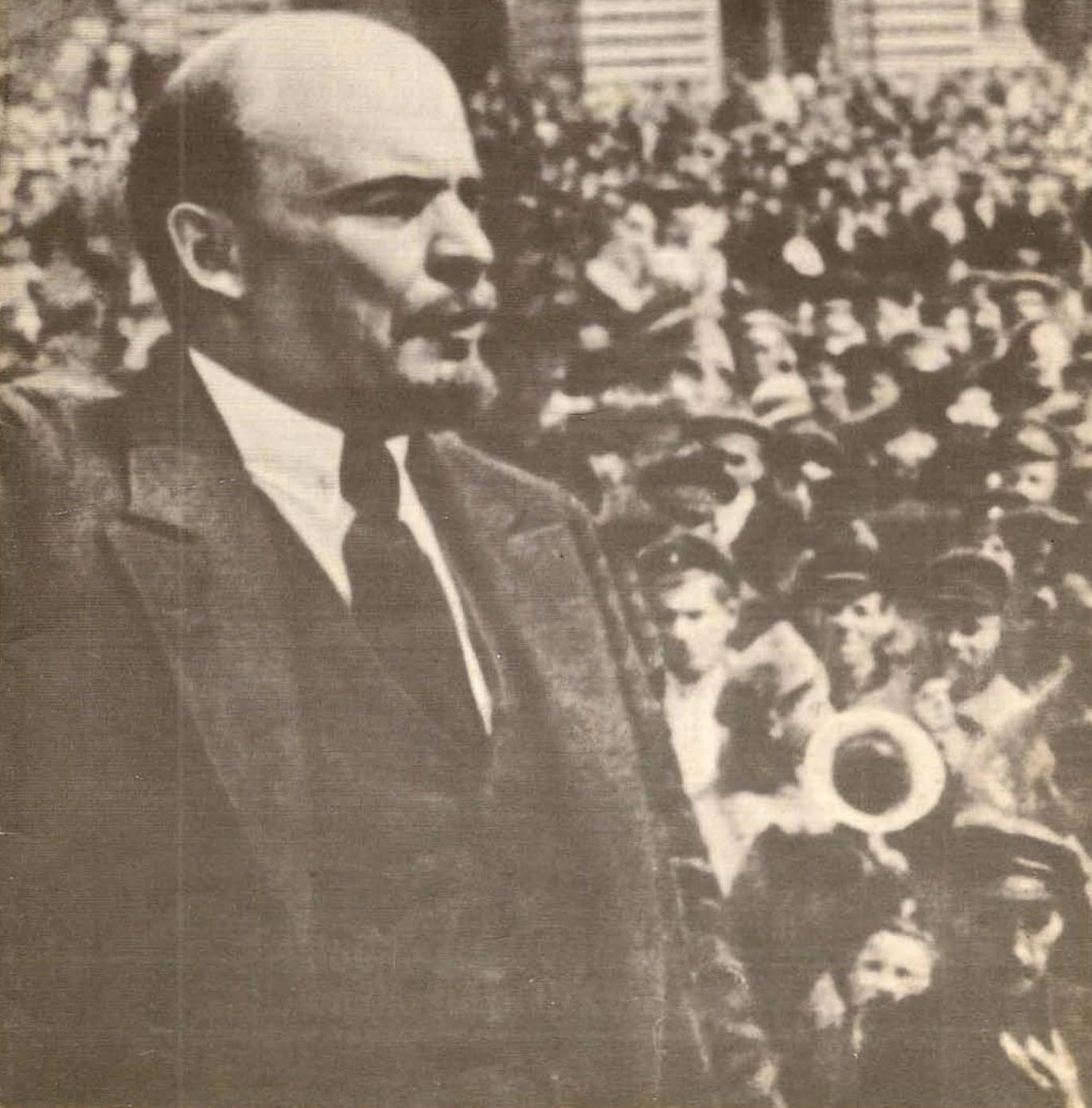


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INTRODUCTION

This is the first issue of Socialist Review. It is published by a group of revolutionary Marxists, supporters of the Fourth International. The Fourth International was founded in 1939 under the guiding influence of Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the Russian Revolution. With the advent of the Stalinist reaction, the Fourth International has been through the years a major repository of the tradition of Marxist thought and an avenue for its further development. In Australia, the Fourth International has had a long history in the labour movement seeking, often with limited numbers and against considerable adversity, to attempt a socialist clarification of issues as they developed, and to play what part it could in the struggle against capitalism. In 1965, there was a division in the Fourth International. By a very small majority, the Australian section declared its support for a small group within the International. That group still exists, publishes a journal titled International, which puts the view of that minor tendency. The remaining supporters of the Fourth International continued to work in small groups or as individuals, explaining and developing their views, winning others to their position, and playing their part in

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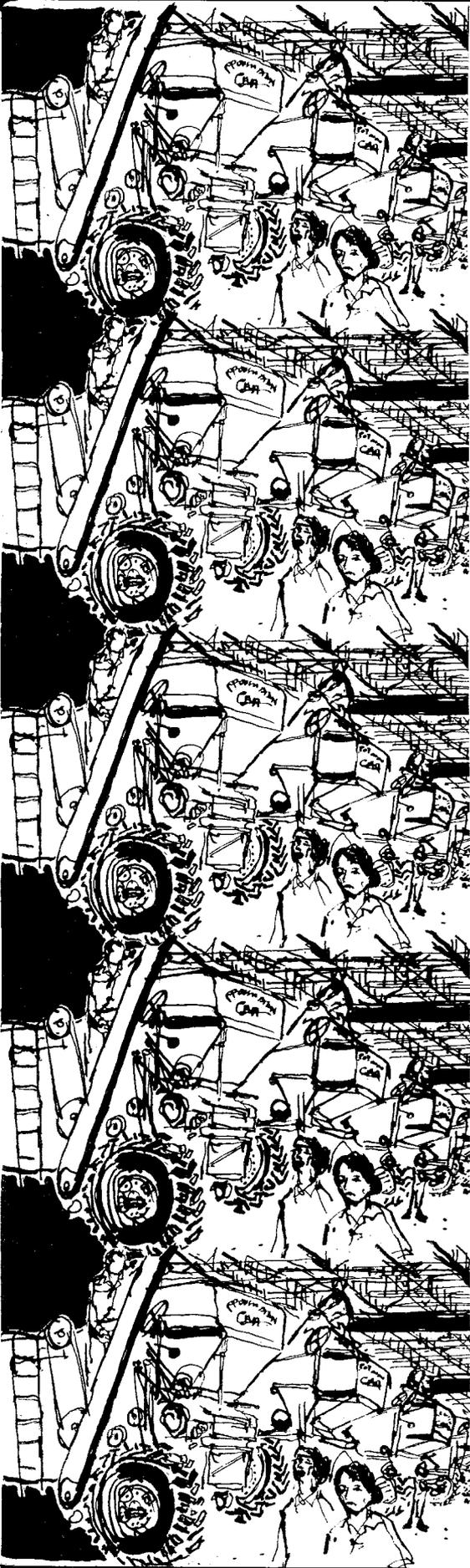
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all the mass activities of the left.

During the last three months there has been a major regroupment of supporters of the Fourth International, with a large branch in Sydney, and small groups in Adelaide, Melbourne and Canberra. This group now has a larger membership than all the supporters of International, other small bodies, and noisy individuals claiming to be Trotskyists, combined. To those of our comrades with whom we have differences, our criticism will be fraternal.

SR



STRIKES AND WORKER'S CONTROL

**Ivan Dixon on the
need for revolutionary
industrial tactics**

Whatever a worker's level of political consciousness, historically the strike has been his most natural weapon. The obvious, and some would say the only, thing to do in a conflict situation with the boss is to withdraw your labour, and it has been argued by many trade union leaders that the penal clauses of the Arbitration Act have deprived the worker of his only weapon in industrial disputes. The fact that the strike is something of a working class reflex, and that there is a strong tradition against scabbery, makes it possible for union officials to call short strikes with a guarantee that they will occur, even though in many cases they do not result in any gains.

The new situation produced by the long overdue breakdown of the Arbitration system, the shift towards collective bargaining, and the growing interest in workers' control as a transitional demand makes it necessary for Australian revolutionaries to develop a theory of industrial tactics. This article is intended as one contribution.

For these purposes, we can classify strikes as being of two main kinds:

a. Those which do not have an immediate effect on the masses' routine of life. Examples: strikes in manufacturing of consumer durables, where daily purchases are not made - cars, electrical appliances, furniture, building materials etc.

b. Those which immediately affect the masses. Examples: strikes in service industries - transport, gas, power, communications, bread, milk, meat.

A strike in either of these two categories can be either limited in duration - 24 hours, 48 hours, 5 days, etc., or it can be open ended - to be called off when the demands are met. This makes a lot of difference, naturally, to the effects of the strike on the employees, the bosses and the masses outside.

The principle which Australian communist trade union leaders have tried to follow in their militant periods in the past has been to act in such a way as to unite the workers as much as possible and to divide the class

discussion



enemy. Strikes they have led sometimes achieved this (as in the Victorian and Queensland transport strikes of 1948) and sometimes the reverse (as in the 1949 coal strike). This principle is still valid of itself, but should be restated as follows: wherever possible, industrial action should be organised in such a way as to make life easier than usual for both the workers engaged in it and the masses outside, and as hard as possible for the enemy against whom the action is taken - whether it be one lone employer, a number of them, or the State. Industrial action should be such that it raises the level of political consciousness of the workers, gives them an understanding of their own real strength, and above all, keeps raising their morale.

Let us consider some recent examples.

The Mt Isa Mines strike is a classic example of an isolated strike in category a. The miners went on strike (in fact were locked out until they agreed to the company's terms, but the distinction does not matter much here) as a result of company attacks on their wages. While they were out the value of the ore in the ground did not fall, the mine did not deteriorate - the miners themselves saw to that by keeping in maintenance crews to prevent flooding - and the international boss, the American Smelting and Refining Company, suffered no great loss as the international price of copper rose, to the advantage of its mines elsewhere. While there was no pressure on it to give in, there was pressure on the workers. As their money ran out they either left town or became defeatist. The strike ended in a victory for the company.

One way this situation could have been reversed would have been to internationalise the strike, to tie up as many of ASARCO's operations around the world as possible. International trade union solidarity is rare but not unknown - maritime unions around the world often back one another up, and the recent action of the Amalgamated Postal Workers Union in declaring black any American mail handled by troops during the American postal strike is another example.

Another way would have been to extend the strike to cause trouble to another capitalist concern which could not afford it, and get them thereby to put pressure on

ASARCO. On the NSW South Coast at the moment, BHP steelworkers are after more money, and BHP couldn't care if they walked out, as they have high steel stocks unsold. At the same time, Conzinc Riotinto has a contract to supply coal to Japan, with contract penalties of \$50,000 per day for default. The coal miners of the South Coast, on behalf of mine and steelworks employees of BHP, are talking to that organization's board of directors, using the directors of Conzinc Riotinto as their messenger boys.* At the time, it was freely predicted in the left outside the Communist Party that the strike would fail unless extended to something like the Queensland electricity supply by the Queensland Trades and Labour Council, in order to bring pressure upon more capitalists and their state machine. But for factional reasons the QTLC refused.

A further way would have been to keep the mine running - or forcing entry to break the lockout - and taking advantage of the fact that it produced something of high value - silver sulphide. The workers could have begun paying themselves in kind with the product of the mine to the extent that they felt it compensated them for their exploited labour. Of course, this is a very serious action: highly illegal, but then again, no more so really than going on strike. If it was possible to organise, it would raise the whole question of surplus value, and in fact would be in the eyes of most workers less like stealing than the petty pilfering that goes on in factories all the time. Most workers find nothing morally repugnant in pinching stuff belonging to a big employer, as the guard houses and bag inspections at factory gates testify.

This action is not advocated lightly. I believe it is possible to initiate in the new industrial and social climate we are entering, provided careful attention is paid to the exact conditions at the time.

If an international outfit like ASARCO cannot be singled out and hit alone, causing

*The conclusion of this strike was a substantial raise in pay for BHP steelworkers when the management capitulated before the joint action of the coal miners and steelworkers.



it real trouble, then the only thing which will regulate wages in a place like Mt Isa is supply and demand, and the high turnover of the Mt Isa work force proves this. Strikes will be doomed to fail from the outset.

Strikes often fail because the employers can roll with the punch. The US automobile industry has in the past tried to arrange for a glut of unsold cars at around the time the United Auto Workers' contract expires - so that the inevitable strikes occurring around the negotiation of a new contract will coincide with a period when workers would have been laid off anyway. On the Australian waterfront the employers over the years have learnt how to allow for 24 hour stoppages, and are little affected by them. Even an extended stoppage, provided it ties up all shipping, will have little effect on the individual line which knows that all its competitors are being equally affected.

The blow which really hurts-is the one which singles out an individual, preferably national employer at a period when he really needs his work force. A classic example of this was the first strike led by the former US Teamsters' Union President, Jimmy Hoffa, who whatever his other sins, knew what he was doing at the time. Hoffa was working for a trucking company as a driver. He joined all the other drivers up in the union, got them ready to follow him out, and then waited. The chance came when the operator won a contract to ship a large load of strawberries across the country. The drivers dutifully loaded them into the trucks, then presented their demands and walked out. Immediate victory.

This sort of strike has been rare in Australia, because the system of arbitration awards covers whole industries, and industry wide strikes have followed as a matter of course. All petrol tanker drivers, all meat workers, all wharfies tend to go out together. Of course, in an era of monopoly it is often hard to do otherwise - as in Australian steel, sugar, power generation, postal services, glass, and state owned transport. Employers can also muster enough class solidarity of their own at times to see the danger involved in the singling out of one of them. For

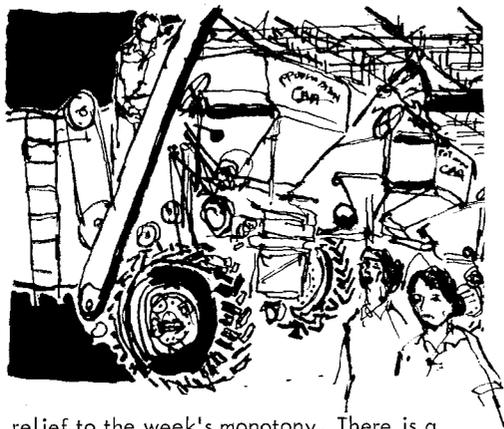
example, Frank Packer's "Daily Telegraph" has been printed in at least one pinch on the presses of the "Sydney Morning Herald". But at the same time it is not as easy for them as sitting back with the knowledge that their competitors are all in the same trouble. The price rigging cartels organised in the 1960's by North American capitalist giants frequently broke down because individual capitalists could not help succumbing to the tempting short term profits to be had in cheating on the deals made with the others and cutting prices.

It would be just as sensible, if not more so, for petrol tanker drivers to take on the oil companies one or two at a time, and to present the demands and a list of the companies whose trucks would stop progressively. For example, all Shell trucks might stop while the rest delivered as usual. Then all BP trucks, until that company met the demands. (No doubt the drivers, out of patriotism, would let the Australian owned one go to the last.) Meanwhile, while the class solidarity of the oil companies was being put to the test, the drivers on strike would have a source of strike pay in those still at work, and the masses would still be getting their petrol. If the oil companies got together and locked everyone out, then we would simply be back to the sort of strike we are used to. But there are moral disadvantages for employers in lockouts, as will be discussed below.

Category b is different. Take for example, a strike by transport workers, say Sydney train and bus crews.

A 24 hour stoppage by these workers is an occasional event in Sydney, arising from their poor pay, achieving nothing for them because of its limited nature and the capacity of the arbitration system not to be moved by it beyond (in days past) handing out a fine to the union.

The capitalist press inevitably attacks it in terms of the hardship it causes to the public, holding the city to ransom, disrespect for arbitration etc. etc. From my own observations during these strikes, I doubt if this has much effect, simply because life in a modern Australian city like Sydney is so bloody dull that a one day transport stoppage provides some



relief to the week's monotony. There is a sort of carnival atmosphere; the volume of traffic is simply staggering, people have a good excuse for being late to work and something exciting to talk about when they get back home.

Of course an extended transport strike would be another thing.

The classic here was the 1949 coal strike. A similar strike today would have less effect because of alternative energy sources, but in June-August 1949, coal was the only energy source for power stations and industry, there was no coal at grass, and the winter was very severe. The seven weeks strike by 23,000 mine workers for improved pay and conditions reportedly cost £33 million in lost wages, £100 million in lost production, 127 million lost man hours. Layoffs in industries shut down as a result of the strike produced a peak unemployment figure of 630,000, for which relief payments were a mere £1.25 million. The miners themselves lost £1.5 million in wages, and for the communist leadership of their union, as well as the whole CPA, the strike was a total disaster, despite efforts to portray it as a victory. It was easily the biggest domestic factor leading to the downfall of the Chifley government and the rise of anti-communist hysteria in the subsequent Menzies period.

The press of course had a ball. The miners and the Communist Party were holding the people and the nation to ransom in their defiance of arbitration; the miners were responsible, because of their laziness, for the slowness of the postwar economic recovery; Australia would only be free from this industrial blackmail when the CPA was kicked out of the unions and banned, and the open cut mines given over to the AWU, etc., etc. Detailed stories of how individual families were suffering kept coming in.

Experienced readers of the daily press know that they never talk much of strikes costing a capitalist enterprise hardship. It is always the community. In the 1949 strike they definitely struck a chord with the masses. There was community hardship, and it was the main reason for the splits in militant trade union ranks over support for

the strike. It does not take much to put the press attack into theoretical terms.

Karl Marx, a man one thousand times more concerned for humanity than any Australian press baron, discovered the basic contradiction in capitalist society, the greatest source of tension which will ultimately cause the overthrow of the system: production is an ongoing social process, but a private appropriation is made of the product. The press barons unwittingly pay homage to this distinction when they emphasise the loss of social or community production, and ignore or gloss over the plight of their fellow capitalists. (This not from spite, but from political sense. When the tanker drivers are out, the editorialists do not dwell on the plight of poor victimised Shell, Golden Fleece and the rest. It's the poor victimised motorists, millions of them, who wouldn't in their right mind piss on an oil company if it was on fire; not even Ampol. The same is true for beer drinkers and breweries, and so on.)

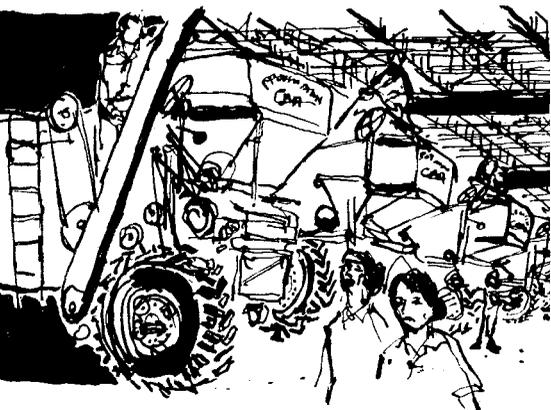
Granted that the papers are right, but for the wrong reason, we have to develop ways of hitting at the private appropriation, not the social production. The very logic of the situation as it develops in the future should make this increasingly clear to the workers, particularly in view of the new conditions arising from the demise of the deadening arbitration system. We have to find forms of action which make life easier if anything for the workers and the masses, and as difficult as possible for the enemy.

None of this is a case against all conventional strikes, but it is a case against those which have little hope of success, which in failing dampen workers' morale, which only cause loss of pay and inconvenience to workers, and which make the workers on strike passive.

Some suggested forms of action in line with the theories outline here, all involving the workers taking some degree of control from the boss are:

1. On conditions. A good example was set by the workers of the Renault factory in Paris shortly after the May 1968 general strike. They decided that they could do with a morning coffee break. The established process for trying to win this would have been, according to past practice, for the union to approach the company with the demand, for the company to refuse, for the workers to walk out on strike, for union-management negotiations to then begin with a possible compromise solution being reached. But the Renault workers short cut all this. No doubt under the influence of the strength they felt in themselves in May 1968 and the bourgeois weakness prominently displayed at the same time, they simply started taking their coffee break. The management, sensing the situation, decided to go along with the switch rather than fight.

Given the example set by the workers of the French city of Nantes, who ran the whole town during the general strike, such



new proletarian attitudes are not surprising, and could be far more widely publicised than they are to Australian workers. Such action could be suited to demands for many changes in conditions. For example, there is no reason why building workers, where safety and sanitary standards etc. do not meet their approval, should not fix the situation with the boss's materials and in his time, whether he likes it or not.

2. Transport workers. During the French May, and in Tokyo recently, and in Shanghai before the revolution, transport workers have found that an effective alternative to going on strike is to run the buses and trains but to refuse to collect fares. This cannot alienate the travelling masses, no matter how long it goes on. It does cost the transport authority real money however.

If such a strike were to go on in an Australian city, the usual press line about holding the public to ransom would be useless. If the authorities went ahead and locked the workers out it would be they who would be holding the public to ransom.

In these circumstances, every bus driver letting people on without paying fares would become automatically a public relations man for the action, and he and his passengers would get an idea of the rationality of free public transport. This would be another barb for capitalism, as not only would it pose the question of free distribution of other goods and services; it would strike right at the basic ethics of capitalism, based on the idea that everything must have its price and be paid for.

The morale building activity of the workers in this situation contrasts very favourably with that other way of explaining a strike to the masses - of bringing out leaflets and handing them out in public, which was most unsuccessful in the 1949 coal strike. Similar actions could be organised in other industries. For example, postal workers could announce that in protest against their pay and conditions they would allow letters without stamps on to go through the system. But individual workers know their jobs best and would be most qualified to decide how to adopt these tactics to their own job

situations. In general, refusal of workers, while carrying on normal duties, to do associated paper work, would produce a similar effect.

3. Converting economic strikes into political ones. Where economic strikes are directed inwards, towards the exclusive interests of the workers in question, political strikes are directed outwards, with no necessary immediate benefit to the workers on strike, but with benefit to the long term interests of the community. For example, a few years ago railwaymen in NSW went on strike because signals at Liverpool railway station were unsafe; maritime workers in Melbourne refused to handle garbage destined to be dumped in Port Phillip Bay. Recently, teachers in certain schools in the NSW system have reacted to a situation of oversize classes by deciding at the individual school level to shorten the effective working week of all students who would otherwise be in over size classes by creating classes of suitable size and giving the surplus pupils some extra free time. This action violates Departmental regulations and the principle that teachers eat whatever is set in front of them. It would be more widespread were it not for the fact that the NSW Teachers' Federation, where it favours any action at all, favours the more spontaneist point blank refusal to teach oversize classes - i.e. simple strike action. Neither form of action solves the problem, but the first involves workers' control, the second does not. In the latter case, the only people hit are the students.

A good example here is the black ban recently placed on oil drilling on the Great Barrier Reef by the Queensland Trades and Labour Council, and (to a lesser extent because it has unsavoury nationalist overtones) the ACTU embargo on the export of merino rams. The wharfies ban on loading of the Jeparit for Vietnam, which occurred at the same time, prompted the papers to depart from their usual stand. The "Sydney Morning Herald" said that it had to agree that the Barrier Reef ban was worth supporting, but later had a grizzle to the effect that workers were taking economic (merino rams) and political (Vietnam war) decisions which were the proper preserve of the government.

Militants have long maintained that the arbitration system is one sided because unions have to spend a lot of time and money in a parasitic legal system to get miserable awards, only to see them wiped out over night by uncontrolled price rises. Obviously, it is just as valid for workers to stop work when their boss puts up his prices as it is when he cuts their wages. But where the latter is inward directed, the former is outward directed and is more of a political strike. The rest of the working population could hardly be put off side. This would be preferable to the rather risky process advocated by Bob Hawke, of making capitalists submit price rises to their



own courts.

Because pollution promises to be a big issue in the seventies, and because it is pretty well insoluble within the framework of capitalism (being largely produced by the continuous consumption of three closely related big products, cars, oil, and steel), trade union action on the issue is going to be increasingly necessary, in outward directed, political action. This means that workers are going to be forced into taking more control over their environment. Where they have been sluggish on issues far from their consciousness - Vietnam and Foreign policy, they will be more active as the pollution gets closer to home - when they can't get a decent lungful of fresh air, avoid traffic and aircraft noise, take a swim in the sea without coming out covered in shit, or find a decent spot for a barbecue in the bush. Moreover, governments both state and federal have done a very good job lately in proving that they can make great blunders, even within their own ideas of what is right and wrong - the F11, Vietnam war, Little Desert, Great Barrier Reef, police corruption, it is becoming increasingly valid, even within this system of capitalist values, for control on these matters and more to be taken away from them by the organised workers.

These are only some suggested forms of action. Everyone can no doubt think of others applicable to his or her own job. There are many that can be taken up at job level, without necessarily needing the support of trade union leaderships, which are often bureaucratic and routinist, and equate action with a 24 hours stoppage.

As well, we need to make the masses, through propaganda, increasingly aware of the extent of existing workers' control under capitalism. For example, it is the custom on many ships for the crew to elect the bosun, a situation analogous to the election by industrial workers of leading hands, gangers, and foremen. This in some ways is the right of slaves to elect their overseer, but none the less, many workers would probably be interested in gaining this right and surprised that it exists in the merchant marine. It could be used as the first stage of a program of taking over control of management itself. Even if such

a campaign stops with the right of the job delegate to blow the whistle for smoko and lunch, even if it only raises the workers' consciousness of what things could be like by one inch, if it raises morale it is worthwhile.

This country now has, for the first time in its history, a surplus of university graduates, and many with honours degrees and Ph. D's are finding that they cannot get university jobs, and have to join the 'professional' staffs of the public service and private companies. This situation compares unfavourably with university staff jobs: academics run their own lives to a great extent, come and go as they please, decide the content of their own courses and the expected student standards, are in the top 5% of the country's income bracket (salaries range from \$5,200 to \$12,000 p.a. with a 20% rise due at any moment) and just for good measure, have one year off in seven on full pay. The scientific name for these conditions is academic freedom. It is probable in the future that graduates outside universities will demand similar conditions - the freedom to run their own working lives and say what they like about the government, the system and the boss wherever they like. After all, why should academics be the only people with the right of round the clock free speech? Are they the only ones whose ideas matter? Why not academic freedom for public servants, and industrial workers of all kinds. The situation we find at present, where great difficulty is being had forming links between radical students and workers, will probably alter as increasing numbers of graduates join the alienated white collar work force, clock on and off, and wistfully gaze back across the rows of office desks to the green pastures of their youth. We might in future expect more action of the type that won for Qantas pilots the right to decide safety conditions for the airline a few years ago - a development which the press described as a 'dangerous precedent'.

The 1970's are beginning well for revolutionary change all over the world, and a carefully thought out transitional approach to industrial tactics will be vital as our workers become increasingly restless.

Ernest Mandel on Leninism

Lenin's life work is a totality in which theory and practice cannot be separated from each other. Lenin himself stated: without revolutionary theory, no revolutionary practice. No serious person today could deny the historic significance of the socialist October revolution or the creation of the Soviet state: these events have indelibly marked the history of our century - and of the century to come.

But the theoretical insight which made these great events possible is as important, if not more important, from the long-term point of view than these events themselves. For that insight will in the long run make possible a world-wide extension of the October revolution, an endeavour which temporarily failed during the lifetime of Lenin and Trotsky themselves.

Seven main pillars constitute the body of Leninism, an extension of Marxism in the imperialist epoch. These seven main parts of Leninism continue to hold true today as they did forty-six years ago when Lenin died - nay, their full significance is only coming to be understood today by larger and larger masses of workers and poor peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and students, in several important parts of the world.

capitalism's final stage

The theory of imperialism as the supreme phase of capitalism in which free competition leads to the creation of great monopolies (trusts, holdings, cartels, combines; we would add today: multinational corporations), that is to say, the domination of a tiny handful of finance groups over the economy

and society of the imperialist countries and their colonial and semi-colonial satellites.

Imperialism doesn't mean necessarily the end of economic growth, a final stop to the growth of the productive forces. But it means that capitalism has fulfilled its historically progressive task of the creation of the world market and of the introduction of an international division of labour, and that an epoch of structural crisis of the capitalist world economy is opened.

This structural crisis, while coinciding sometimes with deep conjunctural crises of overproduction (as it did in 1929-33 and during the subsequent so-called "recessions"), is marked by two decisively reactionary traits: in the underdeveloped parts of the world it impedes those very processes of national liberation and unification, of agrarian emancipation and industrialization, which the great bourgeois revolutions of the past realized in the West.

In the imperialist countries themselves, it is marked by a growing and frightful parasitism (large-scale waste of material and human resources, not only through wars, unemployment, overcapacity, etc., but also through massive increases of the selling and distribution costs, systematic degrading of the quality of products, threats against



**MANDEL:
LENIN'S
CENTENARY**



the ecologic equilibrium, and threats against the very physical survival of mankind).

revolutionary character of epoch

The theory of the revolutionary character of our epoch, of the "up-to-dateness" of socialist revolution, which flows directly from the structural crisis of world capitalism. While that crisis is permanent (although knowing ups and downs, periods of temporary stabilization and periods of great instability of capitalism in key countries and continents), there are from Lenin's point of view, no "permanent revolutionary situations": if the working class does not profit from a favorable combination of circumstances to conquer power, a defeat of the revolution creates preconditions for a temporary comeback of the capitalist class.

The socialist world revolution, which has been on the agenda since World War I, takes the form of a process. The chain of countries subjugated by imperialist capitalism breaks first in its weakest links (these can be underdeveloped countries like Russia and China, but there is no law in Lenin's thought which says that they have to be such).

For Lenin, while the workers of each country where a favorable revolutionary situation occurs should by all means seize power, they should consider this as a means to strengthen the revolutionary forces in neighbouring countries and on a world scale, and should consider themselves always a detachment of the world revolutionary communist movement.

the party

The theory of the revolutionary vanguard party, which is based upon a correct, dialectic understanding of the interrelationship between objective mass struggles and subjective class consciousness under capitalism.

Defending and expanding Marx's and Engels's concepts of historical and dialectical materialism, Lenin rejected the mechanistic and naive belief that class struggle in itself gives to the exploited class - cut off from all the main sources of science - the power to spontaneously reconstruct Marxist theory, the highest product of centuries of intellectual and scientific developments of mankind.

Marxist theory, socialist consciousness, must be introduced from the outside in the class struggle, by conscious efforts of a revolutionary vanguard. Without such a constant effort, the overwhelming majority of the working class remains subjected to the prevailing influence of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. But without a successful fusion with a large working-class vanguard, the revolutionary minority is not

yet a party; it is only an attempt to build such a party.

Lenin rejected all ideas of self-proclaimed vanguards. For him the proof of the pudding was in the eating, i.e., in the capacity of the vanguard to actually lead large working-class struggles. And the supreme test of the party - the leadership in the struggle for power - presupposes the conquest of the conscious support by the majority of the working class and the toiling masses.

workers councils

The theory of workers councils (soviets) as power instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat and as higher forms of democracy than parliamentary bourgeois democracy. Lenin believed, as Marx did, that between capitalism and socialism there is a transition period called the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. No more than Marx did Lenin believe that you could overthrow capitalism along the road of gradual reforms, parliamentary elections, or legislation in the framework of bourgeois institutions. The victory of socialist revolution presupposes not only collective ownership of the means of production but also destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus - i.e., of the apparatus of repression directed against the great mass of the people.

The essence of a workers state, i.e., of a dictatorship of the proletariat, is for Lenin not any "totalitarian" nightmare of the 1984 type but, as described in "State and Revolution", a democratically-centralized system of freely elected workers councils, which exercise simultaneously all legislative and executive functions as the Paris Commune had done.

For Lenin, dictatorship of the proletariat means more actual democratic freedoms for the workers and toiling masses than they enjoy under any bourgeois-democratic regime. It means full and unfettered enjoyment of freedom of the press, freedom of association and of demonstration for all and every group of toilers (and not only for a single party), as well as the material means to enjoy these freedoms.

Even for the bourgeois classes Lenin did not in principle rule out the right to enjoy democratic liberties under the dictatorship of the proletariat, but neither was he ready to guarantee this to them. In his opinion this was a matter of relationship of forces, i.e., of the strength and violence of counter-revolutionary opposition to the victorious working class.

As for the leading role of the party inside the Soviet institutions, this was for Lenin strictly a matter of political persuasion, of capacity to win the allegiance of the majority, and not at all a matter of systematic repression of all contending tendencies (Lenin admitted the necessity of such repression only under exceptional circumstances of civil war,

when most of those tendencies were involved in open military violence against the revolutionary government).

the international

The theory of internationalism, the international being the only organizational form for the proletarian vanguard and for the workers states congruent with the needs of world economy and toiling mankind, produced by imperialism. That's why Lenin proclaims the need for a Third International the very day he recognizes the Second International is dead. That's why he remained till his end a passionate defender of the right of self-determination of all nations. That is why he proclaimed the necessity of the independence of the Communist International from the Soviet state: no maneuver of that state (e.g., concluding a truce with German imperialism; making an alliance with the Kemalists in Turkey, etc.) should imply any change of orientation by the Communist International from its line of preparing, favoring, and assuring the best possible conditions for victory of proletarian revolutionary struggles everywhere.

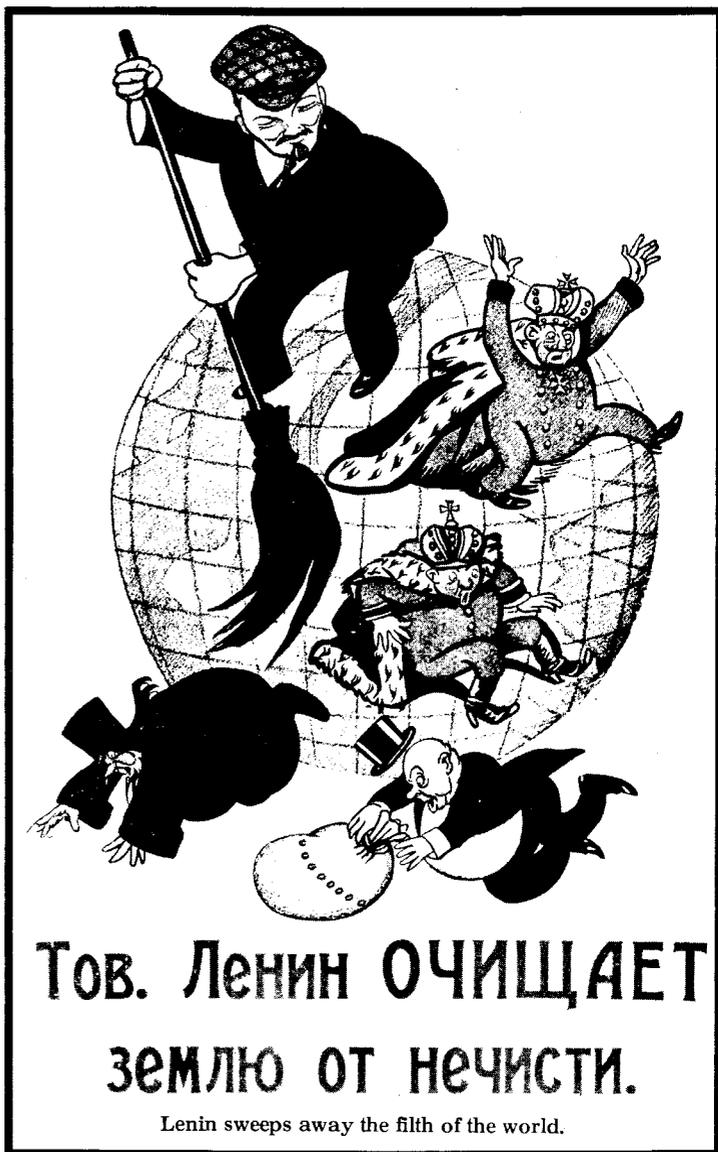
For the same reason he opposed any attempt at Russification of the non-Russian Soviet republics and considered the attitude of communists in imperialist countries towards national liberation movements in the countries oppressed by their own bourgeoisie as a keystone of internationalism.

the role of the party

The theory of the political centralization, through the revolutionary vanguard party, of all progressive democratic mass demands and mass movements into a single flow towards a socialist revolution. While Lenin developed that concept at a time when he did not yet accept the idea of the Russian revolution growing uninterruptedly over into a socialist revolution, he maintained it and extended it during the founding years of the Communist International when he based all his thinking upon the strategy towards socialist revolution.

This concept flows from a dialectical understanding of the stratification of the working class and the toiling masses into layers with different levels of consciousness and with different immediate interests, which have all to be united (inasmuch as they don't stand for counterrevolutionary causes) in order to make a mass revolution possible.

It also flows from a deep understanding of the antidemocratic and reactionary nature of imperialism, which not only does deny the majority of mankind such elementary rights as those of national independence



and dignity but which tends also to erode in the imperialist countries themselves the very conquests of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past.

But contrary to opportunists of all kinds, Lenin's concept of uniting the struggle for democratic and the struggle for transitional demands did not mean in any way a dismissal or a subordination of the socialist goal to the wishes or prejudices of temporary "allies"; on the contrary, it was based on the firm belief that only the victorious socialist revolution could bring about a final and definite triumph of these democratic goals.

democratic centralism

The theory of the inner-party regime based upon democratic centralism, which



does not only mean majority rule, the need of minorities to apply in practice majority decisions but also full democratic rights of discussion inside the party, the right to form tendencies, to submit collective platforms to party congresses, to have them discussed on equal footing with the leadership proposals before congresses, to full and impartial information of the membership about political differences which crop up in the organization etc., etc.

This was the way Bolshevik party and the Communist International functioned in Lenin's lifetime. It is indicative of the gulf which separates Leninism from the bureaucratic centralism applied today in the USSR and Eastern Europe that the hesitant attempt of the Czechoslovak CP leadership to return in 1968 to some of these Leninist norms in a new draft statute for the Fourteenth Congress of the party was seized upon furiously as a sign of "rightist antisocialist tendencies" inside that party by Brezhnev and company.

Already before Lenin's death, many if not all of these basic tenets of Leninism were beginning to be challenged by the new Stalinist leadership inside the CPSU and the Communist International. Lenin's last struggle was a desperate attempt to stop this perversion of his doctrine. This revisionism was, obviously, not a purely ideological phenomenon. It reflected a deep-going social shift inside Russian postrevolutionary society and inside the CPSU.

On the basis of the growing passivity of the Russian working class - resulting from the backwardness of the country and from the temporary retreat of world revolution - a privileged bureaucratic layer monopolized the exercise of power and the administration of the state and the economy. It ruthlessly subordinated the party into an apparatus defending its own particular interests, if necessary against the historic and immediate interests of the world revolution and of the Russian working class itself.

Stalinism was only the ideological expression of the rise of that parasitic caste. It is the very antithesis of Leninism, the proletarian doctrine of socialist revolution.

Lenin's heritage

The Left Opposition around Trotsky, and later the Fourth International, maintained and enriched the heritage of Leninism in the years of reaction and of receding world revolution. These are now superseded again by a new epoch of rising world revolution.

A growing number of workers, revolutionary students and intellectuals, and poor peasants understand the validity of Leninism and participate in the building of new revolutionary parties on a worldwide basis. The future belongs to Leninism. That's why it belongs to the Fourth International.

Reprinted from
Intercontinental Press,
April 20, 1970.

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CPA: EITHER/OR

R. Williamson on the vagaries
of existence without
Moscow





"This is only the beginning, we intend to go much further," is what the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia have been whispering to left militants when describing the decisions of their recent Congress. What is beginning, how much further, and in what direction, are questions which the leaders at this moment do not raise outside their committee rooms. What they are saying to their

own "pro-Soviet" group is also not a matter for public declaration.

The vagueness of their position, the posture of bluff mixed with indecision, seem strange from a party long nurtured in the extreme Stalinist myth of the definitive role of leadership. In none of its decisions was the Congress decisive - the criticism of the CPSU, new union tactics, the appeal for new formations - all appear to be the first steps, admirable in themselves, but in the case of this middle aged infant they clearly offer no guarantee of walking - the wheel chair of their world movement has not been pushed aside but merely left a little behind, ready if the exercise prove too strenuous.

The influence of the CPA since its inception could be plotted on a parabolic curve. Variations exist in its development mainly due to whether the CPA had a hard or soft line on the Australian Labor Party at any particular time, but on the whole the Communist Party went through a period of growth from the twenties to the late forties and has been in a state of decline, both in the numbers of its members and the extent of its influence, ever since. The Communist Party claimed a membership of 25,000 at the end of the second world war. At this time the party had reached the apogee of its popularity by de-emphasising any revolutionary intent: the party tried to work hand in glove with the Labor Government, it was identified with the popular war effort and with the Soviet ally against Fascism, and it played the role of arbitrator and even policeman in the workers' struggles, using its influence to prevent strikes, stifle wage struggles and to Jampen workers' militancy in order to increase the war effort. At this period the CPA established a wide hold on leadership positions in the trade union movement which has remained its strength to this day. However, at no time was this influence sufficient to establish the CPA as a mass party of the working class: workers who might



CPA Secretary Arons celebrates Lenin's birth, seated next to him are Sydney secretary Olive, and national executive member Carmichael.



vote for a Communist in union elections remained steadfastly loyal to the Labor Party on a political level.

At this point the Communist Party made a serious over-estimation of its strength and support, and made a Stalinoïd left turn which, together with the development of the cold war and the adverse international situation, assisted the party on a downward path on which it has continued to this day. While the party holds many vantage positions in offices of the trade union movement, its membership has shrunk to some 3,000, the great majority of those in the middle age groupings; its premises and press have become larger while its publications slip in readership, and while lately the Party's policies have become "reasonable" and moderate, the public support it receives, as measured in elections, where the CPA runs fewer and fewer candidates has become so miniscule that it must be an embarrassment to continue to field candidates.

The present leadership of the party, who are in some cases literally the sons and heirs of its founders, have had little life outside their party. They began to assume positions in the second rank of the leadership in the late forties and early fifties; their Stalinism was complete in its extreme. The events of 1956 largely passed them by: a handful of intellectuals left then and later, and the Party expelled one member for roneoing Krushchev's speech to the Twentieth Congress.

The present ideological turmoil in the Party largely had its beginnings in the early 60s as a result of the Sino-Soviet dispute. Geographical proximity and Stalinist loyalty, as much as any appraisal of revolutionary potential, seemed to have supplied the ideological motivation when the Party briefly followed the Communist Party of China. In reaction to this orientation, the Party's last definable group of intellectuals, based in Melbourne, began to advocate a mixture of the Krushchev and Italian lines of the period.

Groups of officials in the Party machine in both Sydney and Melbourne encouraged this tendency and adopted some of its more conservative notions, reversed the policy in support of China and took over the positions of leadership. Since then, the Party has never really settled down. The problems will not go away.

Through the sixties the CPA, as a counter to its own isolated position, sought respectability to the point of being fatuous (seeking to debate a reactionary clergyman who had called them "immoral atheists" on the grounds that they would demonstrate their youth movement was as impeccably straight-laced as his). They sought to be accepted as the progressive edge of a more broadly democratic society. Their youth movement largely vanished. With the deepening differences and schism in the world Communist Movement their more natural alliance with the Soviet wing was tempered by isolation and the fact that having changed sides once already, the monolith was not only cracked, but seen to be cracked. In crisis, the leaders encouraged a broad internal discussion during which they tried to hold the centre ground. Even neo-Trotskyists were allowed their say, though not the right of tendency, as the leadership sought a centre where their democratic reforming views would not cause too much anguish to the hard core Stalinists (whose tough line policies were largely in word only). With the advent of Dubcek they had found a more eminently respectable form of established Communist state and were genuinely horrified at his downfall. Thus, the General Secretary, Aarons, vociferously held out against tacit ratification of the Soviet act at the Conference of Parties in Moscow in 1969.

While the CPA is so small and isolated, the actual direction of the policies agreed upon at the 1970 Congress is difficult to ascertain. The Party, in attempting to reform the excesses of its Stalinist days, has mostly



rejected any form of Leninist organisation, and seeks to accommodate itself superficially to so many diverse trends in the working class movement, and to cover (again superficially) so many developments and tendencies in modern capitalism that its policy is vague and almost nebulous. It is designed to offend no one. While the Party has specifically rejected any "reformist" approach (indeed, adoption of an outright reformist position is hardly possible while there exists a successful reformist party of enormous relative size and power) the subdued nature of its policy would indicate a strong undercurrent in the direction of passivity.

In its desire to shed itself of the odium of its Stalinist past the CPA has adopted many of the positions of the international and Australian left: it is for workers' control, against bureaucracy before and after a revolution. It has offered a blueprint for a rather gentle revolution, pointing out that revolution is the outcome of "overwhelming mass opinion in favour of fundamental change", while playing down or even abdicating previously held positions concerning its own vanguard role.

On the critical question of the building of a mass revolutionary party the CPA is disarmingly self-effacing. It calls for a "coalition of the left" consisting of "communists, the growing left wing of the Labor Party, union militants, organisations of students, intellectuals, anarchists, libertarians, etc." It argues that organisations participating in this coalition would agree on "on a general perspective of socialist trans-

► The draft documents issued by the CPA leadership to initiate discussion in the party before the 22nd national congress. In addition a draft document on the trade unions, also published in "Tribune", and a series of discussion bulletins, which contained National Committee minutes as well as individual contributions, were issued.

TRIBUNE—Wednesday, December 10, 1969

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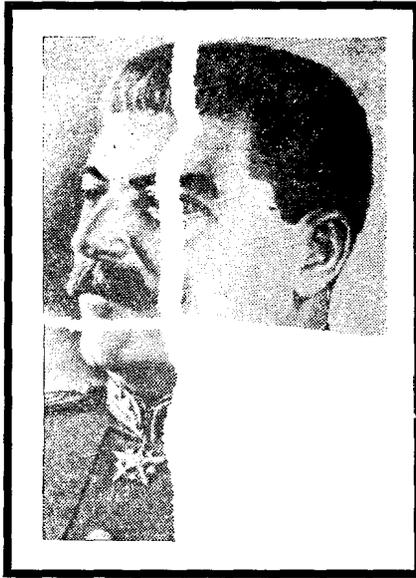
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Introduction

Modern capitalism faces an economic, political and moral crisis more thoroughgoing than any of the crises it has experienced in the past.

The crisis does not yet appear in the spectacular manner of past upheavals such as the two world wars and the depression of the 30's, nor take the form of grinding poverty, mass unemployment, and a struggle for mere existence for the majority of people in the developed countries.

Despite this, and in a sense precisely because of it, it is a crisis which outrages the sensibilities by the



Communist Party of Australia

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publication of draft documents for the 22nd national congress of the Communist Party at Easter, March 27-30, 1970. The CPA National Committee has called for the publication of the documents and submission of views in writing for publication before the congress.

in poverty. Exploitation has increased, the gap between the immensely rich and the rest of society has widened, and most working people are battling to meet their payments.

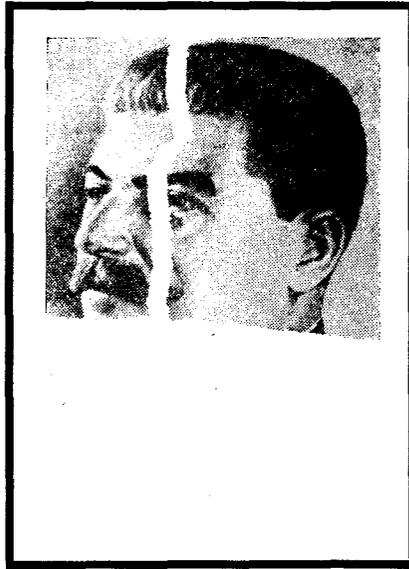
A great part of scientific endeavor is directed towards the making of profit and the building of a monstrous apparatus of war, and the main use of the power of the atom has been for nuclear weapons, posing a threat to the very existence of the human race.

While it plans profit-making to a high degree,

dominate the people of other nations, and the system as a whole exploits the underdeveloped nations of the "third world".

It protects this economic domination and its strategic interests by wars of aggression, as in Vietnam where the full resources of modern technology are directed with horrifying ferocity against a small, mainly peasant nation.

The sickness of modern capitalism, though at present insidious rather than open, chronic rather than acute, is so serious that, if unchecked, it could destroy



formation of existing society", but would differ "in important respects in ideology, programme and organisation". While the CPA leadership obviously places great hope in the recruitment of new groups, mainly consisting of students and youth presently radicalising in Australia, it has made no analysis deeper than that above of the basis, motivation and prospects of these groups, and makes no analysis whatever of how they might be recruited to a mass revolutionary party except in terms of a crude concept of coalition.

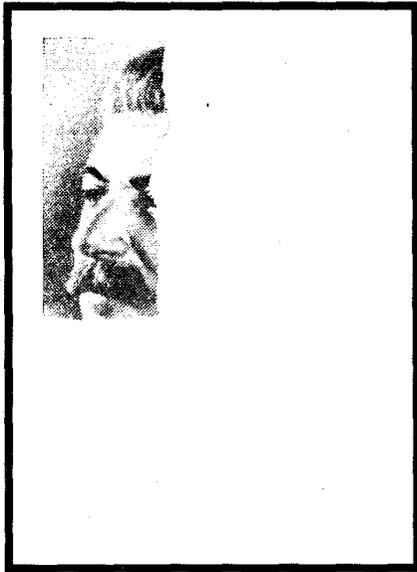
Similarly, in approaching the Labor Party, the CPA is confused to the point of inanity. Entrism is mentioned, though it is neither condoned, attacked or even understood - the Labor Party "includes some who believe in revolution and think that the Labor Party organisation can be transformed to achieve this". Whether this vulgar characterisation is meant to apply to supporters of the Fourth International, who have advanced major tactical arguments in support of entrism and attempted to implement their policies, or to the CPA's own associates in the Trade Union field who have also entered the ALP and whose activities have amounted to little more than attempts to placate the right wing and gain minor official positions through personal power plays is not stated.

Having conceded the mass character of the Labor Party, its representation of traditional working class aspirations, its partly socialist nature, its reformist nature, and its standing as an alternative Capitalist government, the CPA suggests that it "could become a very important part of a future 'coalition of the left'." How is this to be done? "Communists and other revolutionaries will contribute to such a possibility to the extent that they develop their theory and activity and overcome sectarianism and exclusiveness". It seems that the prophets of Day Street, having cleansed themselves of past evil thoughts, will convince us of the

validity of the new gospel by calling the Himlayan Mountain Range to their doorstep.

In the area of de-Stalinisation there can be no doubt that the leaders of the CPA find their past an extreme embarrassment. The Party is prepared to "submit its past theories, policies and actions to the closest self-critical scrutiny". Privately, many members of the CPA concede there were errors in the Stalin era. In fact, however, the CPA has not made at any time any admission or analysis of its extreme Stalinist errors of the past and recent years. Here the CPA is presented with a unique opportunity to carrying out a total review of its history and policies, an opportunity that, while the CPA has been in of this self critical frame of mind for some years, it has failed to carry out. Other groups would co-operate with the CPA on individual issues without the Communists having made a humiliating reappraisal of past errors, but since the CPA now holds that it is prepared to enter into open theoretical debate with all socialist tendencies, both local and international, the leadership and members must accept: 1) that to carry out a complete review of their past policies and international relationships would make them unique in the world communist movement; 2) that this would give them a prestige and reputation for honesty which would have favourable repercussions in Australian politics and possibly in the world revolutionary movement; 3) that a complete and thorough-going reappraisal of their own past Stalinism with its attendant errors is a necessary precondition for the future theoretical development of their party. If the Party is totally serious and devoid of hypocrisy and opportunism in its attempts to develop new revolutionary awareness and understanding, then this will be speeded by such a reexamination.

When the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia requested the CPA Congress not to discuss further the Soviet invasion, the CPA correctly rejected the request and reiterated



its condemnation of the Soviet act. In the CPA's Congress documents it further condemns infringements "of national sovereignty". The option was not open for the CPA to accede to the Czech request and retain any self respect or prospects in the working class movement - any backing away from the CPA's public position would have wiped out any possible benefit from their more open policies. The CPA is now running the risk of exclusion from the official world communist movement. At the same time, its further independent theoretical development is hindered by resorting to thin and useless analyses of the Soviet behaviour. Unless such discussions are boldly undertaken, together with all the attendant risks, the CPA will be increasingly able to make only shallow evaluations of the behaviour of the CPSU or any communist party, expressed in the vague concepts of the petty bourgeoisie ("national sovereignty").

The CPA has included in its perspective the possibility of recruitment from the intellectuals and new strata and the possibility of blocs with other left groupings. In practical terms the first of these possibilities may be seen in terms of four basic broad groupings. Firstly, intellectuals, those who in Australia have been by and large part of the broad left. This is a small group largely comprised of those around universities. While in the past sections of this group have responded to the blandishments of the CPA, they are for the most part cynical, particularly of the CPA. A small percentage of them have been members of the Party and are not likely to return.

The second broad group is that section of the youth and student movement who are actively moving along socialist lines, defining their ideas and activities on the basis of traditional Marxist and socialist thought. This group is clearly the one that the CPA should consider best or worst, depending on its own seriousness: best, in

that this group is the most political; worst, in that it would be most critical of the CPA's present position. The chances of the CPA recruiting from this group which already often holds political positions far in advance of the CPA is necessarily slight without major change by the CPA to bring itself more into line with those it would recruit. The political sophistication of this group far exceeds the CPA's barely surviving youth group.

There is a vaguer and middle grouping of the youth movement which is in general radical but holds positions which are not well defined. In this broad centre are the "romantics" and the "realists", supporters on one hand of Mao and Che (whose understanding of their masters is often minimal) and those who would fall into the category of left social democrats. Again, to this wide group the CPA is largely passe having no charisma acceptable to the first group or the realism of the social democracy for the second.

There is a less defined but even larger group of youth who are radicalised on a number of issues, e.g., Vietnam, conscription, but which on the whole has no clear, or often a middle class view, on other political issues. The CPA is often to the right of these people on the particular issues on which they are activated and part of the discredited left on other issues.

In its practical work the CPA has developed for many years a strong pattern of seeking to make alliances with the worst elements in the latter two groups, and with similar elements when they are dealing with older groups. Rather than making a deep attempt to influence these people, the CPA seems to be hoping for respectability by association. In its joint work with other groups, the CPA has consistently strained relationships by fighting for weaker slogans and demands than were reasonable in the situation, and by struggling to promote to



public positions persons who shortly afterwards resumed their normal red-baiting habits. Pointless prevarication and vacillation, needless concessions, have led for the most part to the CPA having failed to gain any real benefit from any of its activities.

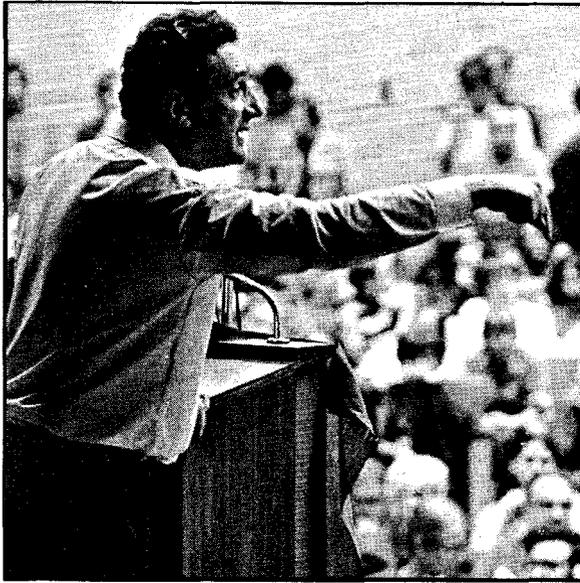
Further evidence of this unfortunate trend is now embodied in the Congress documents, in so far as the CPA seeks to coalesce with "anarchists, libertarians etc." Possibly these groups are included so as not to offend them by omission, or perhaps, the CPA leadership, having had few dealings with people outside its own ranks, seriously hopes to hold a dialogue with barely existing trends whose main political characteristics are an intransigent hostility to socialism, jejune and purely vocal rebellion, and inarticulate cynicism.

As the CPA moves into the seventies it has all the faults and limitations of any established minority party. While included in its membership are many of the more politicalised and aware members of the working class, many of the party members are tired after years of isolation and seek a comfortable ideology which makes them more acceptable to their neighbours. The Party has a number of trade union officials, but many of them take up the extreme political positions (defence of the Soviet invasion) knowing full well that in some of their unions (Seamen's) the extreme and atypical tradition of job militancy will allow the members to forgive their leaders' political vagaries, and that in other unions (Teachers') the CPA officials encourage a non-political climate, largely deny their own political affiliations, and are therefore able to take backward and reactionary positions in private Party debates knowing full well that in their day to day work they will never be called on to justify their stands. The Party also has within its ranks a number of job holders in its internal bureaucracy and, among the rank and file, loyalists to any official leadership, which together make a

possible winning combination. It is a sad commentary on the previous level of Party democracy and discussion that as the CPA opened out its internal discussion a great deal of the impetus came from the leaders themselves.

The Congress of the CPA has taken the Party almost as far as it can without really deciding anything. Rather than producing a policy that can stand up by itself, and be subjected to practical tests to confirm or disprove its validity, the CPA has broken with its previous inaccurate certitude to the point where it is vague and indecisive. The CPA now stands at a point where its decline as a party of the working class will continue, or where the re-examination and internal discussion will continue, provoked if necessary, and in opposition to its own new democratic timidity, by the leadership. Instead of decrying bureaucracy, it is necessary to analyse it. Rather than admit possible past mistakes, open the whole question for re-examination. Rather than criticise a particular act of the Soviet Union, determine the basis of that action. Rather than a few pious paragraphs on workers' control and the nature of Australian society after the revolution, a thorough study of what these topics are all about including just what does presently exist in the Soviet Union. A reassessment of the National Liberation Movement - discussed in the Congress documents without any mention of socialism. The Sino-Soviet dispute, the Soviet Union, China, peaceful co-existence - and all the other topics which, like these, did not rate a mention in the documents. An examination of the world socialist movement, rather than a general and vague statement. An analysis of radical trends in the workers, youth and student movements, together with a realistic programme for the construction of a mass revolutionary party - it would be better if the CPA worked all these things out before the anarchists and the Labor Party rolled up demanding that the offer of coalition be honoured.

Ernest Mandel



*As well as delivering a paper at the Socialist Scholars Conference
Belgian economist Ernest Mandel will speak in
Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide.*

Sydney

*The Strike Wave in Europe
Friday May 22 at 8.00 p.m.
Teachers' Federation Auditorium, 300 Sussex Street*

Adelaide

*The revolutionary student movement
Sunday May 24 at 8.00 p.m.
AGWA Hall, 240 Franklin Street*

Melbourne

*The revolutionary student movement
Monday May 24 at 8.00 p.m.
Public Lecture Theatre, Melbourne University*



CURRENT SOCIALIST YOUTH PERSPECTIVES

P.J. Malcolm on the realities of a socialist youth organization

A correct understanding of the new upsurge amongst youth throughout the world is vital for Revolutionary Marxists. The new upsurge offers unprecedented opportunities for the creation of new revolutionary cadres and for their training in mass activity in the almost continuous struggles produced by this upsurge. However because of the nature of this new upsurge - its spontaneity and its variety of styles and political levels - it is not always obvious how to take advantage of it. What I want to do here is argue the necessity for a socialist youth organization and deal briefly with the strategy to adopt in the student sphere.

I will begin with two quotes. The first is fairly lengthy and comes from a document entitled, "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International".

"The experience of the world Trotskyist movement during the past few years has shown that its work among the youth can most effectively be carried forward through revolutionary socialist youth organizations fraternally associated with the sections of the Fourth International but organizationally independent of them.

The Trotskyist forces in various countries vary greatly in size, and they are in different stages of growth and development. Different tactics will have to be used to reach the goal of constructing a revolutionary-socialist youth organization - including participation in other youth formations. But all such activity should be seen as a tactical step toward the construction of such an organization.

It is important to note that the social and political analysis of the student movement today and the world situation in which it is developing shows the objective basis for such independent revolutionary socialist youth organization.

The independent youth organization can attract radicalizing young people, who have not yet made up their minds about joining any political party of the left, and who are not yet committed to the Bolsheviki perspective of becoming life-time revolutionaries, but who are willing and ready to participate in a broad range of political actions together with the revolutionary party and its members. It can lead actions and take initiatives in the student



movement in its own name. It can serve as a valuable training and testing ground for candidates for party cadre status, and make it easier for them to acquire the political and organizational experience and education required for serious revolutionary activity. Membership in the revolutionary-socialist youth organization enables young radicals to decide their own policies, organize their own actions, make their own mistakes, and learn their own lessons.

Their form of organization also has many advantages for the revolutionary party itself. It provides a reservoir for recruitment to the party. It helps prevent the party from acting as a youth organization and from lowering the norms of a Bolshevik organization on discipline, political maturity, and level of theoretical understanding to the less demanding levels of an organization agreeable to the youth."

The second and third quotes are from "Socialist Perspective No. 2", published in February 1967, and are taken from an article, "The Immediate Tasks Facing Young Socialists: A Trotskyist View".

"Trotskyists ... will continue to campaign for the establishment of a broad socialist youth league, based upon the principles of Marxism, with internal democracy and the right of tendencies, in the sure knowledge that already life itself poses the need for such an organization in Australia."

"Having discussed at length the organizational forms relevant to the vanguard, the socialist youth themselves, we have in fact dealt with only one aspect of the task

facing young Marxists. The other part of the problem relates to the mass organizations that exist, or need to be created, embracing working class or leftward moving youth. It is worth noting in this respect that one of the major sources of the past errors of the E.Y.L. is the chronic confusion, deeply rooted in the past of the Australian youth movement, between the organization of young socialists as such and organizing the masses. This confusion produced the conception that has bedevilled the E.Y.L. for so long, that it is a "broad" youth organization, theoretically with some appeal of its own to the "broad masses" of youth on some basis other than its socialist political ideas. This concept has helped to produce the awkward hybrid with which we are familiar, which has only a very limited appeal to the socialist and left youth, and in practice, none at all for the "broad masses". The Leninist approach to this problem is quite different. Leninism makes a fundamental distinction in all spheres, including youthwork, between the socialist organization itself, membership in which is based on commitment to socialist principles, and the genuine mass organization of the people, in which socialist revolutionaries must work in an organised but flexible and non-sectarian way."

I will argue that what "life itself" demanded in early 1967 is even more necessary now, and also point out that we are well on the way to achieving an organization capable of fulfilling the tasks of a socialist youth organization.

The second and third quotes above come from an article which is very lucid in arguing for the socialist youth organization per se. However at the end of the article a new thesis is introduced, stating that young socialists should organize separately from their socialist youth league, a further body for culturally rebellious youth. To quote:

"The most obvious form to adopt would be a general organization of young people opposed to war, conscription, hanging, etc., and in favour of racial equality, friendship with Asia, etc."

During the past three years, the attempts of revolutionary Marxists to fulfill the task of creating a socialist youth league have been hampered by the confusion contained in expecting socialists to be capable of leading and creating a liberal youth organization of the nature described here. The fundamental nature of the organization that was created was socialist, fulfilling the need of "life itself" to some extent, and it is time to recognise the unrealities of the other model. Of course the refutation of the thesis is contained in the third quote. Confusion about the organization of young socialists and the mass movement is much more widespread than the author of the article realised.

The other model is based on an under-estimation of the extent of the radicalization that has taken place over the last five years. On the one hand this radicalization has been cultural. Youth feel more and more alienated from the prospect of assimilation into bourgeois life. Their protest is expressed by distinguishing themselves in style from bourgeois society



Because of the difficulties encountered in doing this, the process itself is often a valuable one in politicizing these people. But a personal solution is to some extent obtainable in this society. What is of more benefit to the revolutionary movement is the number of young people who are politicized by events of obvious political significance. In this country the Vietnam war has been the main catalyst for this type of awareness. When a person is radicalized by the Vietnam war, no personal solution is possible - it isn't a personal problem. Solutions must be sought in a political sphere and where contact is made with revolutionaries, inevitably these youth progress towards a revolutionary position.

(I realize of course that the two areas overlap and interreact but the two models are important to make us realize the probability of success in either field).

The experience of revolutionary marxists over the last 3 years points to the necessity for clear delineation from the merely culturally rebellious. Consistently we have waged struggles against people who have been interested solely in the cultural rebellion which our organisation has offered them. These people are usually uninterested in any of the more routine aspects of revolutionary activity. They are continuing their social differentiation from bourgeois society into the political sphere without being capable of understanding the potential or methods for changing this society. Where any political content is given to this outlook at all, anarchism and spontaneism are the ideas favoured. We have fought politically and organizationally against these tendencies but have not always drawn the lessons for ourselves. The lesson is obvious - serious revolutionaries cannot hope to lead the

cultural rebellion - or even hope to contain and organize part of it within their own organisation. The natural organizational expression of such a movement is the Yippies, and our attempt to mirror even partially this outlook has been time-consuming and frustrating quite apart from the organisational looseness that it has occasioned. This looseness has meant the loss of many serious (less socially rebellious) recruits because of the low political level of our organisation. It is time to end the ambiguity of our approach and work towards the creation of a properly functioning political organization.

An abundance of organisations exist in which our activists can work - the anti-war bodies, the Labor Party youth, student groups, high schools and so on. Our activists can play leading roles in all these spheres but their efforts are hampered and often wasted by the failings of the socialist organization to which they should recruit. It is essential to go forward on a correct basis, not to resurrect superseded theories and repeat old mistakes.

Because Stalinism has entered a period of prolonged crisis, their youth organisations decline. In Australia the Y.S.L. is almost defunct. What remains of it in Sydney seems to have capitulated completely to a zig zag course between ultraleftism and complete reformism.

The New Left tendencies in organisations such as the R.S.A. and R.S.S.A. have been unable to form stable groups or develop a rounded program. They fluctuate between flirtations with the C.P. and the rhetoric of going to the factories to form action committees. At times even smashing windows is glorified as revolutionary activity. Maoism's sterile sectarianism while often striking a chord with the rebellious youth who are attracted by its seemingly uncompromising posture, soon loses this initial appeal when its limitations and contradictions are exposed in action.

The basic reason for the existence of a socialist youth organisation is the very nature of the youth radicalization. The extent of the upsurge is so great that the movement has travelled beyond the bounds of a merely liberal reformism. A significant percentage of the youth already consider themselves revolutionary socialists. It is from these that we can recruit the ones who are looking for a thorough analysis of the society and how to change it.

Anti-communism holds little sway now amongst the radicalized layers. Inevitably youth are polarized by imperialism and the resistance to it by (for instance) the Vietnamese revolution. Because of this they must consider the validity of the communist model. They react against Stalinism and it is here that we can provide a clean record and a program for change both within capitalist society and the socialist countries.

The youth organisations of reformism remain and continue to attract new layers. However an independent organization is necessary as a pole to attract youth from



this milieu. The dullness of the political activities of Young Labor groups and the inability of reformism to explain the significance of world events makes intervention in this sphere a necessity but for success, an independent organisation with a socialist program is a precondition.

This area is wide open for a socialist youth organisation to continue the important work of leading the struggle against the Vietnam war, attracting the radicalizing youth to us on this basis while recruiting the ones who look for a solution to capitalism and who recognise our program as the basis with which to fight it. These youth have been our main source of recruits. However more needs to be done by the creation of youth antiwar committees. This gives us the chance to make contact with even broader layers than we have led in the past. The work of some comrades in Moratorium committees shows the extent and breadth of the new antiwar forces - however this work must be consolidated by recruitment to our own organisation.

In the present conditions a revolutionary party is not in a position to reach youth directly. Yet youth remain the greatest potential for recruiting to the revolutionary party. In these circumstances an organisation that can relate directly to revolutionary youth is essential.

If we default in this area, then inevitably the pull for these youth will be towards ultraleftism, and our own organisation will be starved of the most advanced students and youth who are looking for a serious organisation to work and develop in.

This of course brings us to the internal functioning of the organisation.

The forms necessary to the socialist youth organisation spring from the fact that it recognises itself as such. It is a socialist organisation which develops a comprehensive program, not for intellectual satisfaction, but for the purpose of implementing it. A program is of fundamental importance in the further development of the socialist youth organisation and especially of the activist members in it. It is impossible to expect young people to develop to the position of revolutionary socialism to be told that they must limit themselves to specific parts of the socialist program and that socialism is not a part of this.

If the socialist program is seen as the province of only a select few, then there is no incentive to understand it or implement it.

To deprive the youth organisation of the fundamental weapon it has against capitalism - its program - is bad enough. But this mistake is often compounded by depriving the youth organisation of the means to carry out even part of that program. It is no good fulminating against the organisational forms of New Left groups such as SDS and their concept of participatory democracy if we are not prepared to insure our own organisation against these faults. The development of a leadership that can carry out the line of the organisation and act as a team is as vital to success as the correct revolutionary program. An organisation

will be successful when it is known for its activities - not the activities of its leading members. So the concept of developing a team leadership - not a collection of individual stars - is vital to recruiting the best youth to our programme. The educational programme of the youth organization is essential also. This can take place around the main planks of the programme but must also educate the youth in the history of our movement, with an understanding on the main struggles and themes of the working class movement. We have in the past made some progress along these lines. But we have not been persevering enough and because of our chronic confusion about the nature of our organization, our successes were all too often jeopardized.

If a correct understanding of the youth movement is vital for revolutionary Marxists it is even more vital that the youth organization understands the nature of the student movement and the role they can play in it.

In analyzing what line revolutionary Marxists should adopt in the student movement, it is necessary to note some important changes that have taken place in the universities. Briefly these changes can be summarised into two categories - the nature of the university and secondly its relation to society.

Universities have become larger. The concentration of students in them now surpasses all but the largest factories. Generally students spend longer in them. The number of graduate courses has increased allowing for the full development of revolutionaries while they are still at university. Further, although universities retain the predominate characteristic of being institutions of the bourgeoisie, the system of scholarships and the general economic situation allow for at least some softening in this by the admission of students of working class origin.

The other set of factors relates to the society outside, which is more and more dependent on the trained technicians produced by a university. What the politics of such technicians is, holds much importance in the minds of the bourgeoisie. Because of the number of graduates, degrees do not have the same status as twenty years ago. They are not a guarantee of automatic entry into the establishment. Added to this is the fact that the links of university students to the rest of their generation are stronger because of a higher cultural level generally and the distinctive "youth culture" that has emerged. All these factors have combined to give greater social weight than ever before to the student movement.

Added to these factors is the chronic crisis in bourgeois ideology which inspires no enthusiasm in youth today. The first awakening of the youth is to become aware of the contradictions between the values preached by the bourgeoisie and the crimes of Imperialism.

Furthermore, students are caught at the





centre of the contradictions of this society which demands continually higher educational standards from its technicians but at the same time demands that this intellectual training be applied only to running the system, not questioning its very nature.

All these factors combine to allow the student movement to play a temporary role in the class struggle in society. The student movement in its own struggles inevitably runs up against the fundamental contradictions in society which mean that for success a link up must be made with movements outside the student milieu.

However, here the attraction for student radicals is small. Because of the failure of the workers' movements with their traditional Stalinist and reformist leaderships, contact cannot immediately be made between the student movement and the ongoing struggles in society.

Anti-Imperialist action is thus usually the immediate cause of further radicalization and by taking action defending the gains of the colonial revolution, the students can link up as part of the international class struggle against imperialism.

Because of this natural and inevitable link between student struggles and the national and international class struggles, our orientation in this sphere must encompass the immediate struggles of the students yet go beyond this to engage in struggles of broader implication to the working class movement.

The concept that has been advanced that encompasses these two needs is the strategy of the "red university". This means that the university should cease to become a factory producing automata for industry and their ideological supporters in the various spheres of social science, but rather should transform itself into an institution that produces revolutionaries committed to changing society. The aim is to turn the bourgeois university into a weapon directly against bourgeois society itself.

"For a university that serves the Working People - for a Red University!" With this basic orientation radical students seek to answer the questions: "What kind of education shall students get? Toward what ends should this education be directed? Who shall control the educational facilities? What



layers in society should the educational institutions serve?" (The World-wide Youth Radicalization and The Tasks of the F.I.).

Of course this general theme of struggle is filled in practice by a series of interlocking demands that move the student struggle from its initial limited outlook to a direct confrontation with the system. The questions raised above are answered by these demands favouring the working class and oppressed people and supporting the rights of students and workers to run their own institutions.

These demands centre around three main spheres. Firstly anti-imperialist actions such as defence of the Vietnamese revolution. Secondly support for workers' struggles which raise the consciousness of students from a narrow social outlook. Thirdly the struggle against the bourgeois university as an instrument of the capitalist state propagating the ruling class ideology and form of social relations.

The struggle for these demands calls for mass action in united front organizations. Small-scale guerilla activity cannot hope to achieve anything. Action should be taken which involves large sections of the student population acting around a common set of demands. A united front around commonly agreed minimum demands allows the fullest participation by students in the struggle.

The socialist youth organisation should attempt to play a leading role in all the struggles of the day trying to advance the level of the struggle and winning people to its socialist program. A socialist leadership gives more chance for success of the struggle but also allows permanent gains to be made by the revolutionary movement. If socialists, through the lack of an organisation or comprehensive program, fail to take advantage of the upsurge by recruiting and developing socialists, then much of the effect of the mass activity is jeopardized.

"Work among the youth is not an end in itself. It reaches fruition in the impetus given to the construction or reinforcement of the revolutionary parties that will be capable of leading the working class to victory. The sections of the Fourth International are as yet too small to lead the masses in their own name and under their own banner in a decisive struggle for power. Their work has a preparatory and predominantly propagandistic character involving limited actions.

Their task now is to win and educate decisive numbers of the radical youth in order to equip them for the greater task of winning leadership of the revolutionary elements among the working masses. To fulfill that function adequately, the youth recruits must thoroughly assimilate the organisational concepts of Bolshevism and its methods of constructing politically homogeneous and democratically centralized parties. The construction of such parties in the struggles that are erupting is the only means of overcoming the crisis of leadership which is the central contradiction of our epoch." (Worldwide Radicalization document).



TACTICS IN EUROPE

**Statement by the
United Secretariat of
the Fourth
International**

This statement was issued by the Fourth International in January, 1970. It is a reappraisal of the entryist tactics followed by Sections of the International in Europe from the early fifties. In examining the changes in the political climate of capitalist Europe since then, this document analyses old methods and postulates some new openings for European Sections in building mass revolutionary parties. While, in Australia, the overwhelming allegiance of the workers to the mass party remains an unchanged and basic fact of political life - the analysis below shows many valid possibilities concerning the youth and student movement which are partially applicable here.

documents

1. At the beginning of the fifties, the European sections of the Fourth International adopted in general the entryist orientation to accomplish their central strategic task—building mass revolutionary parties that can win away important sectors of the proletariat from the influence of the traditional reformist and Stalinist leaderships and lead these workers toward the overthrow of capitalism and the seizure of state power. The Trotskyist movement at the time was very weak numerically and unable to exert great influence on the development of the class struggle. In view of this fact, the entryist orientation flowed from the following considerations:

(a) Throughout the entire postwar revolutionary upsurge of 1944–48, the traditional bureaucracies maintained their control over the mass movements. These bureaucracies entered the new postwar period of European history – which opened with the end of reconstruction and with the upsurge of the colonial revolution – without having lost their dominant influence over the working class.

(b) Under these conditions, the most probable projection was that any new radicalization of the proletariat, any important growth of working-class combativity, would be expressed first inside the traditional organizations, increasing the differentiation within them and giving rise to important left currents of either a centrist or left centrist character.

(c) By promoting the organization of such-currents and by striving to win political leadership of them, revolutionary Marxists could facilitate the breakup of the traditional organizations through large splits. Under the influence of a revolutionary Marxist nucleus, one or another of the groupings produced by such splits could develop toward becoming a mass revolutionary party.

(d) By limiting themselves to existing as independent groups, revolutionary Marxists would confine themselves to propaganda activities incapable of influencing the differentiation of larger currents inside the mass movement and incapable of influencing the actual course of the class struggle.

The so-called entryist orientation in constructing mass revolutionary parties did not signify abandonment whatsoever of the effort to build sections of the Fourth International. All the resolutions written in accordance with the decision to apply this orientation implied the maintenance of tightly organized and disciplined revolutionary Marxist nuclei, recruiting on the basis of their full program, and utilizing open Trotskyist publications for this purpose.

The decision to carry out a broad entryist turn in 1951–53 was accompanied by internal discussions and struggles on problems related to this turn but not identical with its tactical content (for example, the imminence of a world war, and its possible influence in bringing the Communist parties

to make a turn to the left, the forms of the disintegration of Stalinism, the internal functioning of the International, etc.) The present resolution is not intended to draw a balance sheet on the history of these internal struggles, which led to a split in the movement, but merely to recall the reasons that led to the adoption of the entryist tactic as such and the reasons and perspectives of the tactical turn which all the European sections have decided on at present.

2. An analysis of the fifteen years that have passed since the adoption of the entryist orientation at the tenth plenum of the International Executive Committee enables us to determine, in general terms, which aspects of this orientation were correct and which were faulty.

(a) The prediction that any new radicalization of the proletariat would be expressed first by a differentiation within the traditional mass organizations of the workers movement has been completely borne out. The formation of the Bevan and Renard tendencies in the British and Belgian Social Democracies, the rupture in the Danish CP (the Larsen split), the formation one after another of left tendencies inside the Italian CP (the Young Communists, the Ingrao tendency), and the role played by struggle within the UEC (Union des Etudiants Communistes – Union of Communist Students) in the revival of the youth vanguard in France all confirm the analysis which led to the adoption of the entryist orientation. Even in Germany, which was the country in capitalist Europe where the radicalization was most limited during the period 1951–65, the only organization, however small, arising from what leftward movement there was – the SDS – was the product of a split from the Social Democracy.

(b) Throughout this period, no organization was able to score any significant success in trying to create a revolutionary party outside the traditional organizations. However, the adoption of the entryist orientation, in general, enabled the revolutionary Marxist nuclei to keep in better touch with the mass movement, to tie themselves intimately to it, and to better influence the development of the workers struggles.

(c) However, the long period of relative capitalist stabilization in Europe, which could not be foreseen at the time the International adopted the entryist orientation in Europe, severely limited the extent of the differentiation within the traditional mass organizations. Occurring apart from broad mass struggles, or only in their aftermath in the declining phase of these struggles, such differentiations could generally be contained essentially within the traditional apparatuses. Therefore, they led to the splitting off of small groups and marginal attrition rather than mass splits.

(d) It could have been otherwise if the revolutionary Marxist nuclei had forces within the left tendencies which arose in the traditional parties capable of organizing the bulk of the members or sympathizers of these tendencies. But while the revolutionary Marxist nuclei generally gained strength in this

period, the gains remained very modest. They were, therefore, confined to exercising a political influence within these tendencies, rather than consolidating them organizationally. This situation greatly facilitated the manoeuvres of the left currents in the bureaucracies, through which, in the last analysis, they were able to reduce the magnitude of the splits. In adopting the entryist orientation, as it was formulated in 1951-52, the inevitable relationship between the size of our own forces and those which we could draw away from the mass parties was underestimated.

3. Toward the middle of the 1960's, the situation in the workers movement of capitalist Europe began to change under the influence of the following three factors:

(a) A slowdown in economic growth, higher unemployment rates, and a sequence of recessions (Italy, France, Great Britain, West Germany) all aggravated the class-contradictions and progressively stimulated a revival of workers struggles.

(b) The composition of the working class changed significantly under the combined impact of the accelerated industrialization caused by technological changes (especially in Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands, and Flanders), and the speedup on the assembly lines (an important factor in lowering the age level of the workers in big plants). A whole new sector of workers, youths in the main, has appeared which is much less subject to the control of the traditional apparatuses. This has favored a trend for much larger sections of the working class to get out of hand than in the 1944-48 period.

(c) A new youth vanguard developed on the basis primarily of identifying with the advancing sectors of the colonial revolution (Algeria, Vietnam, Palestine). This vanguard at the same time turned toward agitation in the universities and high schools, thereby acquiring a social base that made it a real factor in the political life of a number of important capitalist countries (France, West Germany, Italy).

The characteristic feature of this change has been the great loss in influence wielded by the traditional organizations over this new young vanguard, resulting from the deep degeneration of the Social Democracy and the intensified crisis of Stalinism. Thus, for the first time since 1919-23, a rather broad vanguard independent of the bureaucratic apparatuses appeared in Europe. This vanguard has begun to alter the relationship of forces within the workers movement and this in turn can exercise a growing influence simultaneously on the combativity, orientation, and forms of struggle of significant sectors of the working class. The same change explains why in Great Britain the growing opposition of the workers and the unions to Wilson's policies since 1964 has not given rise to a sharp differentiation within the local sections of the increasingly sclerotic Labour party.

4. This essential change in the situation

in the workers movement of capitalist Europe and the forms taken by the radicalization of successive layers of the workers and youth is the fundamental reason for the decision of the European sections of the Fourth International to change their orientation regarding the avenues of developing mass revolutionary parties today. In the new situation in the working class and in the workers movement, it seemed most important not to lose the opportunity presented by the appearance of this new vanguard. This vanguard could not be left to flounder between ultraleft spontaneism and reabsorption into the left wing of the traditional apparatuses, the inevitable alternative if no example were provided of at least a small revolutionary organization basing itself on the new wave of radicalization and aiming at consciously constructing a party of the Bolshevik type.

The content of the new orientation in working toward the construction of revolutionary parties which has been adopted by the European sections of the Fourth International can be defined as follows:

(a) Giving priority to winning political and organizational preponderance within the new vanguard with the aim of considerably strengthening our own organizations, and, if possible, qualitatively changing the relationship of forces vis-a-vis the bureaucracies in the working class.

(b) For this purpose, following a policy of taking the initiative in actions which will convince the new vanguard of the necessity of revolutionary Marxist organizations, not only on the theoretical and historical level but practically in the living struggle.

(c) Engaging in more extensive work among the rank-and-file workers in the factories and in the unions.

(d) Striving to build solid bases of support among the young workers from which confrontations with the bureaucracy can be mounted without risking elimination of the opposition nuclei from the unions and plants.

This orientation increases the importance of a widely distributed revolutionary Marxist press, of intense theoretical material in our theoretical journals, and numerous books and pamphlets giving solid support for our struggle to win preponderance within a new vanguard which is distinguished by a higher cultural and political level than similar vanguards in the past. At the same time, this orientation points up the need for our sections to function effectively and openly as real combat organizations capable of serving as poles of attraction for the best of the revolutionary youth who are repelled by Stalinism and reformism and for whom spontaneism has little attraction.

5. The change in orientation decided on by the European sections of the Fourth International does not mean that they underestimate the still decisive weight of the Stalinist and reformist apparatuses in the outcome of the great workers struggles which capitalist Europe is now experiencing

and will yet experience in the years to come. Neither does it mean that they hold an exaggerated and utopian view of the possibilities for reducing this influence through the intervention of vanguard groups or youth organizations on the periphery of the organized workers movement proper.

The central strategic task of revolutionary Marxists remains that of building mass revolutionary parties. In countries where there is a long tradition of mass working-class political action, where the workers movement is still predominantly controlled by mass parties claiming to represent the workers, the achievement of this task is inconceivable without the occurrence of differentiations in these old organizations, including extensive ruptures and splits. It is clear that today our sections have much greater possibilities for individual recruitment than ever and that these must be utilized to the full. But it would be just as sectarian today as in the past to insist solely on recruiting to a small group on an individual basis and to exclude the possibility of the party's progressing through regroupments and similar operations once this stage is reached and the necessary forces have been accumulated to engage in such tactics effectively.

We must also reject the illusion that because the vanguard has the capacity to outflank the traditional bureaucracies, even in determining the objectives and new forms of combat adopted in workers struggles, that these bureaucracies cannot regain control of the mass movement after a certain point in the confrontation. The recent experiences both in the limited strikes in France and in the powerful wave of strikes in Italy clearly prove the opposite.

However, this change in orientation involves the following:

(a) An understanding of the fact that the differentiation within the mass organizations today is less a result of the internal dialectic of ideological debates and factional struggles than of the repercussions within these organizations of the mass struggle and the actions of the vanguard itself. In this sense, orienting toward the new vanguards is essential even for the purpose of accelerating the outbreak of conflicts within the old parties (see the revival of struggle inside the Italian CP, the *Il Manifesto* group, and inside the German Social Democracy at the Munich congress of the *Jungsozialisten* (Young Socialists, the official Social Democratic youth organization), which very clearly resulted from the pressure of the vanguard from the outside).

(b) A realization that in choosing the correct tactic at each stage of their struggle to construct a new revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, revolutionary Marxists must not fail to take into account their own forces, which is also an element in estimating the prospects of any tactic.

In any case, the new orientation set by the European sections continues to require

them to follow attentively all developments in the mass organizations of the working class, especially inside the trade unions but also inside the mass parties claiming to represent the workers. The need for continuing or beginning fraction work inside these organizations must be examined at each specific stage in the class struggle, taking into consideration the forces at our disposal, the opportunities, the perspectives for the class struggle in the short and medium term, and the differentiation within the working class.

6. The exact organizational forms by which this new orientation in building mass revolutionary parties should be implemented depends on the particular conditions in each country and no general formula can be given. Broadly speaking, nowhere are the revolutionary Marxists able at present to constitute a party in the Leninist sense of the term, that is, a party capable of leading a significant minority of the proletariat and the other exploited layers in a revolutionary struggle. At best, as in France, the revolutionary Marxists constitute only the initial nucleus of such a party. There are various ways revolutionary Marxists can try to improve their situation for establishing themselves as the preponderant force within the new vanguard in the short run - giving priority to building a youth organization focused from the outset on the three areas of work (the universities, the factories, and the high schools); or giving priority to building an adult organization (where, the vanguard movement has already passed a certain threshold or where the new vanguard is still in its incipient stages); or by a combination of the two. The precise form of the youth organization - whether it is an avowed revolutionary Marxist organization or a vanguard organization encompassing, besides a revolutionary Marxist nucleus, broader layers of youth developing toward revolutionary Marxism but not yet fully convined - likewise depends on the specific conditions in each country. The Fourth International can maintain a great deal of tactical flexibility as to the precise organizational forms in each country, if it is well understood that the essential condition for carrying out the tasks of party building in the present stage is that the revolutionary Marxist nuclei show a public face, both through their publications and through practical work among the new vanguard and in the class struggle.

7. The main axes of political work by the sections of the Fourth International in the immediate future derive from: (1) a correct appreciation of the objective conditions which have arisen since 1965 and have been powerfully reinforced by May 1968 and the strike wave in Italy (see the editorial in the November 1969 issue of *Quatrieme Internationale*, an English translation of which appeared in the December 15 issue of *Intercontinental Press*

under the title "The Strike Wave in Europe"); (2) a thorough understanding of the meaning of the turn taken by the revolutionary Marxists in the struggle to build mass revolutionary parties.

(a) The strategy of transitional demands continues to be the basis for propaganda, and, on occasion, agitation and active intervention in the struggle of the working class. This strategy centers more than ever around the themes of workers control.

(b) Propaganda for workers power and a more precise determination of the concrete implications of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Western Europe in our time assume growing importance in the present stage of rising workers struggles which have been accompanied by a succession of prerevolutionary and revolutionary crises (May 1968 in France, fall 1969 in Italy).

(c) A specific analysis must be made of the strategy for workers struggles in each country both as to the methods of struggle and the most appropriate organizational forms (action committees, strike committees, trade-union fractions, oppositional formations in the trade unions).

(d) The struggle for workers democracy assumes prime importance in this new phase where the relationship of forces between the union bureaucracy and the working masses is beginning to change, but it cannot be said for sure that the workers are capable of rapidly eliminating the bureaucrats. Defending and strengthening union democracy are not only ways of altering the relationship of strength between the bureaucracy and the masses, thus releasing greater forces for the fight against capitalism, but they are also essential means of combating the growing integration of the unions into the bourgeois state and everything that goes with this (wage restrictions, limitations on the right to strike, prison sentences for wildcat strikes, etc.).

(e) The tendency toward a "strong state", the strengthening of the repressive apparatus, the reappearance of semifascist goon squads, and racist and xenophobic propaganda against immigrant workers all renew the vital importance of intransigently defending the workers' rights and civil liberties, and extending them to all the minorities which are excluded from these rights (foreigners, youth, soldiers), and consolidating them by building workers' self-defence groups.

(f) The crisis of bourgeois leadership, the crisis in the Common Market, and the sharpening interimperialist contradictions are creating a favorable climate for propagandizing for a Socialist United States of Europe as the overall solution for the problems afflicting and tormenting bourgeois society in Europe, that is, as a synonym for workers power on a European scale. The revival of proletarian internationalism, moreover, especially in the young generation, makes such propaganda more fruitful for the revolutionary vanguard. This campaign

must be accompanied by an attempt to develop forms of international collaboration and coordination of struggles simultaneously among the revolutionary Marxist organizations, among the broader youth vanguards, and among certain sectors of the European working class where that becomes objectively possible.

(g) The appearance of university and high school students as a distinct political force beginning in 1967 makes it necessary to formulate a definite strategy for revolutionary Marxists in this milieu so as to avoid the double trap of underestimating it (dismissing it as "petty bourgeois") or overestimating it (which is done primarily by the spontaneist tendencies who disregard its specific social strengths and weaknesses its place in the productive process, the instability of its situation, and so forth). The predominance in the student vanguard of tendencies favoring a "worker-student linkup" makes it more important than ever to reaffirm that a revolutionary Leninist organization is the only means of achieving this tie effectively and giving it an objectively revolutionary meaning.

(h) More attention must be paid to the specific demands and problems of young working men and women. These superexploited layers are more capable of suddenly breaking out of the bureaucratic crust. In addition to specific demands, special forms of action must be investigated for tying up with these groups.

(i) Anti-imperialist action and solidarity with the principal sectors of the colonial revolution now in motion (Vietnam, Palestine, Bolivia) have lost none of their value as themes around which to agitate and mobilize. This is still the area where the differentiation among the various currents appears most clearly. It is still where the organizational and theoretical superiority of the Fourth International over sectarian and ultraleft tendencies, such as the Lambertists and the Maoists and primitive or super-proletarian tendencies like the spontaneists and the Mao-spontex (pro-Mao spontaneist) groups, is most obvious.

(j) Action in solidarity with the antibureaucratic communist opposition in East Europe and the USSR also assumes growing importance as a result of the increasing sensitivity of the youth vanguard to this question produced by the events in Czechoslovakia and the acute crisis of Stalinism; and as a result of the splits that have occurred in the Communist youth organizations in Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Belgium, and else elsewhere. Finally, the importance of this issue is magnified by the opportunity it offers to advance our ideas about democratic centralism and workers democracy - which are the keys to projecting an image of communism radically different from that which repels the great majority of young workers, student, and high-school youth in West Europe today.

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