change. And only socialists realize that these ideas of autonomous direction must be thought out now if the basic economic changes are not to be warped by old habits of thought.

4  
Okay. Who am I now? I'm a socialist who has overcome racism, male supremacy, and religious reaction. But I'm also a guy who has had habits of giving and taking orders.

For a socialist then, it is important to learn how to get rid of them. And most of all, for my children and myself, how to stop these habits from cropping up to warp the free socialist society we want. For this I must understand which of the old institutions is the prime villain and needs to be replaced by a socialist alternative.

Now, the kicker. The dead giveaway of any society's way of directing life experiences and so, the mold of a person's attitudes toward direction, is that most hallowed and furiously protected (guess why) institutions the family. (Hastily amend that to read: the particular kind of family). Each society has a different kind of family structure and it is our business as socialists to figure out the specific form likely to produce autonomous, free persons in a socialist economic environment.

Now you may doubt that this habit of ordering people about is so crucial, or that it applies to you. Sure, "power corrupts", and there is a real problem in every group, called "bureaucracy", etc. etc. But .....

However, as good socialists you will have noted that I did not use all of the possible arguments against the "old" habits and ideas. Rather, I used those notably effective in mass education. The main argument stems from the philosophy called Utilitarianism; and secondarily, there is an appeal to primary Christian ideas. Let us examine the question: "Who am I?" from these points of view. The early Church Fathers were able to see the powerful changes toward living a better life that the acceptance of the Gospel made in worldly (read decadent) men. This was a powerful affirmation of the doctrine of Sin and Redemption. After all, it was true; almost alone among men of the time did redeemed Christians live moral lives and have the inner strength to continue to do so in temptation. Men, therefore, could be considered as basically sinful, but with the possibility of change.

The Utilitarian doctrine accepted the basic sinfulness of man in a strictly rational way. Men, they argued, did things from a strictly egocentric motive. Society was only possible because in order for each individual to succeed most fruitfully for himself, he found it necessary to cooperate with his fellows. An added gimmick, which provided a beautiful rationale for a competitive laissez-faire society stated that the more egocentric one's market behavior was, the more prosperity everyone enjoyed.

Again, in a sense, observation validated the argument, because the sum total of wealth increased beyond anything thought possible in feudal days. In addition, this satisfied those for whom religion seemed untenable. But socialists have never dealt with rationalizations; or have they? Have socialists attempted to develop a psychology not nurtured by those phantastic ideological vagaries? Or have they accepted Freudianism, heck, line, and sinker? The Marquis de Sade insisted that the only logical conclusion in an analysis acceptable to a rationalist, was that a man conscious of his really basic motives and appetites would ruthlessly engage in corresponding activities in all fields of experience, e.g. business, politics, sex, etc. Freud chose to accept this historical definition of the basic drives and attempted an equivocal solution: namely, that one is forced by external events to accept a set of substitute gratifications, at the price, generally, of enormous anxiety; although one is repaid by being able to enjoy the fruits of civilization (if any).

There has always been a contrary tendency to argue that man is not basically bad, but rather, that he is good, or at least neutral, or perhaps balanced in his

drives; but somehow, the weight of the evidence always seems (alasi) to be against them. And this, despite the fact that it would be so plue, if it were true!

5

So, no wonder our society insists upon ordering people about. Can you imagine them trying to be autonomous individuals? No wonder my previous egocentric arguments are acceptable - if this is who I am! How can you possibly produce a socialist individual with such basically lousy raw material? However, I hope that my readers are still good socialists and that they have sense enough to be moved by their hearts at this point, for the above excursion into "present day" concepts is merely to stress the need for a clear understanding of why it is so urgent that we attempt a socialist answer to the question, "Who am I?"

\*\*\*\*\*

### JOINT STATEMENT ON LEFT WING UNITY IN THE YPSL AND THE PARTY

Many comrades have undoubtedly become aware of the fact that for some time there have been serious differences between the two wings of the "Left" of the League. The old convention majority, so to speak, fell out at the Boston NCC meeting of March and the comrades from New York - the Rosa Luxemburg tendency - withdrew from posts of national responsibility. Thus a factional situation was created between the National Office, as personified by the National Secretary, and the New York comrades.

The recent S.P. convention, however, has brought a new perspective to bear on the situation. It has become evident that despite the serious differences that do exist within the Young Socialists and among us as individuals, that our job now is to build a strong organization along the lines of agreement that do exist. In the face of the general political atmosphere in the Party there are no differences in the League. All Third Camp anti-war socialists belong together.

We are faced with tremendous tasks: in addition to consolidating the Left wing in the YPSL - through education and continued growth; in addition to strengthening the revolutionary, Third Camp viewpoint in the Party, we have to carry a heavy load in the 1952 campaign. This will strain the organizational resources of the Left wing to the limit and we cannot permit such differences as may exist among us to weaken our joint efforts.

We therefore declare that whatever differences may continue to exist among us will be settled in a comradely fashion among ourselves; that we will use the mandate given us both by the membership through the convention to start building a real YPSL - a revolutionary YPSL, and a real Left wing in the Party.

We call on all comrades who adhere to a general Third Camp viewpoint to start working jointly; to discuss and develop their ideas; to present the Third Camp viewpoint to the rest of the party. We suggest that you use the CALL and the YSR for your articles; we suggest that temporarily you forget, as we will, the differences that exist within the Left wing. We hope that the renewed unity of the Left wing will be reflected in the greater vigor of the organization and the expansion of the League.

Bogdan Denitch (for the Luxemburg  
tendency)  
Vern Davidson

EDUCATIONAL GUIDE : Introductory Bibliography :

This issue of the Educational Guide is the beginning of a regular series of supplements to the Young Socialist Review, prepared by the NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL Committee of the Y.F.S.L. Extra copies of this bibliography are available free in quantity from the Educational Committee. We hope it will be of some help.

YPSL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

I. The books in this section of the bibliography are the least difficult and most basic books and pamphlets of the entire list:

- a- Marx and Engels THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (Kerr and Co. 15¢ order from Ed. Comm.) This document had an immediate purpose, propaganda. It will be, however, one of the most satisfying works you will read. It is, in addition and excellent introduction to Marxism in that it packs an excellent outline of the constituent elements of this kind of thought.
- b- Fred Henderson THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM (Ed. Comm. 35¢) this is the short analytical work which is the official textbook of the S.P. and the British Labor Party. Discusses both economic and political problems, but is a little dated in its discussion of the role of bureaucracy.
- c- K. Marx WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL (Ed. Comm. 15¢) Simple exposition of the basic economic doctrines of Marx, explains the natural dichotomy of interests between workers and capitalists.
- d- Harry Laidler: SOCIAL ECONOMIC MOVEMENTS ( \$ 5.00 order from Fraternal Bookshop 303 4th Ave. N.Y. N.Y. or use your local library). This is a basic historical work that despite its reformist bias is a must for every socialist. It is a history of radical movements from the biblical times. Has an excellent bibliography.
- e- Rosa Luxemburg SELECTIONS (Ed. Comm. 15¢) a selection of theoretical writings of the foremost historical exponent of revolutionary democratic socialism. Discusses the questions of bolshevism, Russian evolution, Pacifism etc. etc. Probably the best short critique of the centralist ideas of Lenin.
- f- G. Plekhanov MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY (Ed. Comm.) 15¢  
A good introduction to the Marxist conception of history, well written and easy to understand. A good starting point to start further study in this field.
- g- K. Kautsky COMMUNISM VERSUS SOCIALISM ( order from Fraternal Bookshop 1.00). A series of essays by the classical theoretician of the German Social-Democracy. Good in its criticisms and discussion of Communism but weak in its discussion of Western democracy. All in all an important item on your reading list.

II. No less dispensable but should be read after the basics:

- a- Engels SOCIALISM UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC (Kerr 15¢ Ed. Comm.)  
elaborates the distinction between utopian and scientific socialism. This is particularly important since before Marx and Engels the word socialist meant an apolitical intellectual type who hoped to usher the new society by persuading the ruling class (by sweet reason of course) to give up its power and help bring in the new society. The pamphlet also contains an excellent discussion on dialectical materialism.  
(more)

- b- Marx Capital (a fair abridgment can be found in the Modern Library Edition -regular 300 pp. \$1.25 ) This volume also contains the CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE-- a very important analysis of the Paris Commune from which much of the later tactical theory was deduced. This abridgment consists mostly of selections from volume three. Reading VALUE PRICE AND PROFIT ( Ed. Comm. 15 ¢) and this volume , in that order will give you Marx's theory and analysis of capitalism with a fair degree of completeness.
- c- John Strachey SOCIALISM ( hard to get but found in most libraries) Written through the author's stalinist stage. Taking this bias in consideration it is an important item to read not only because of its exceptionally fine discussion of the theory and elements of Marxism but because it is important to understand the sophisticated stalinist's arguments .
- d- Sidney Lens : LEFT RIGHT CENTER ( \$1.98 order from Fraternal Bookshop) a good, up-to-date discussion of the U.S. labor movement and its origins. Written from a basically socialist point of view.

-----  
THIS SECTION IS VERY SHORT BUT WILL BE SUPPLEMENTED BY FURTHER OUTLINES.  
IT IS NOT DIFFICULT BUT IS POLEMICAL IN NATURE :

- a- The first great controversy in the socialist movement is embodied in the viewpoints espoused by Edward Bernstein's EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM (impossible to get to our knowledge but Laidler's SOCIAL ECONOMIC MOVEMENTS has a good chapter on his ideas.) and in its classic rebuttal: Rosa Luxemburg's REFORM OR REVOLUTION ( Ed. Comm. 60¢) The controversy is one between those who would make the immediate demands (higher standard of living etc.) be the end of the socialist movement and the revolutionary socialists who want to effect a basic social change.
- b- The other great split in the century was between democratic socialists and the bolsheviks. Lenin's STATE AND REVOLUTION and WHAT IS TO BE DONE are the best theoretical and organizational statements of the bolshevik position. The counter attack is brilliantly sparked by Martov's STATE AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION ( Ed. Comm. 65¢) and Rudolph Sprenger's BOLSHEVISM (Fraternal Bookshop 15¢) Hard to get but excellent is Rosa Luxemburg's RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.
- c- The other great controversy has been over the attitude to war. While we have no classic statement of the social democratic position you can use for contemporary material the CPSU resolutions on War and the pro-war view is presented by the New Leader ( 7 East 15 Street). Lenin's IMPERIALISM is a more or less adequate statement of the Marxist view. Also see Luxemburg's JUNIUS LETTERS ( will be available shortly from Ed. Comm.).

-----  
PUBLICATIONS:

ANVIL ... 20 ¢ a copy order from IPSL: major student anti-war publication in USA. Contains articles from socialists and pacifists and independent radicals. Good in its coverage of cultural articles.

THE SOCIALIST LEADER ..( about 2.50 a year) publication of the Independent Labor Party in Britain. Good as a presentation of an anti-war socialist view.

THE TRIBUNE (weekly order from Fraternal Bookshop) British socialist publication mostly presenting the Bevanite point of view. Their pamphlet series is of more general interest.

(more)



Of the more controversial publications we list only a few:

The PROGRESSIVE (order through Fraternal Bookshop)

A liberal-laborite magazine that has a general "progressive" line. Anti-C.P. but pro-Korean war. In the last few years has become more pro-"Fair Deal".

MONTHLY REVIEW (on newsstands) worth buying once in a while. Pro-Stalinist but not an organ of the Communist Party, interesting in its discussions of the domestic scene.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL (order from Labor Action 114 West 14 N.Y.) p.  
Contains good discussion of the War and Foreign policy questions. Poor on domestic coverage and a little too dogmatic. Generally worth buying.

These last are only listed for your information...generally very uninteresting.

THE NEW LEADER (7 East 15).. used to be a social-democratic publication nowadays specializes in anti-stalinism. Very pro-administration. Pro-war. Has a very bad coverage and stand on civil liberties. Good coverage on racial issues down south.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY.. C.P. Publication. Their best high-level material in here. Too expensive to buy now. If interested in what the C.P. thinks about psychology, art etc. buy it.

Masses and Mainstream and Political Affairs are both dull as well as C.P. organs.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL official publication of the Trotsyists. Dull, outdated and generally worthless.

THE NEW FOUNDATIONS .. C.P. student magazine. Vulgar and uninteresting. Worth buying for a laugh. (Compare it with ANVIL).

#### WHAT IS "REVOLUTION"?

"Revolution has been identified with insurrection, violence, warfare; in the course of a revolution these may occur, not as aims, at best as unavoidable means, for what is desired is the decisive break, the withdrawal of support from existing institutions and the creation of new forms; it is well known that insurrection, violence and warfare are the methods of liberal, radical, conservative and reactionary politics as well. It has been usual to call revolutionary those ideas, movements, and actions pertaining to the actual overthrow, abolition or disappearance of the ~~existing~~ ancient regime. I should think a more useful definition of revolutionary would be: rejection of the aim of ameliorating the existing institutions; insistence on the aim for good institutions; motion as directly as possible toward this aim."

David Wick (Resistance June-July 1950)

May 15, 1952

Memo to Local New York

Because activity in or with the anti-war movement these days involves one in double jeopardy, i.e. the usual difficulties with the government and the need to make clear opposition to communism and other anti-democratic philosophies, Local New York became concerned about the welfare of its youth section and requested me to look into the YPSL imbroglio with Anvil, the Student Federation Against War, and anything else that came to the surface.

There are some few YPSLs who are active pacifists as individuals, that is, they do not involve YPSL as an organization or attempt to represent YPSL in that activity. They are members of, or in touch with the established pacifist groups or c.o. service committees and need no special attention.

I emerged from my inquiry with two general observations; (1) The poor organizational sense and practice of those YPSLs who are involved with Anvil and the Federation; and (2) there is little understanding of the nature of pacifism and even of an anti-militarist or anti-one-war-or-an-other attitude.

One of the most serious comments I would make about those who do need attention is that it is difficult to learn what's what. The records are scanty; correspondence, or at any rate available copies, is practically non-existent; and present operations are obscure. This can of course be secrecy instead of carelessness but is, in either case, reprehensible and deserves the adult organization's guidance and attention.

The YPSL national convention at the close of 1951 endorsed Anvil. Anvil, however, says it cannot accept the endorsement of any group which is not a student group. YPSL does not, therefore, appear on the masthead of the magazine, nor in the records of its official doings. (I say the last with some bemusement since the top governing board of Anvil never meets.) Anvil accepts three YPSLs as members of the magazine's editorial board, which is their second level administrative body but which seems to do all the deciding. The YPSLs however have to be members of some other student body, which has also endorsed Anvil, and all of which makes it difficult to figure out who represents whom and who is responsible to what. This is, I might add, an entanglement which would challenge the ingenuity of a communist front.

Although it is musically impossible, Bogdan Denitch is the solo voice in this Anvil chorus. He initiated discussions with the SYL crowd that created the Student Federation Against War and then mated with it to produce Anvil, secured YPSL approval of his actions at the convention, and now is Anvil's noisiest proponent.

The YPSL convention, in a motion which does not appear in their records, set forth five conditions for their support of the magazine. They are, briefly, (1) changes in the Anvil program, (2) adequate YPSL representation; (3) protection of Anvil mailing lists; (4) legal pro-

tection for affiliated groups and individuals; and (5) that the magazine have efficient management and personnel. ( These conditions in full are attached.)

(1) You can see from the two programs attached (post and ante) that changes have been made but the changes, inexplicably, have been to eliminate practically all anti-war reference. What remains comprised a program for foreign affairs, race relations, and student affairs. These are subjects worthy of Socialist's attention and, while one could quarrel with the programs as stated, one would not condemn them out of hand. But why bother? These are issues in which YPSL has long been concerned and active. Is this no longer the case? If so, should it not be corrected? And, if a broader front is needed as an arena of cooperation with non-socialists, why turn one's back on the young federalists in WORLD (rebels in their own right), SDA, SLID, etc., and climb into the procrustean bed of a narrow sect like the SYL? It sounds like dual unionism with a vengeance and the question comes trippingly to the tongue; What is the connection between YPSL's endorsement of this duplicate program and Denitch's withdrawal from SLID?

I need not mention that the Party's National Executive Committee, meeting in New York on February 22 to 24th, reiterated its opposition to Trotskyite organizations and to cooperation with them. Nor need I mention that Denitch, on a recent organizing trip for the YPSL, traveled part of the way with an organizer for the SYL, and now sits on a committee to iron out relations between the YPSL and the SYL. This committee is part of the present vogue of vagueness since it is difficult to learn who set up this committee, how it functions, and what records it keeps.

(2) YPSL has three of its members on the Anvil editorial board as agreed. They are Denitch, Gross and Holmes. I would like to suggest, without further comment, that this is not the most adequate representation of the YPSL.

(3) This cannot be ascertained since the business office from which the mailing is done is located in the headquarters of the Independent Socialist League.

(4) The legal responsibility of Anvil is most precarious. It is unincorporated which means that any affiliated organization or individual is liable for its debts. Since YPSL's endorsement was not officially accepted - indeed, according to YPSL's minutes, was not officially made - perhaps any investigator trying to establish responsibility would wander off into space convinced that there was no relation between the two and that, perhaps, neither had heard of the other. Considering the strange administrative and editorial set up of Anvil itself, I couldn't say where legal responsibility would be fixed.

(5) As for efficient management, I didn't inquire so much into that side of Anvil, although the following figures make me take a dim view of their efficiency; The last issue of Anvil had 5,000 copies printed. The cost is close to \$500.00. Copies sell for 20¢ apiece. This is the first issue that came close to paying for itself. I regret to say that David Senes is assistant business manager.

I then asked what effect the YPSL participation has had on the magazine, other than an increase in circulation. I learned of none, other than some increase in the magazines emphasis on race relations.

I asked what were the aims of YPSL and was somewhat taken aback to learn that not only did the three representatives not confer with the YPSL secretary and its Executive Committee (I didn't dare ask if they consulted with the Party. This is seems is passe in current YPSL circles.) but didn't confer with each other.

From what I learned of the representatives' individual ideas (I talked to two of the three; Gross is currently inactive because of his job.) they wish to increase Anvil's interest in race relations and decrease its interest in literary matters. They do not propose, indeed they oppose, moving Anvil to the left. This, although they feel the SYL, the dominating influence, is to their right which it very likely is. Their idea is to attract as broad a group of student supporters as possible, an aim which has had no success so far.

My recommendations, in case you ask, are as follows:

Anvil is a student publication with a circulation that theoretically approaches 5,000. It is difficult to deny that channel to the YPSL. But the North American Bureau of the International Union of Socialist Youth is planning a publication, of which the first issue is under way. This, as a kind of family enterprise, deserves a Socialist's first loyalty and support. And it would provide the all too seldom pleasure of the association with a movement, some of whose members hold office. In addition, the vigorous and independent Canadian socialists would provide, if you will pardon a parental digression, more fit companions for our socialist youth than the frenetic members of the SYL. Anvil remains in the hand of the SYL and the YPSL has no noticeable effect upon it. They have gained nothing and I see no prospect of their doing so.

But more grievously important than their expenditure of time, money and energy on a Trotskyite and rather dull publication is the penury of purpose that has come to light in the YPSL. This organization, which once set the tone of much of the youth movement of this country, now takes its ideas and some of its phrases from a little sect. They have lost the gift for organization and responsibility which once automatically brought them to top offices of other youth groups. Part of this is the fault of the adult organization. If the YPSL does not come to them (except for money), the mountain should go to the YPSL and re-establish its supervision and guidance. At this stage, it will need careful, energetic, and resourceful guidance at once.

Fraternally submitted,  
Stephen Siteman

P.S.- I have spent no time on the Student Federation Against War since there doesn't seem to be any, although the name sends representatives to the governing board.

S.S.

A YPSL submitted the Siterman Report to the YSR a few days before publication date. Thus it is impossible for us to go into a detailed examination of the report and to answer the criticism of the organizational way that ANVIL is run. The three ANVIL editors will answer this in the next issue. Here however we are concerned with a few points of fact that should in all fairness be made.

Local NY of the SP which has neither an anti-war nor a third camp position was much alarmed by the reports of YPSL participation in ANVIL. Comrade Siterman, likewise unsympathetic, tho a pacifist, was asked to report on ANVIL. We are not concerned here with the unsympathetic part of the report so much as with the naive which is startling. Siterman in all innocence asks why there are "irregularities" about listing sponsorship and management of the publication. This in the year of witch hunts on the campuses ( where ANVIL is sold) in the year of consistent attacks against radical student organizations. Whether Siterman is aware of it or not most students are too damn scared to place their name on the ANVIL masthead today, let alone if YPSL and SYL (neither student organizations) were listed, particularly considering that SYL is on Tom Clark's little list of subversive organizations.

The witty remark about Denitch being.. "the solo voice in the ANVIL chorus" is pure crap. Long before NY YPSL was involved with ANVIL (two years before) the California YPSL was endorsing, sponsoring and selling ANVIL.

The dichotomy that Siterman tries to find between working with SLID, WORL, SDA etc. and ANVIL is non-existent. We do work with the other groups too but...and it might be proper to point out that SLID and SDA are not third camp groups while ANVIL and YPSL are. Also SLID is organizationally dead whereas ANVIL has a circulation of some 5600.

The reason why YPSL editors on the ANVIL board do not caucus is that they are there to publish a magazine not discuss Kronstadt. As for the consultation with the SP, does Siterman honestly expect the YPSL to consult with the SP on how better to run ANVIL when the SP is opposed to the, being in ANVIL. The sum total of the advice we got was--stay put, period.

The last part of the Siterman report is frankly alarming. It is undemocratic to begin with. Since Comrade Siterman disagrees with the YPSL policy ( which should make its "penury" evident to all) it is his opinion that the SP should "re-establish its supervision and guidance". This is not only paternalistically undemocratic but also organizationally stupid. The last time the SP "re-established its supervision and guidance" of the League it successfully drove out its most active sections. When will the parent body learn that YPSL, supposedly composed of rebels etc, will learn from the SP but not be wet-nursed and directed?

.....

( advertisement of the Educational Committee of the Young Socialists)

Have you read the last ANVIL ?  
for the latest intelligent informed articles on the  
student field--read ANVIL

order your copy from the National Office--the price is 20 cents.

GET THE LATEST PAMPHLET--Rosa Luxemburg's REFORM OR REVOLUTION --65 cents

from the Educational Committee.

The last SP Convention was a sober awakening for the YS delegates present. For the past two years we have been hearing about the Party left wing and how we were to get a new program and an anti-war party. The more political comrades warned that the people who identified right-wing pacifists and municipal socialists with "leftism" were wrong -- they warned that the SP left wing was at the present time incapable of coming up with a program that would hold water. Both warnings proved to be right.

All in all of all the programs on foreign policy discussed only Robin Meyers' defencists draft was anything but an insult to intelligence. The draft has strengthened the Party stand on anti-Militarism and was further amended to make it more acceptable to the left wing. This is far from surprising; the SP "left" is composed of every element imaginable -- pacifists, pro-electoral activists, traditionalists and comrades with illusions about the real nature of the USSR, in addition to all these there was a third camp element mostly based on the YS, the California delegation and a few Pennsylvania delegates. The trouble was that the Party "third camp" people did not come in with a program and were unwilling to vote for because they felt that it would drive the right wing out.

The weakness of the left-wing was shown graphically by its failure to caucus on a political basis until the Levenstein-Darshop group which suffered from no such disadvantage almost passed a right-wing program. Until the caucus the YS delegates on the floor and the SP left wingers acted at cross purposes.

Nevertheless this Convention is a milestone in recent SP history. It is the first time that the consistent trend towards the right was stopped. It is the first time that the Third Camp viewpoint was seriously discussed -- and had a chance to be considered. The present Party position is not embarrassing to the anti-war wing. We can campaign on a third camp basis and not be continually embarrassed by the statements of our spokesmen. This convention represents a genuine rank and file revolt against the pro-administration policies of Thomas and his group, however it will need much more political education before it even approaches a real third camp anti-war stand.

All the dire <sup>warnings</sup> statements that the sectarian elements outside the Ys and the Party gave the Yipsels about "what the Party would do to you" came to nothing. The right wing was too busy defending its own political hide to bother Yipsel hyn hunting. The question of our own third camp stand and the endorsement of ANVIL did not even come up.

The present NEC has a fair sized left wing group (using the term "left" in the broadest sense): Peters, Brown, Briggs, Davidson and Smith (five out of 11) constitute a fairly solid anti-war block. Also there is advance that N. Thomas will not serve in which case the first alternate (Koppley) would shift the balance.

The YS can be proud of its own role at the Convention. And perhaps at the next one, with a much bigger and solidier left wing the SP will take the next step -- a Third Camp anti-war position. In the mean time I suggest strongly that we all take out dual YS-SP membership.

There is nothing in the present SP stand that would prevent anti-war socialist elements outside the Party backing it. Therefore this campaign will in all probability strengthen the unity of the socialist forces on the campus.

Further reports on the Convention will appear in the next YSR. The Program and other SP document will be mailed to you as soon as they are out.

What is the Third Camp ? Most supporters of the Western "democratic block" either fail to understand the concept of the third camp or deliberately misinterpret it.

The Third Camp is not :

" a neutralist consent-- since in the face of the absolute totalitarianism of the Stalinist block no socialist can remain neutral . The task of the socialists is to oppose a " rapprochement" between the two imperialist camps since any such agreement between them could only be at the expense of the rest of the world and the working class

" a geographical concept ---though the Sps of India and Asia have taken a good anti-imperialist stand it is not third camp since it thinks of a camp of nations.

" a middle road position as we do not equate the relatively democratic West to the barbarism of stalinism--we must also state that the third camp is not and cannot accept the premise that Europe or Asia can act as a bridge between the two colossi, a bridge through which they would learn to cooperate. We are not in favour of any measures that would stabilise the present political situation or allow the millions of workers under stalinist yoke to remain enslaved.

If the Third Camp is not all those things then what is it--where can it be found?

To understand this we must first understand the nature of stalinism and the world revolution that is taking place . Stalinism far from being a "totalitarian but revolutionary movement" is essentially a movement that destroys the working class as a class. By creating an absolute total state it atomises the individual; by taking over all the independent institutions of the working class (coops unions etc) it pits the individual worker against the state itself . In other words it is a movement that uses the revolutionary upheavals ( directed against the inept old regime) to gain power--but after gaining power it destroys the very organizations that created a base which permitted its conquest. (The recurrent purges in the CPs continually destroy the original revolutionaries and replace them with party bureaucrats. Thus after the CP seizes power it becomes the ruling elite--a supper employment agency).

On the other hand the trend in the USA is in the same direction. The New and Fair deal intelligencia exhibits the same contempt for the worker as their stalinist counterparts--the attitude is that the workers are items to be manipulated for their own "good". As the government bureaus gain a greater say in the actual running of the industry and our social life the trends towards a new class state begin to emerge in the USA. The trend to bureaucratic collectivism exists where ever the state apparatus is used to institute collectivism without the active conscious participation of the workers themselves.

Taken in this prespective opposition to war and war preparations in the USA assumes yet another dimension ( a non-pacifist dimension). In addition to the usual reasons--the corruption of youth--the regimentation of military life--the destruction of the European economies--the strenghtening of the military--in addition to all those factors stands the fact that the permanent war economy measurably speeds up the drift toward the bureaucratic state.

The needs of a modern war machine are for a total mobilisation , physical , economic and psychological--this means that the power of the state bureaucracy is strenghtened measurably since it then has (at least temporarily) total control of the economy of the nation ( in addition to its control of the state apparatus). In effect a condition is created where the individual capitalist as such no longer controls the industry--the control is in the hands of the state apparatus and is admistred by the new bureaucracy.

(more)

We are faced with two imperialist giants whose social structure is becoming more and more similar as the time, and the cold war, goes on. But we also learn that any group attempting to use the state apparatus to institute socialism or collectivism would produce the same results--unless the strenght of the independent institutions of the working class is such that they can check the drive towards bureaucratization that the rationalisation of the industry produces. A real solution to the problems of bureaucracy lies in the field of mass communications, education and decentralization--none of which are receiving proper attention in socialist circles today.

The third camp obviously cannot merely be the socialist movement, since social-democracy has the seeds of bureaucratic collectivism within itself. Nor can it be build by elitist organizations (of the bolshevik model) since they merely circulate the elites--they become the new elite.

The Third Camp is to be found in the process of struggle of the working class for independence and freedom. It is to be found in its nascent form in the European working class, which has experiences both stalinist and reformist betrayal; it is to be found within the Asian and colonial independence movements; within the democratic undergrounds of eastern Europe--in fact where ever the masses are in the process of struggle. Only through the process of struggle they learn to cope with the forces of society around them. Only through struggle can they gain freedom--as Marx and Engels understood freedom to be "the understanding of the necessary".

Viewed in crude materialist fashion--a non dialectical fashion--the Third Camp is nonexistent. Yet it can be understood if it is called "the permanent class struggle". We conceive the function of the revolutionary to be to build a mass labor Party--although we understand that this party has the seeds of bureaucratic collectivism. This is because then the struggle is transferred to a new plane--since a Social emocratic government can provide the basic needs of the people--the new fight takes place on the political and social plane. Through this struggle new "elites" continually shift, and through this continuing process the workers learn until the slogan "worker's control" becomes more than a mere phantasy.

In the mean time we must struggle against our own "camp". Against its arms race and its war preparations for two reasons:

- " Our opposition to armaments is absolutely necessary if we are to oppose capitalism where it counts since without the arms economy capitalism cannot survive; and
- " We are are desperately playing for time, for time during which the workers movements of Europe and Asia can develop. In any case our function, the function of a working class movement is to oppose ones own exploiters first.

Only a third Camp viewpoint (except a purely pacifist one) provided a logical framework within which one can oppose the two war camps--anything else merely plays in the hands of either the stalinists or ends as effective support of the West.

In a way there is a similarity between the idea of the General Strike and the idea of the Third Camp--neither has a material base, both are pragmatically effective. The Third Camp idea works--it is a way to continue the struggle for socialism without any illusions.

-----  
This the second article by the Luxemburg Tendency developing its ideas. Any comments, criticisms etc. are welcome.



Youngs Socialist Review

Late Spring                      June 1952

Page 16 was missing from  
my original.                      No copy of this

issue is found in Hal Draper's  
"mimeographia".

Marty                      June 2013

17

peoples for self-government." It promises to aid in the economic development of the once "dependent" areas. Humble and contrite, it apologizes to mankind for its "past excesses." Yet its performance is anything but convincing. The economic imperialism of the United States in Central and South America continues unabated. Two "police actions" marked the withdrawal of the Dutch from Indonesia. To this day the French, with American guns, are fighting the Viet Minh movement in Indochina. Aside from Libya and Ethiopia, not a country in Africa has yet gained its independence; independence movements in Tunisia and Egypt have only recently been suppressed with a ruthlessness that is truly appalling. In the Pacific, the United States has seized numerous small islands and uses them as military bases, just as if their inhabitants had never existed. Of all the nations in the Atlantic Camp, only Great Britain, while a Labor government was at the helm, showed any inclination to end its own imperialism, and it is to the everlasting credit of that government that it relinquished its hold on India and Burma without violence. Even British Labor, however, proved to be more interested in its Suez "lifeline" and its oil supply than in the freedom and welfare of the Egyptians and the Iranians. By and large, the Atlantic Camp has gotten out when thrown out, if at all. But that is not all. The Atlantic Camp has shown a consistent tendency to ally itself all around the globe with the most reactionary elements of the population: the landlord whose abolition is the first prerequisite of agricultural progress throughout Southeast Asia, the sheik who takes his cut of the Arabian oil profits, the Falangist and the Boer who carry on the tradition of the prewar Axis. Its promises of economic aid are fulfilled with shipments of guns which prop up all the assorted forces of the status quo; its every act of humanitarianism is prompted by the most ludicrous Russophobia and self-interest. In short, while Washington, D.C. may style itself "the capital of the free world," the Atlantic Camp has as yet failed to give any indication that its freedom is for anyone but itself.

For that matter, even within its own borders the Atlantic Camp is unable to provide freedom and adequate living standards for all. Having no positive ideology with which to appeal to the people of the world, and being itself the hated exploiter of many millions of them, it can meet the threat of an expanding Stalinism by force of arms alone. Consequently the already strained economies of Europe must be burdened with a crushing armaments program; consequently any nation of Europe desiring to vote the "wrong" way in the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations must first reckon with the purse strings of the United States and the threats of reactionary United States Congressmen; and consequently the attempts of European nations to carry through Socialist domestic programs must give way to the needs of rearmament. In the United States itself, the domestic economy is kept in working order only by vast spending for armaments. Because the armaments economy is a busy economy and tends to distribute shares in the decreasing output of consumption goods fairly widely, it maintains a false appearance of prosperity. Yet as the armaments program increases, the question of "guns or butter" is here, as elsewhere, more and more obviously solved to the detriment of the working people. The militarization and bureaucratization of American life have already resulted in a dangerous attack upon the traditional rights of the American people. Subversive lists, legislative witch-hunts, anti-

labor legislation, and name-calling provide a smoke-screen behind which war preparations take place. The attack on the campus assumes unprecedented dimensions. Educators, actors, scientists, and writers are all compelled to prove their unimpeachable loyalty to the state.

Economic and political imperialism abroad, armaments, subordination to the United States, and loyalty oaths at home: this is the Atlantic Camp.

On the other side stands the Soviet Camp. Itself the product of an abortive revolution in a semi-colonial backwater of Europe, its proudest boast is that in thirty-four years it has become the world's second industrial power, successfully maintained its independence through a world war, and expanded to embrace a fourth of all mankind. To accomplish this, it has in the same period borrowed all the worst evils of capitalism, perfected them to their ultimate horror, and clothed them in the sheepskin of Marxism. It transformed its labor force and collectivized agriculture in an economic revolution whose misery and loss of life passed all previous bounds. It fettered the worker in government-dominated trade unions, crushed every strike and demonstration, starved the peasant who resisted. It destroyed every opposition party, granted the people no choices but its own, purged its own adherents who deviated. It built a whole sector of its economy on prison-camp labor. It smothered music, art, literature, science...in a word, all the creative activities of human beings...under the censorship of the Central Committee. It deprived the population of anything approaching a civilized living standard to maintain the largest military establishment in the world. It suppressed the creative initiative of the people in the control of the institutions surrounding them; it created a privileged class of bureaucrats and executives scarcely distinguishable from the capitalist bourgeoisie; it dedicated the lives of its victims to the same empty pursuit of more and more goods and services which characterizes the capitalist West.

The Soviet Camp capitalizes greatly upon its revolutionary tradition; unlike the Atlantic Camp, it seeks to ally itself abroad with the popular movements of workers and peasants. For the most part, however, the workers and peasants are not deceived. They know the Soviet Camp as a ruthless, intolerant machine which destroys what it cannot control. Time and time again they have seen it sabotage and slander the trade unions, the cooperatives, and the governments of workers and peasants who refused to take its orders. They have seen it promise land to the peasant, only to force him onto collective farms after it seized power. They have seen it purge and liquidate its lifelong allies in Eastern Europe and China, allies who learned too late that only one goal could be served by cooperation with the Soviet Camp: acquiescence. In short, the oppressed, exploited, manhandled masses of the earth are no more anxious to be enslaved by the Soviet Camp than to remain the pawns and gunfodder of the Atlantic Camp.

This widespread but mute opposition to both the Atlantic and Soviet Camps has long been a political fact of tremendous potential importance. Only recently, however, has it begun to crystallize, here and there, in demands for a Third Camp...a Socialist Camp. The Socialist Parties of India and Lebanon have been the first to voice this demand explicitly, but the rise of Bevanism in Great Britain shows clearly an unmistakable global trend in the same direction.

It is not surprising that the impetus for a Third Camp should

come from the forces of Socialism. Of all the world's political forces, only international Socialism has consistently proclaimed its opposition to both capitalism and Soviet Communism. More important yet, the aims and values of the Socialist movement are precisely those found lacking in the Atlantic and Soviet Camps, precisely those for which the peoples of the world are desperately groping. The particular needs of the Third Camp are four: Genuine political freedom for all the world's people; a productive mechanism adequate to maintain reasonable living standards in all parts of the world; active control of the productive mechanism and other institutions of society by all those involved in them, such as to insure that the burdens do not fall on the many and the benefits accrue to the few, and that endless generations of mankind are not led into the dehumanizing blind alley of production for production's sake; and an end to the perpetual war crisis which plagues our time. All these needs of the Third Camp are at the same time the most fundamental goals of the Socialist movement.

Notwithstanding, it is clear that some reorientation of Socialist thinking may be necessary if Socialism is to become, in the minds of all men, a Third Camp. Above all, it is necessary that the Socialists of Europe and America take more care to think and act as Socialists beyond their own borders. It will not do for the Socialists of the Netherlands to send their armies against the Socialists of Indonesia; or for the Socialists of Great Britain cheerfully to hand the Egyptian hot potato to the Tories. It will not do for Socialists in Europe and America to leave areas which have come upon the industrial scene more recently to their own resources; it will not do to drive those who seek to achieve for themselves the benefits of modern science and technology to adopt the kind of measures used in the Soviet Camp...measures utterly incompatible with the development of Socialism. Rather, Socialists everywhere must vigorously and uncompromisingly cooperate to overthrow economic and political imperialism, as well as landlord and other reactionary rule, wherever it may exist. Socialists everywhere must enlist all the productive capacity at their disposal in a cooperative effort to rebuild the world.

A much-suffering, much-thwarted humanity awaits with silent hope the challenge and the one small victory which will galvanize enthusiasm and catalyze the formation of the Third Camp everywhere. Socialists everywhere must realize their responsibility to bring about this one small victory, and to do so they must themselves put forth the challenge. They will succeed in doing so, however, only if they dispel the notion that Socialism is any sort of "middle way," any ill-begotten compromise between two systems whose chief point in common is a callous disregard for human beings; they must proclaim and prove, both in word and in deed, that Socialism is a Third Camp, a workable alternative to both varieties of exploitation and domination.

We call upon all members of the Socialist International to lend all needed assistance to the nascent Third Camp. And we American Socialists promise to play our part with all the resources at our command.

-----

AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY