

**SOCIALIST**

**YOUTH REVIEW**

MAR-APR

# SOCIALIST YOUTH REVIEW

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Dear Friends:

WE REGRET THAT this issue is more than a month behind schedule. Technical handicaps in the National Office and the lateness of articles submitted are responsible for the delay. The first of these problems should be overcome this month and if articles are in on time, SYR will be published on schedule.

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THE NEW YORK UNIT is organizing a workshop around SYR which other units would do well to follow. It is an excellent educational technique that is more interesting and more stimulating than the usual class method. Also, it would help insure the regular appearance of the magazine. The plan is simple. Unit members and contacts get together and discuss what articles would be appropriate for the next issue. A number of topics are chosen and assigned. A preliminary discussion on the subjects is then held. Two weeks later the articles should be completed and read before the group; discussed, revised and finally submitted to SYR. In New York the project is led by comrade Irving Howe.

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A number of comrades criticized articles in the last issue dealing with questions of a semi-internal, organizational nature. The criticism is valid and henceforth the magazine will be devoted almost exclusively to educational and cultural articles.

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BEGINNING WITH THE next issue the SYR will feature editorials which will present the SYL position on national and international politics, specific youth problems and attitude toward other youth organizations.

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1906

## Leon Sedoff

1938

Ten years ago, February 16, Leon Sedoff, son of Leon Trotsky died in Paris. The circumstances surrounding his death were mysterious at the time and later investigation indicated that his death was not a natural one; that the long, murderous arm of the GPU had sought out Sedov and assassinated him. The following excerpt is from Trotsky's dedication to proletarian youth in honor of his son.

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ON FEBRUARY 16th the Mexican evening papers carried a brief dispatch on the death of Leon Sedoff following a surgical operation. Absorbed in urgent work I did not see these papers. Diego Rivera on his own initiative checked this dispatch by radio and came to me with the terrible news. An hour later I told Nathalia of the death of our son in the same month of February in which 32 years ago she brought to me in all the news of his birth. Thus ended for us the day of February 16, the blackest day in our personal lives.



WE HAD EXPECTED many things, almost anything but not this. For only recently Leon had written us concerning his intention to secure a job in a factory. At the same time he expressed the hope of writing the history of the Russian Opposition for a scientific institute. He was full of plans. Only two days prior to the news of his death we received a letter from him dated February 4, brimming with courage and vitality. Here it is before me. "We are making preparations," he wrote, "for the trial in Switzerland where the situation is very favorable both as regards so-called 'public opinion' and authorities". And he went on to list a number of favorable facts and symptoms. "En somme nous marquons des points." The letter breathes with assurance concerning the future. Whence then this malignant disease, and lightning death? In twelve days? For us, the question is shrouded in deep mystery. Will it ever be cleared up?

It presented no serious difficulty for the agents of Stalin to gain access to Leon, his clothing, his food. Are judicial experts, even if untrammelled by "diplomatic" considerations capable of arriving at a definitive conclusion on this point? In connection with war chemistry the art of poisoning has nowadays attained an extraordinary development. To be sure the secrets of this art are inaccessible to common mortals. But the poisoners of the G.P.U. have access to everything. It is entirely feasible to conceive of a poison which cannot be detected after death, even with the most careful analysis. And who will guarantee such care?

OR DID THEY kill him without resorting to the aid of chemistry? The young and profoundly sensitive and tender being had had far too much to bear. The long years of the campaign of lies against his father and the best of the older comrades, whom Leon from his childhood had become accustomed to revere and love, had already deeply shaken his moral organism. The long series of capitulations by members of the Opposition dealt him blows that were no less heavy. Then followed in Berlin the suicide of Zina, my older daughter, whom Stalin had perfidiously, out of the sheerest vindictiveness, torn from her children, her family, her



own milieu. Leon found himself with his older sister's corpse and her six-year old boy on his hands. He decided to try to reach his younger brother Sergei in Moscow by phone. Either because the G.P.U. was momentarily disconcerted by Zina's suicide or because it hoped to listen in to some secrets, a phone connection, contrary to all expectations was made, and Leon was able to transmit the tragic news to Moscow by his own voice. Such was the last conversation between our two boys, doomed brothers, over the still-warm body of their sister. Leon's letters to us in Frinkipo were terse, meager and restrained when they described his ordeal. He spared us far too much. But in every line one could feel an unbearable moral strain.

**MATERIAL DIFFICULTIES AND privations** Leon bore lightly, jokingly, like a true proletarian: but of course they too left their mark. Infinitely more harrowing were the effects of the subsequent moral tortures. The Moscow Trial of the sixteen, the monstrous nature of the accusations, the nightmarish testimony of the defendants among them Smirnov and Krachkovsky whom Leon so intimately knew and loved; the unexpected internment of his father and mother in Norway, the period of four months without any news; the theft of the archives, the mysterious removal of my wife and myself to Mexico; the second Moscow Trials with its even more delirious accusations and confessions, the disappearance of his brother Sergei, accused of "poisoning workers"; the shooting of countless people who had either been close friends or remained friends to the end; the persecutions and the attempts of the G.P.U. in France, the murder of Reiss in Switzerland, the lies, the baseness, the perfidy, the frame-ups; no, "Stalinism" was for Leon not an abstract political concept but an endless series of moral blows and spiritual wounds. Whether the Moscow masters resorted to chemistry, or whether everything they had previously done proved sufficient, the conclusion remains one and the same; It was they who killed him. The day of his death they marked on the Thermidorian calendar as a major celebration.

**BEFORE THEY KILLED** him they did everything in their power to slander and blacken our son in the eyes of contemporaries and of posterity. Cain Djughashvili and his henchmen tried to depict Leon as an agent of capitalist restoration in the U.S.S.R., the organizer of railway wrecks and murders of workers. The efforts of the scoundrels are in vain. Tons of Thermidorian filth rebound from his young figure, leaving not a stain on him. Leon was a thoroughly clean, honest, pure human being. He could before any working class gathering tell the story of his life—alas, so brief—day by day, as I have briefly told it here. He had nothing to be ashamed of or hide. Moral nobility was the basic warp of his character. He unwaveringly served the cause of the oppressed, because he remained true to himself. From the hands of nature and history he emerged a man of heroic mould. The great awe-inspiring events which hover over us will need such people. Had Leon lived to participate in these events he would have shown his true stature. But he did not live. Our Leon, boy son, heroic fighter, is no more.

**HIS MOTHER, WHO** was closer to him than any other person in the world—and I am living through these terrible hours recalling his image, feature by feature, unable to believe that he is no more and weeping because it is impossible not to believe. How can we accustom ourselves to the idea that upon this earth there no longer exists the warm, human entity bound to us by such indissoluble threads of common memories, mutual understanding, and tender attachment. No one knew us and no one knows us, our strong and our weak sides, so well as he did. He was a part of both of us, our young part. By hundreds of channels our

thoughts and feelings daily reached out to him in Paris. Together with our boy, had died everything that still remained young within us.

GOOD-BY, LEON, good-by dear and incomparable friend. Your mother and I never thought, never expected that destiny would impose on us this terrible task of writing your obituary. We lived in firm conviction that long after we were gone you would be the continuer of our common cause. But we were not able to protect you. Good-by Leon! We bequeath your irreproachable memory to the younger generation of the workers of the world. You will rightly live in the hearts of all those who work, suffer and struggle for a better world. Revolutionary youth of all countries! Accept from us the memory of our Leon, adopt him as your son—he is worthy of it—and let him henceforth participate invisibly in your battles, since destiny had denied him the happiness of participating in your final victory.

Though there are numerous social differences between the Nazi and Stalinist totalitarian systems there are also many similarities. One of the most brutally striking resemblances is their systematic suppression of all socialist opposition. To dissipate the threat of socialist ideas and activity to their totalitarian rule, Hitler and Stalin through their Gestapo and G.P.U. have assassinated, executed, tortured and imprisoned thousands of socialists. Below are a few names from the tragically long list of.....

## SOCIALISTS MURDERED BY.....

### S T A L I N

LEON TROTSKY (leader of the 4th International assassinated by a G.P.U. agent-August 22, 1940)

ERLICH and ALTER (Polish socialist leaders executed in Russia)

ANDRES NIN (leader of the Spanish P.O.U.M.-Party of Marxist Unity- assassinated by G.P.U. in Spain)

IGNACE REIS (murdered by G.P.U. in Switzerland when he joined the Fourth International)

RUDOLF CLEMENT (Secretary of the Fourth International murdered by Stalinists in France)

SHELDON HARTE (American Trotskyist killed in Mexico)

ZINOVIEV, KAMENEV, BUKHARIN, RYKOV, (Old Bolsheviks-victims of the infamous Moscow Frame-up Trials)  
etc. etc. etc....

### H I T L E R

SNEEVLIET, DOLLEMAN, SCHIEFFER, WITTEVEN, EDEL, KOESLAG, BARTEN, MENIST, GERRITSEN (leaders of the Dutch Trotskyists assassinated by the Gestapo-April 12, 1942)

LESAIL, NOPERE, MICHAUX, FRANQUET, BEUGNIES, MARCOURT (leaders of the Belgian Trotskyists executed by the Nazis)

POULIOPOULOS, MAKRIE, XYPOLYTOS, YANNAKOS (leaders of the Greek Trotskyists executed by Nazis)

HIC, BOURHIS, GUEGUEN, COLLIARD, MEICHLER, TRESSO, LAURENT, SUZIN, WIDELIN (leaders of the French Trotskyists killed by Nazis)

etc. etc. etc....

(Only Trotskyists are noted here to throw the lie into the teeth of Stalinists who slandered us as "fascist agents" because we maintained our socialist opposition to the Second World Imperialist War.)



# BRITISH "SOCIALISM" FAILS!

THE BRITISH LABOR Party assumed the reins of government at the close of World War II. It was charged with the responsibility of re-organizing an economy which had been declining for years due to antiquated production methods and declining resources and which in addition had suffered heavy damages due to the war. By 1939 output per man in Great Britain was less than one half that of the United States. In every industry except shipbuilding, British productivity was less than that of the United States. In coal mining the sickest of her industries a steady decline in productivity had taken place. British output per man shift was 1.14 long tons as compared with the American figure of 4.37 long tons. By 1945 coal productivity had declined another 12%. Her returns from overseas investments however helped to offset this decline and maintain a higher national income than would have seemed possible. Today this advantage is wiped out. By June 1944, 4.2 billions of dollars of overseas investments were gone and her merchant marine destroyed. British overseas indebtedness has mounted to over 12 billion dollars during the war. The mother country is in debt to her colonies!



At home the picture is no less dreary. At least 9% of domestic capital was destroyed by the war. The losses in producers goods plus overcrowded housing and damaged transportation making travel to work difficult has cut seriously into output per man. Manchester, center of Britain's industrial wealth was heavily damaged during the war due to bombing. Hull, Britain's third port was the worst bombed city in the kingdom. A 25% decline in shipping tonnage resulted from the war. 300,000 homes were made uninhabitable due to the war and 5 million were damaged. More serious is the dangerous backlog that has occurred in much needed repairs.

IN ORDER TO recoup her losses as a capitalist nation, Britain must export. She must in fact increase her exports 75% over 1939. Since a 50% decline in exports took place during the war this becomes an enormous project. The difficulties in this undertaking cannot be overestimated. Take into account the heavy losses in industry, the lack of modern equipment, the loss of sources of raw materials, (Finland her chief source of timber, a vital raw material now sends all her timber to Russia as reparations) and the fact that most of her markets have been snatched up by competitors who can produce in greater quantities and more cheaply and we can see that recovery for Britain as a capitalist nation is next to impossible. Britain has for many years had to import more than she could export. This decline in exports plus her loss of overseas investments which previously made up for her unfavorable balance of trade strikes the death blow to Britain as an imperialist nation. Don Quixote eyeing windmills is no less ludicrous than a Tory statesman fanning the dying embers of British Imperialism.

such a situation? The answer to this question is by no means given by the activities of the British Labor government. Far from carrying through a socialist program we can only refer to the statement of Prime Minister Attlee that the Labor government aims at no more than a mixed economy; that is they intend to nationalize no more than 15-20% of the economy. If we study the terms of the nationalization program we see that it too is far from being socialist. In fact when the Bank of England and the coal mines were nationalized it had the full support of the Conservative party, his majesty's loyal Tory opposition. The nationalization of the bank took the following form; 17,000 stockholders turned in shares having a nominal value of 100 pounds and received in return government bonds maturing in 60 years worth 400 pounds. Lord Cato, big shot in British finance will remain as chairman of the new Board of Governors. The joint stock banks which are more important since they issue new credits to industries are untouched by the nationalization program except insofar as new investors require government licenses. The relation of the joint stock banks to the Bank of England remains in the hands of Lord Cato.

FOR COAL A tribunal was set up to set the compensation for the coal mines taking into account current stock quotations and value of capital and property. A nine man coal board running the mines will manage it on a straight commercial basis, getting their own salaries and wages for employees. Demands by the miners organization that they be represented on the board have been rejected by the government. Compensation which will also be paid in government securities is estimated at from 4 to 6 billions. It is noteworthy that government bonds are gilt-edged and interest will be drawn no matter what the showing of the industry. In effect the British people will be burdened with the task of subsidizing the stockholders in the "expropriated" Bank of England and in the coal mines.

THERE IS NO doubt that the present crisis in the British economy is a product of years of capitalist mismanagement and could not possibly be completely solved in a short period by a socialist government. Even viewing the socialist reconstruction of Great Britain from a long range point of view it becomes obvious that her dependence on the world market would make impossible the construction of a socialist Britain without a socialist revolution in other countries, particularly the United States. Britain could not exist for any protracted period as a socialist nation without a socialist United States of Europe and a socialist America. The complete degeneration of the workers state in Russia is living proof of the impossibility of "Socialism in One Country"



WE DO NOT deduce however from this analysis that to attempt to build socialism in Great Britain is not possible and will not yield fruitful results. Great Britain could take great steps forward in industrialization and raising the standard of living of her people by introduction of socialized planning throughout the economy; by introducing workers control of industry; by withdrawing her troops from



foreign countries and her colonies utilizing these troops to ease the manpower shortage and using the funds for the upkeep of an army to develop socialist production.

LET US UTILIZE the recent fuel crisis in Britain as an example of what we mean. When the Labor government nationalized the mines it inherited a sick industry which had no reserves of coal. Although it increased production in the mines it supplied industry only on a day to day basis. Thus when the weather disrupted the economy the industry had no stocks of coal to tide it over through the emergency. We know that when the Labor government took over the mines there had been a steady decline in coal production under capitalist management and although production increased after nationalization it wasn't enough to meet an emergency of this type. How would we have met this problem?

IN THE PLANNING agencies of the labor government the capitalist representatives remain supreme. These are the same capitalists who mis-managed British economy for years. A socialist government would have replaced capitalist representatives with workers representatives. The workers would then have felt that the mines were really theirs and would have had an incentive to produce more. These workers representatives would have increased the wages of the miners as they demanded by utilizing the fabulous sums paid in compensation to the mine owners. It would have installed safety devices in the mines so that a miner wouldn't feel that he is taking his life into his hands every time he goes down into a mine. Instead of using anti-capitalist measures to raise production the British Labor Party used anti-working class measures. Witness the recent use of government troops in the dockworkers and trucking strikes. These measures would have helped ameliorate the tendency for miners to try and get out of the occupation which is hazardous and low paying for the type of work they are doing. A socialist government would have withdrawn foreign troops which only serve the purpose of propping up a dying empire and subjugating foreign peoples. These troops returned home would help solve the manpower shortage which is one of the chief problems of the British economy. A socialist government would have closed luxury hotels and ended luxury production. A socialist government would have socialized all of industry introducing a general plan throughout industry to coordinate and plan all branches. It would have instituted district fuel rationing, calling on all workers to set up committees in every district of representatives of workers organizations. It would have asked all co-ops and housewives to ensure the carrying out of its fuel economies. It would call upon the workers to help the government by introducing workers control of production until the state was ready to take over, and by this means prevent the remaining capitalist owners from sabotaging socialist planned production. This is what the Bolsheviks did in backward Russia in 1917. It would be a hundred times easier in modern and advanced Britain of 1947.

THIS IS THE program of the British Trotskyists, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain. The crisis in Great Britain is not a product of too much socialism but of not enough. Only socialist planning and socialist direction will prevent Great Britain from falling further into the backlog of capitalist decline.

Gertrude Blackwell



# HASHOMER HATZAIR AT THE CROSSROADS

THE MEMBERSHIP OF Hashomer Hatzair must face reality. In the next few months, Kibbutz Artzi plans to establish itself as an "adult, Zionist-socialist party in the United States" (Youth and Nation, February 1947). This is an action which will have severe effects upon the American Hashomer Hatzair.

IN THE PAST, HH has been able to pass for an independent youth organization which generally supports the policies of the Kibbutz Artzi without being too restricted by the "line" set down by that organization. However, with the formation of KA as a political party in the United States (Miflet Hashomer Hatzair), the conception of HH as an independent Zionist youth organization will change. Hashomer Hatzair will unquestionably become an appendage of this proposed political machine.



THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION will no doubt fight for its organizational independence. It will seek to set up organizational barriers between the party and the youth. An opposition to the formation of a party may, even arise in the next few months. But oppositions and organizational barriers will not prevent what is necessary, and thus inevitable from occurring. Political necessity demands that KA form a political party to represent its point of view on the important American Zionist scene: such a party will be established despite any opposition

that may arise from the youth of HH. Hashomer Hatzair is closely attached to the KA through a few Palestinian delegates that are maintained in the United States for that purpose. Will organizational barriers prevent the domination of HH by the party representing KA in the United States. From an organization presumably built from the "bottom up", HH will eventually be transformed into an organization whose political and educational line is determined at the top in co-ordination with the needs of the party.

FROM THIS INEVITABLE organizational development will flow important political consequences; some will concern only members of HH and others will prove of interest to all radical youth.

## THIEVES CORRESPONDENCE

I beg you to accept my sincerest congratulations on your sixtieth birthday. I enclose with them my best wishes for your personal welfare as for a happy future for the peoples of the friendly Soviet Union.

Adolf Hitler

Berlin, December 21, 1939

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany, Mr. Joachim von Ribbentrop:

I thank you, Mr. Minister, for your congratulations. The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented by blood, has every reason to be lasting and firm.

Joseph Stalin

Moscow, December 24, 1939

FOR EXAMPLE IT might develop that joining the party of KA will prove to be an alternative to going to Palestine for the members of HH. This would change the entire political direction of HH. But this is a matter for conjecture and does not concern us here. On the other hand, there exists in the American HH a strong anti-Stalinist tendency in opposition to the pro-Russian line of the KA. The future development of this tendency is of great interest and importance to radical youth.

IN THE PAST, there has been very little "ideological pressure" upon the anti-Stalinists by the pro-Stalinists within the Hashomer. However, as political contact develops between the party of KA in America and the HH there will necessarily be a sharp clash on the nature of the Russian system between the party, which will undoubtedly be pro-Russian, and the anti-Stalinist tendency in HH. For the first time political questions will attain real meaning for HH. This clash will be of interest to every radical young person for many interesting points will develop in the discussion of the Russian State. Among other things the anti-Stalinist tendency will see that KA cannot be "reformed" on this question. The anti-Stalinist tendency will learn that serious anti-Stalinism, based upon a characterization of Russia as a non-socialist state, is incompatible with the Zionism of KA. Kibbutz Artzi itself, being a serious political organization will be sure to impress these facts upon the consciousness of the American Hashomer Hatzair as soon as it has established itself as a political force upon the American Zionist scene.

THE PROOF THAT progressive anti-Stalinism is fundamentally incompatible with the Zionism of KA is simple. The fundamental interests of Zionism and imperialism are irreconcilable. This is our only premise and should be fairly obvious to any person from Hashomer Hatzair. On the one hand, Zionism needs unrestricted immigration and the development of Palestine as an efficient economic unit. On the other hand, an imperialist power seeking to exploit the Middle East (and by "Imperialist power" we mean here any state that finds it an economic and military necessity to exploit the resources, markets, and strategic positions of an area) cannot tolerate the development of Palestine as a strong economic unit because that would 1) pose a competitor for the markets and resources of the Middle East and 2) pose a threat to the utilization of the area as a military base. And today, when the great nations of the world are jockeying for strategic positions in preparations for third world war, this fundamental antagonism of interests between Zionism and imperialism will become ever sharper and manifest itself in further restrictive measures against Zionism and the development of Palestine.

NOW IF KIBBUTZ ARTZI saw that Zionism is faced with a wholly imperialist world, each nation of which would be operating in an imperialist manner, (and KA presumably could see this since it is a "Marxist" organization), Kibbutz Artzi would have to admit that a full solution of the Jewish problem through territorial concentration can only be achieved after imperialism is no longer effective as a factor in the Middle East; furthermore, that Zionism is not valid



historically as a solution for the Jewish problem under conditions of decaying imperialist capitalism; and that consequently a new, non-Zionist program for the Jewish people, basing itself upon anti-imperialist, revolutionary socialist perspectives, would be necessary. However, Kibbutz Artzi does not undertake this basic revision of Zionism. Why? Kibbutz Artzi does not even approach the concepts outlined above because Kibbutz Artzi obviously doesn't believe that the world is wholly imperialist. Kibbutz Artzi believes that Russia is a Socialist progressive state that will intervene for the Jewish people at the appropriate moment. Kibbutz Artzi on this basis, and only on this basis, raises the cry: "Let the UNO take care of the Palestinian mandate." KA certainly does not have any bourgeois illusions about the UNO as have the rest of the Zionist organizations. KA certainly knows that the UNO is functioning as an international robber conference. But KA knows that Russia will be involved if the Palestinian mandate problem reaches the Security Council. In the position of Kibbutz Artzi on Russia lies the basis for the politics and program of Kibbutz Artzi.

THUS WE CAN see the situation is as we contended originally. Pro-Stalinism enables Kibbutz Artzi to be consistent in its Zionism and we have also seen that anti-Stalinism is incompatible with the Zionist perspectives of Kibbutz Artzi. What will the anti-Stalinist tendency do when it is "taught" by the Miglegeth Hachomer Hatzair that anti-Stalinism is not compatible with the Zionist part of "socialist-Zionism"?



THERE MAY BE attempts on the part of the anti-Stalinist tendency in HH to resolve the difficulties of their position by claiming that the slogan for a UNO mandate is not basically designed to give Russia an opportunity to interfere in the Palestinian question but it is only meant to "stall for time" while immigration builds up the Jewish population in Palestine. Such arguments merely evade the question. Do these "Socialist" really believe that any imperialism will find it advantageous, and allow Jewish immigration into Palestine on a scale large enough to solve the Jewish problem? This is the crux of the problem.

WE DO NOT deny that revolutionary pressure by the Jewish masses within and outside of Palestine may result in enough immigration to relieve some of the hardships of the displaced Jews of Europe. What we do deny, however, is that the Zionists will be able to achieve the unrestricted immigration necessary for the fulfillment of the aims of Zionism under any imperialist set-up. As for illegal immigration it obviously cannot substitute for unrestricted immigration in an adequate manner. Illegal immigration cannot bring sufficient numbers of Jews into Palestine to change the situation therein favor of Zionism, i.e. obtain a Jewish majority.

THERE WILL BE a much more serious criticism of our position as presented above, arising from members of HH who will claim that there are intermediate "grey" positions lying between the attributed "pure blacks and whites" of our analysis. These people will say: "There are admittedly many flaws in the Russian system today, but these flaws are caused by the isolation of the Soviet Union, the necessity of arming for war, etc. Russia, however, still maintains a nationalized property form and this is the crucial point. Zionism can still rely on Russia because it still is socialism despite all bureaucratic deformation." This may well be the major argument presented by the anti-Stalinists within HH in order to resolve the contradiction between their position and political affiliation with KA. Implicit in this position are many contradictions and unproven assumptions, which the people who hold this position will have to resolve and prove. Let us attempt to point out some of the fallacies in this argument although obviously it would be impossible to go into a full discussion of the Russian question here.

THESE PEOPLE WILL recognize on the basis of their position that Russia has been forced to take non-Socialist steps inside and outside of Russian boundaries because of the pressure of world imperialism. Certainly, the acts of Russia in Poland and other countries under her domination cannot be called socialist actions. Nor can the policies of the Communist Parties in Italy, France, etc. be consonant with the socialist end. Even if one assumes that Russia is a "degenerated socialism" it is obvious that there is a contradiction between the "socialism" of Russia and the non-socialist acts of aggression it is forced to practice in order to survive. Given such a contradiction, how can one state that Russia will necessarily aid Zionism? Isn't Moscow as much interested in Arabian oil as London? Isn't Moscow as much interested in the strategic location of the Middle East as Washington?

THE INFORMATION WHICH has come to this country from Palestine indicates that Russia is more interested in dealing with the Arab States than with the Jewish people. The Palestinian Communist Party came out against Zionism in the thirties, and today an all Arab section of the Palestinian Stalinist movement is lined up with the reactionary "Arab National Front" against Zionism. It would seem there is a gap between Russian "degenerated socialism" and "Zionism can still rely on Russia" which is bridged only by the wishful thinking of the supporters of this position. It is this projection of a desire, alienated from the social forces, into political reality which makes the politics of Hashomer Hatzair so fuzzy; which transforms Marxism into utopian socialism for them.

THE HOLDERS OF the position that Russia is "degenerated socialism" have many things to explain. They must first explain why a nationalized economy can be equated to socialism if the working class of that economy has no political power. They must explain why the Soviet bureaucracy has had to revise the Marxist theories. They must explain why the Stalinist bureaucracy restored inheritance and reintroduced many of the reactionary social institutions and habits of pre-1917 Russia. These include establishment of tuition fees for secondary education, restriction of divorce, revival of the military caste system, etc. They must explain the growing differentials in pay.



between worker and bureaucrat, the low standard of living of the Russian people, the extensive use of slave labor and the complete lack of intellectual and political freedom. The list of evidence against the theory that Russia has anything in common with socialism is interminable. How degenerate must this vast Russian totalitarian prison become before these people lose their illusion about the "socialist" character of Russia.

THE ANTI-STALINIST tendency within HH must come out with a clear statement of their position on Russia. Only then will it be possible for this tendency to seriously consider the future of Zionism and the future of Kibbutz Artzi. For Hashomer Hatzair and Kibbutz Artzi Zionism stands or falls on a characterization of the Soviet Union.

WOULD THE ACCEPTANCE of our perspective that Zionism is unattainable while world capitalism exists mean that there could only be posed an assimilationist perspective? It was Trotsky who pointed out in his article "Thermidor and Anti-Semitism" that, "the very same methods of solving the Jewish question which under decaying capitalism will have a utopian and reactionary character (Zionism) will, under the regime of a socialist federation take on real and salutary meaning. "This position does not imply assimilation for the Jewish people. We do not believe that mass assimilation is historically possible for the Jewish people under conditions of declining imperialism. This position means alignment of the Jewish people, inside and outside of Palestine, with the revolutionary socialist movement behind an anti-imperialist banner.

SPACE LIMITATIONS PREVENT elaboration of this point, but articles on this question have been printed and are available in the November 1946 issue of the New International, monthly theoretical magazine of the Workers Party.

WITH THE IMPENDING formation of the Miglegeth Hashomer Hatzair, all members of Hashomer Hatzair who disagree entirely or partially with Kibbutz Artzi on the Russian question and those who have not seriously considered the question must think about the Russian problem carefully. They must then determine whether their position on this paramount problem is consistent with membership in the new organization.

WE BELIEVE THAT our position on the Jewish question is the correct one. We ask that the membership of Hashomer Hatzair re-evaluate their position in the light of political reality. We believe that this re-evaluation can only have one result. "With the progressive elements of the Jewish people rests the obligation to come to the help of the revolutionary vanguard."

Arthur Conkin