

REVISIONIONISTS IN CRISIS

Earlier this year, there took place the international conference of the so-called 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International'. This body, which claims the name Trotskyist, is in fact a product of groups which have abandoned the programme of Trotskyism and the building of revolutionary parties. Originating from the group following Michel Pablo in the 1953 split in the Fourth International, they have been supported since 1963 by the US Socialist Workers' Party. The documents of the recent conference of this Pabloite tendency are analysed here by Tim Wohlforth, secretary of the Workers League of the United States, which works in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

PART ONE

Trotskyism and the strategy of guerrilla warfare

A DISCUSSION of the most fundamental kind has broken out within the organizations affiliated with the United Secretariat and the Socialist Workers' Party, which is in political solidarity with the United Secretariat.

A liquidationist tendency has developed of such an extreme nature that Peng Shu-tse, one of its leading members, has called for a 'return to the road of Trotskyism'.

This tendency, formed primarily around the question of uncritical support to guerrilla warfare, dominates the European and Latin American sections of the United Secretariat, placing the supporters of the Socialist Workers' Party of the USA in a minority at its recent International Congress.

Among the leaders of this tendency

are Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Moscoso of Bolivia. Supporting the SWP are essentially the Canadian section and Peng Shu-tse.

The emergence of this tendency and the questions raised in this discussion pose before all members of the SWP, its youth affiliate the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and other supporters of the United Secretariat the question of the complete liquidation of their organizations. It is of the utmost importance that these questions be probed to their depths, that the origins of these questions in the history of the Fourth International, particularly the split in the International Committee in 1963 and the fusion of the section led by the SWP with the United Secretariat, be seriously confronted.

The central document in the dispute is the 'Draft Resolution on Latin America'. This document puts forward 'the perspective of a prolonged civil war with rural guerrilla warfare as its principal axis . . .'. Flowing from this it proposes the liquidation of the Latin



The SWP and the Pabloites came together over Cuba; now they are falling out over Cuba

*Tim Wohlforth,
National Secretary,
Workers League*



American sections of the United Secretariat into Castro's movement:

'Integration into the historic revolutionary current represented by the Cuban revolution and the OLAS, which involves, regardless of the form, working as an integral part of the OLAS.'

The most fundamental attack on this position was made by Peng Shu-tse, who reports that he was a minority of one on the International Executive Committee on this question.

'The comrades,' he states, 'have consciously or unconsciously discarded the Transitional Programme and have replaced it with the strategy of guerrilla warfare.'

This, he holds, poses a very fundamental question for the comrades of the Fourth International: Should we continue to carry out the traditional and fundamental programmatic line of the International — the Transitional Programme—or should we adopt the new strategy of guerrilla warfare?'

Peng points out, drawing on Trotsky's 'Problems of the Chinese Revolution', that guerrilla warfare conducted isolated from urban struggle is adventurist and leads to the destruction of the movement.

'To avoid the disastrous results of the guerrilla warfare strategy and to prepare the victory of the revolution in Latin America, it is necessary to project a transitional programme which should include among others, demands for agrarian reform; national independence; freedom of the press, speech, assembly, strike, etc.; and a "Constituent Assembly with full powers, elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage".'

Peng then turns to the question of Cuba, for this is obviously at the heart of the dispute as the Maitan-Moscoso group uses the 'Cuban example' as its model, supports uncritically Castro's 'strategy' of armed rural guerrilla warfare, and proposes liquidation into Castro's movement.

'Castroism', Peng Shu-tse notes, 'has made no theoretical contribution to Marxism. Castro's programme is merely one of action based upon his own experiences in the Cuban revolution, i.e. guerrilla warfare. It is clear that Castro does not understand some of the basic tenets of Marxism or some of the most important lessons and experiences of the world working-class movement, such as the Bolshevik Revolution, the struggle between Trotsky, Stalin, etc.

This lack of understanding is expressed practically in Castro's politics by the lack of any democratic-centralist party in Cuba itself, by the lack of any democratic government, in Cuba based upon the workers' and peasants' soviets, by the support of a guerrilla war strategy in Latin America, etc.'

Peng then goes on to discuss the general orientation of his whole movement.

'In the past period the International on the whole has found itself working in and recruiting from primarily petty-bourgeois strata, especially the student movement. To a great degree, of course, this area of work was determined by the objective conditions; nevertheless, our past work in and orientation toward the integration into the working class is the most urgent task facing our movement today.'

If the current situation is allowed to continue for any period of time then he predicts the sections of the United Secretariat 'cannot but degenerate'. This orientation towards the working class 'must, above all, be concretely based on our work in the trade unions'.

Next he goes into the question of Algeria which it seems he has tried unsuccessfully on several occasions since 1965 to raise within the United Secretariat. He states that the Boumedienne coup 'represented a heavy blow to the Fourth International and its political position not only because of the direct involvement and participation in the Algerian events on the part of several sections — France, Algeria, etc. — but also because one of the International's leaders, Michel Pablo, participated in Ben Bella's government. As a result, we must accept as much of the responsibility as anybody for the serious setback. . . . One of the most important mistakes was the failure of the International to seriously criticize Ben Bella's government as well as the failure to propose any revolutionary programme for the Algerian masses in order to advance the struggle.'

In assessing the fundamental meaning of these mistakes Peng concludes they represent 'an adaptation to a petty-bourgeois leadership'. Such an adaptation is not accidental or without precedent.

'The International, in the past, has displayed a tendency to adapt to reformist bureaucrats and the radical petty bourgeoisie.'

This he then traces back to Pablo's



The road of guerrillas (seen here in Guatemala) replaces the road of Trotskyism

position in the early 1950s of 'so-called self-reform of the bureaucratic leaderships in the workers' states and of certain Communist parties . . .'

Peng concludes his document by stating:

'Replacing the Transitional Programme with the strategy of guerrilla warfare, neglecting the most serious work in the working class and its traditional class struggle organizations, i.e. the trade unions, and continuing to adapt ourselves to different petty-bourgeois currents and leaderships, cannot only not build an International, but will lead our movement into a blind alley. The above represents a deviation from Trotskyism, and it is the most urgent task and duty of the coming World Congress to consider seriously

these questions by taking a formal stand on them in order to return to the road of Trotskyism.'

Needless to say the World Congress took a formal stand in favour of the road of guerrilla warfare and liquidationism.

Joseph Hansen of the SWP, in a somewhat more diplomatic way, takes the same essential position as Peng on the guerrilla warfare question.

'Thus if the concept of rural guerrilla warfare for a prolonged period is adopted as the principal axis of revolutionary work,' Hansen concludes, 'then the problem of mobilizing the urban masses becomes somewhat irrelevant, and along with it most of the Transitional Programme.'

Hansen also warns against liquidation in Castro's movement in Latin America.

' . . . Just as the main orientation advanced in the draft resolution on

Latin America appears to be an adaptation to the orientation of the Cubans at their present level of development, so the prescription of working as an "integral part" of the OLAS appears to be an adaptation to the organizational level they have reached. To make an organizational adaptation of this kind could have very serious consequences for the Latin American sections of the Trotskyist movement, whose problem is precisely the one indicated in the main resolution—to doggedly continue "to build their own parties and their own International".'

In Hansen's opinion the Latin American resolution is in contradiction with the main resolution on international perspectives. 'How the implicit contradiction between the two resolutions would be resolved in practice if both were adopted without either of them being substantially changed is hard to foresee.'

This is precisely the position the United Secretariat is presently in as both resolutions were passed at its last International Congress.

There are certain differences between Peng's and Hansen's presentations worth noting. Peng warns the United Secretariat of the dangers of an exclusive orientation towards the students and urges instead a turn towards the trade unions. Hansen argues against guerrilla warfare from the perspective that the United Secretariat's main orientation should be towards the student youth in the urban centres.

While Peng brings up the Algerian question, Hansen remains completely silent on it. The reason could be that Hansen played a major role in formulating this policy of support to Ben Bella and wrote extensively on this in the 'Militant' at the time.

Also it should be noted that for years now the 'Militant' and other SWP organs have been in the forefront of pushing the guerrilla warfare line and spreading the cult of 'Che'.

Moscoso's writings have appeared without comment in the 'International Socialist Review'. More recently a group of YSAers have visited Cuba and written completely uncritical accounts of Cuba; the SWP is a major publisher and distributor of the guerrilla warfare propaganda of Che Guevara and Castro. There is, of course, no accounting made of this in Hansen's article.

Hansen lays great stress on the necessity to construct 'Leninist combat parties' in Latin America and elsewhere and sees the guerrilla warfare position as a threat to this. But, writing on the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP, stated that in the colonial areas such parties were no longer needed and 'blunted instruments' could be used. In other words the SWP leadership has made its contribution to the emergence of this liquidationist tendency it now opposes.

This discussion involves much more than Cuba, and the liquidationism expressed in Latin America cannot be confined to that continent. It is not an

accident that virtually the entire European movement of the United Secretariat has come to the defence of guerrilla warfare. Of course it is not that they wish to conduct some kind of guerrillaism in Europe so much as it is they wish to liquidate in their own way into the new petty-bourgeois movements which have arisen in Europe riding on the crest of a class struggle these organizations are so removed from.

Livio Maitan expresses this outlook the most clearly though still in a covered, cautious way:

'On the one hand certain present movements which are being unleashed, by their very scope go beyond the present possibilities of our restricted organizations, on the other hand—and above all—these new movements, which are breaking through or passing over every "traditional" organizational framework and in which the militants often display a tendency to consider us, too, as part of the "traditional" left, exercise a powerful attraction in circles where formerly we were alone in speaking a revolutionary language. In other words: to the degree that the weight of the ideological factor in the choice of political alignment decreases (in the cases indicated from the very fact that a series of ideas have become, more or less, common property) it is understandable that some layers of militants and cadres prefer, at least at this stage, to merely join mass movements rather than become linked organizationally with the Fourth International or national Trotskyist organizations.'

And what does Maitan propose to do about this 'understandable' situation where activists do not wish to join his 'restricted' organization?

'It goes without saying—in addition—that we must continue to apply in the most supple way our basic criticisms through integration in the real movements and avoid any kind of political sectarianism or organizational fetishism.'

In addition Maitan proposes the United Secretariat throw everything into creating a guerrillaist miracle in Bolivia. And if the miracle does not come off? Then it would seem logical that Maitan and friends would wish to get rid of the 'organizational fetishism' of their 'restricted organizations' which is such an 'understandable' barrier for the masses of students he is seeking to work with.

This liquidationist trend has apparently begun to take its toll in the SWP and YSA. Maitan himself notes 'that the SWP used to have a greater number of black militants than today'.

What has happened is that many black members of these organizations have developed the logic of the SWP's uncritical support of black power groups to its logical conclusion of resigning from the SWP and joining such groups as the Black Panthers. At the same time we know of YSAers who have resigned from the YSA to get into the broader SDS movement.

This helps to explain why Hansen now feels compelled to fight in Europe a political trend which for so long he and the rest of the SWP leadership have whether they like it or not encouraged and contributed to.

There can be no turning away from the issues raised in this dispute. Every member of the SWP and YSA as well as other groups supporting the United Secretariat must return to the political issues raised at the time of the split of the SWP and its supporters from the International Committee and their political fusion with Mandel, Maitan and company (1963).

At this time we insisted upon a full discussion as an absolute prerequisite to any fusion. Unless the whole history of Pabloism since 1952 is discussed, these questions probed by the point of view of the Marxist method and within the framework of the continuity of the Fourth International and the Transitional Programme, we insisted any unity would be unprincipled and would mean the liquidation of the Fourth International.

The SWP refused to discuss any of these questions seriously. Instead it posed unity on the basis of 'concrete agreement' with the 'facts' of the Cuban Revolution in the first place and



Joseph Hansen takes same position as Peng but in a more diplomatic way

the 'vindication' of these 'facts' in the Algerian Revolution under Ben Bella in the second place.

Now the United Secretariat is coming unstuck precisely over these questions of Cuba and Algeria and a whole section of this movement is going over to open liquidation of their organizations.

We fought consistently during that struggle and right up to today for the building of the sections of the International Committee on the basis of the perspectives of the Transitional Pro-

gramme. We held that capitalism was in a new period of extreme international crisis, that the very centre of this crisis was in the advanced capitalist countries, not the Third World, that because of this the Transitional Programme could now become the fighting programme of million of workers, and that the key to the development of this programme was the struggle to build sections of the Fourth International in all countries with deep roots in the working class.

The defence and development of this

perspective required, above all, a serious study of Marxist theory, of the Marxist method, and such theoretical development tied to and integrated with the actual work of constructing the party. Our advances since the period of the split with the SWP have been possible only because we sought to probe the roots of the degeneration of the Fourth International in the development of Pabloite revisionism in the 1950s.

The events of May-June in France are a complete vindication of this per-

spective of the new period of crisis and revolutionary struggle we are now in. But they are more than that. May-June places before the Trotskyist movement the absolute immediacy of the task of constructing revolutionary parties.

This is why a discussion to clarify the theoretical questions which produce liquidationism is even more of a burning necessity now than it was in 1961-1963.

This discussion must now go forward. In fact nothing can prevent it any longer. It will go forward!

PART TWO: Leadership and the world socialist revolution

AT THE recent congress of the 'United Secretariat' forces, the delegates voted unanimously for the main resolution 'The New Rise of the World Revolution'. Thus the tendencies which stood in opposition to each other over the question of guerrilla warfare and Latin America were able to vote without qualms for a common international resolution.

This in itself raises questions as to the character of this resolution. How could those whom Peng Shu-tse urges to 'return to the road of Trotskyism', and those whom he undoubtedly considers are on this road, support the same general international line?

The answer lies in the very character of this resolution and its theoretical continuity with a long series of resolutions beginning with the Third Congress of the Fourth International in 1951.

This resolution, like its predecessors, is actually an eclectic cover for liqui-

dationism with bits and pieces of orthodoxy and statements about the building of the Fourth International thrown in. It thus expresses the very contradictions and permanent crisis of Pabloism since its origins. A whole series of tendencies and individuals, such as Cochran (USA), Lawrence (England) and Mestre (France) in 1953 have followed out the theoretical logic of these resolutions to the point of abandoning the orthodox cover and liquidating into Stalinism or other anti-Trotskyist tendencies. The United Secretariat now faces a new manifestation of this trend, in a much more aggravated form than in 1953.

The very first paragraphs of the resolution establish the central, theoretical outlook which has marked Pabloite resolutions since the Third Congress. This makes clear that while Pablo, the man, left the United Secretariat several years ago, Pabloism as a revisionist method remains at the very heart of the world outlook of the United Secretariat and its supporters.

Three epi-centres

The paragraph sees the world divided into three sectors, or as Pablo called them 'epi-centres'—'the colonial revolution, the political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated workers' states, and the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries'.

The purpose of the resolution is to outline the 'dynamics' of the 'inter-relation' and 'interaction' of these three sectors or epi-centres. While the world revolution has suffered 'serious setbacks' in one sector (the colonial revolution), it has also 'scored new successes' in another sector (the imperialist countries) with the May 1968 revolutionary upsurge in France.

But, in sum, things worked out pretty well:

'As a result, the global balance of forces is continuing to turn against imperialism, a still clearer interaction has emerged among the three main sectors of the world revolution, and an important change has occurred in the dynamics of their inter-relation—revolutionary struggles in the imperialist countries themselves occupying a more important place in this world-wide process today than in the past 20 years.'

Here in essence we have the outlook



*According to Pabloite theory
the triumph of the
Chinese Revolution altered
world relation of forces
in favor of socialism*

of Pabloism since 1951. It begins with the conception that the world balance of forces has been altered in favour of socialism, proceeds to divide the world into three epi-centres, and then notes in which epi-centre the world revolution is forging ahead at the moment.

The theoretical structure remains constant from document to document, only the epi-centre where the main action is changes from resolution to resolution. Thus in the 1951, 1954 and 1957 resolutions the main epi-centre was in the workers' states, while in the 1961 (Socialist Workers' Party resolution), 1963, and 1965 resolutions the epi-centre switched to the colonial countries, and in the current resolution the advanced countries emerge as the main epi-centre.

The causes of these changes in epi-centre are never explained, nor can one learn from reading a previous resolution that the authors are in any way prepared for or capable of predicting an imminent switch in epi-centre. But this does not matter as the purpose of the resolution is not to prepare the movement for future turns in the international situation, but rather how best at the moment to adapt to what is going on.

And why does it really matter, since all resolutions claim the balance of forces in our favour anyway. If we are to make a few errors here or there, pick and choose the wrong epi-centre, this will be but small change in the

over-riding onward and upward march of the revolutionary process.

This theory that the global relationship of forces has altered in favour of socialism is what Pablo called the 'new world reality'. We find a classic formulation of the theory in the 1954 Pabloite Fourth World Congress document 'The Rise and Decline of Stalinism':

'The evolution of the Soviet Union and of the world working-class movement since 1917 is fundamentally determined by the dynamic of the relation of class forces on the world scale. This development has passed through major phases: the rise of revolution in 1917-1923, the ebb of world revolution in 1923-1943, and the new revolutionary rise since 1943.'

We find the same theory put forward in the 1961 SWP resolution 'The Struggle Between the Socialist and Capitalist Camps', which laid the political basis for the re-unification in 1963. The resolution begins with the 'four major stages' of the struggle for socialism, identical with the Pabloite stages quoted above except that an earlier stage from 1900-1917 is inserted. On the current stage the resolution states:

'The victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, coupled with the setback



Zhdanov's 'New World Reality'

of American imperialism in Korea in 1952, definitely altered the world relation of forces in favour of socialism.'

It would, however, be historically unfair to attribute the authorship of this theory to Michel Pablo alone. In truth it was first formulated by Zhdanov, the theoretician of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the early period of the cold war, in 1947, as follows:

'The end of the Second World War brought with it big changes in the world situation. The military defeat of the bloc of fascist states, the character of the war as a war of liberation from fascism, and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the vanquishing of the fascist aggressors sharply altered the alignment of forces between the two systems—the Socialist and the Capitalist—in favour of Socialism.'

For Zhdanov and Stalin this theory was at the very heart of their justification of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. If the balance of forces had been sharply altered in favour of socialism, then the independent struggle of workers in all countries for socialism was no longer needed, in fact could be downright harmful.

The very existence of the Soviet Union alone had altered things in favour of socialism and its continued existence and growth could not help but further alter the relation of forces leading in time to the automatic collapse of capitalism and the world triumph of socialism. The thing to do now was to give the Soviet Union this



Trotsky fought Stalin insisting revolution must extend to advanced country to alter relation of forces



time to triumph by maintaining peaceful relations with the doomed remnants of tottering capitalism.

The theory played a similar role for Pablo and for his present-day theoretical followers in the United Secretariat. Under conditions of a decisive change in the world relationship of forces the 'old Trotskyism' of the Transitional Programme with its constant assertion of the absolutely critical necessity to construct the revolutionary party no longer carried as much weight. In this new reality history had shown that 'blunted instruments' could bring the working class to power at least in backward countries. As the 1963 resolution of the Reunification Congress put it:

'The weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened the possibility of coming to power with a blunted instrument.'

And now Hansen and Peng seem surprised that the Latin American sections of the United Secretariat wish to dissolve into Castro's OLAS movement. Surely no blunter instrument could be

found.

The three-sector theory is methodologically part and parcel of the same outlook with the same objective political results. The Pabloites see the world divided into three distinct sectors, each formally separated from the other, but each of which 'interacts' on the others. This is seen as very much an external interaction with students or workers in one sector being 'inspired' by struggle in another sector, conducting solidarity campaigns and in other ways manifesting their 'sympathy' for these struggles which remain very external to them.

Most important of all, both theories obscure the real relations between capital and labour internationally and thus undercut the central importance of the struggle to construct the Fourth International in all countries. Instead of beginning first with the fundamental oppositional forces of modern society, the class struggle is dissolved into a global conflict between the forces of socialism and capitalism with the former including the workers' states with their bureaucratic leaderships and the colonial revolution with its petty-bourgeois and bourgeois national leaderships.

This global conflict is then broken into sectors, thus obliterating the essential unifying forces of capitalist relations on the one hand and the working class as an international class on the other. At the same time the material foundations of the class struggle rooted in the crisis of world capitalism are either ignored altogether or seen as only one among many factors affecting the imperialist sector of the schema.

What is required is a return to the very fundamentals of Marxist theory and its development by Lenin and Trotsky in particular. First of all we must understand that we exist in a world dominated by capitalism. Capitalism is a world system which covers almost the entire face of the globe, having an impact, as we shall see, even within those countries which have established workers' states.

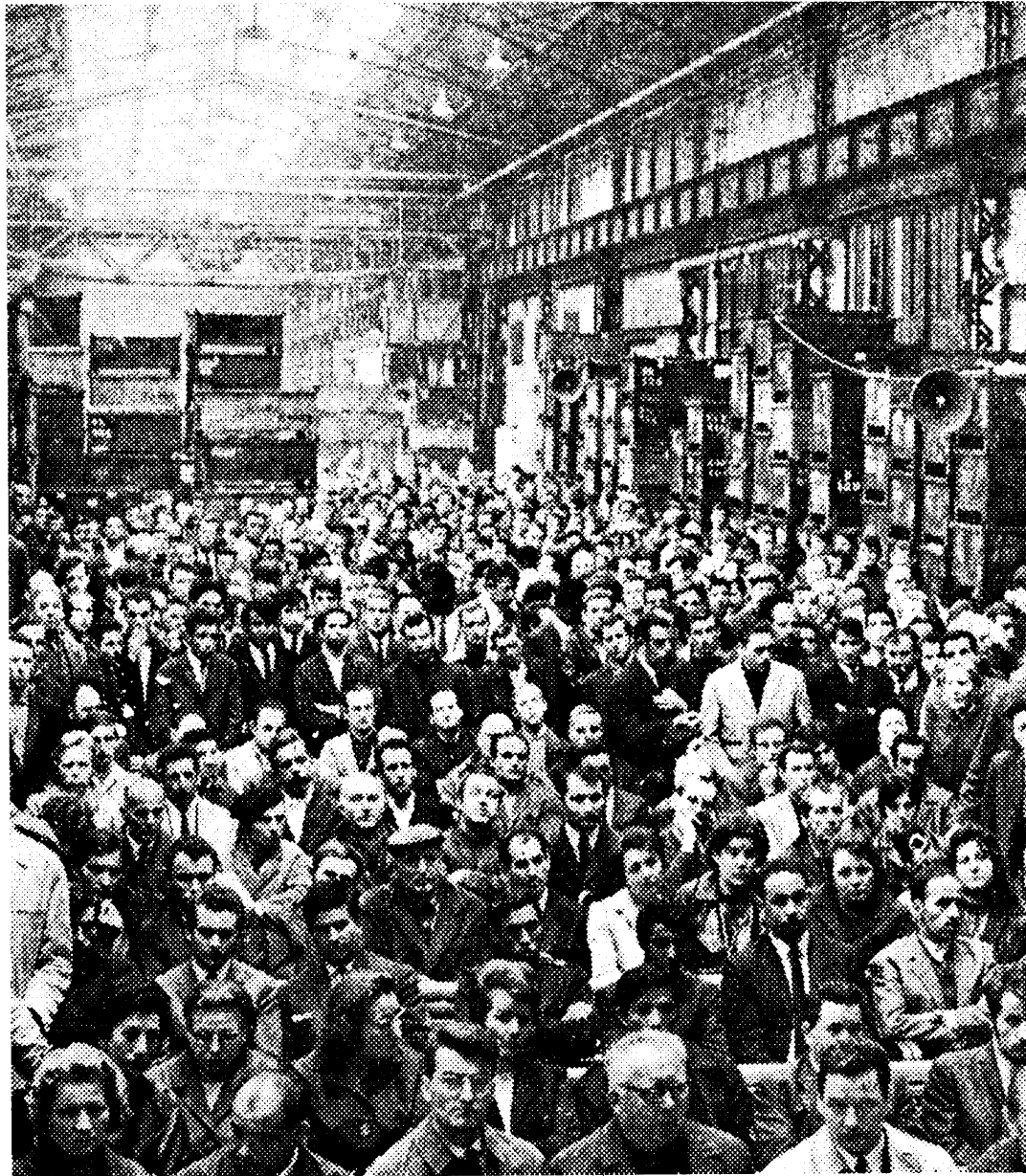
The colonial world is part of the world capitalist system and can only be understood in this way. This 'sector' does not inter-relate as an autonomous unit with the advanced countries. On the contrary, the imperialist holdings and the national bourgeoisie are extensions of the world capitalist class. The working class is an extension of the world working class. The great peasant mass finds that its very conditions of existence are determined fundamentally by world capitalist market relations.

The most fundamental turn in the world situation, the creation, if you like, of a 'new world reality', took place around the time of the First World War when world capitalism entered the period which Trotsky called 'The Epoch of Imperialist Decay'. Since 1914 world capitalism has been in a period of general decline marked by revolutionary upheavals, depressions, wars. True, Trotsky pointed out time and time again that within the general framework of decay and decline world capitalism has had a limited period of boom, growth.

It is not enough to understand the general character of the decline of capitalism. A revolutionary strategy requires a deep understanding of the ups and down and detailed development of the capitalist economy and the impact this has in unsettling class relations in one period only to produce temporary periods of stability and reformism at another point.

Did the entry of capitalism into this period of decay signify a changed relationship of forces internationally between revolution and socialism on the one hand and counter-revolution and capitalism on the other? More precisely, did the victory of the Russian Revolution signify such a changed relationship of world forces?

Trotsky answered that question in the negative not once but ten thousand times in the course of his long struggle against Stalin, from 1923 to 1940. His whole struggle against the theory of socialism in one country was based on the conception that there could be no definitive change in the world relations of forces unless there was a successful



The Pabloite 'epi-center' method sees 'serious setbacks' in the colonial countries and 'new successes' like May-June 1968 in the metropolitan countries.(above)

In turn the Pabloites adapt to each change in the international situation.

revolution in an advanced capitalist country. Without such a revolution the Soviet Union would find itself fighting for its life in a world dominated by world capitalism and this objective situation would lay the basis for the growth of bureaucracy within the Soviet Union.

Aided stability

According to the Pabloite schema this relationship of forces changed in 1943, or at least definitively in 1949, with the triumph of the Chinese Revolution. Even if we take this later date, we see that while the Soviet Union now existed under conditions where workers' states formed a buffer on its eastern and western flanks, at the same time the Soviet bureaucracy was willing to pay for this buffer by helping the capitalists achieve a certain degree of stability in the rest of the world.

This political stability allowed world capitalism to go through another period of temporary growth so that while the Soviet Union's economy also advanced in this period, it emerged in the 1960s still with a greatly inferior level of productivity when compared to capitalist Europe and America. This inferiority was further intensified by the great arms burden foisted upon the workers' states by the aggressive character of world imperialism.

Thus the Soviet Union was able only to extend the perimeter of its isolation and that at the cost of deep polycentrist processes breaking loose within the bureaucratic strata. Despite the monopoly of foreign trade, the nationalization of basic industry and the planned economy, these countries are forced to compete under conditions of a world market dominated by imperialism. Attempts at isolated autarchic economic development within the confines of Comecon are futile and reactionary for they seek to ignore rather than overcome the central problem—the relatively lower level of productivity in the workers' states when compared to Europe and America.

It is this economic situation, under conditions of deepening world capitalist crisis, which sets the objective stage for the deepening crisis of the ruling bureaucracies in the workers' states and the concurrent renewed combativity of the working class of these countries as displayed in Poland, Hungary and more recently Czechoslovakia.

Degeneration

The current resolution seeks to see the struggle in the Soviet countries as some independent conflict between the bureaucracy and the needs of the planned economies and the working class. What the resolution totally ignores is that this bureaucracy represents a counter-revolutionary force, a degeneration in the direction of capitalism. The contradiction between this bureaucracy and the planned economy is but an expression of the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour and can only be understood within this context. This is why the crisis in the workers' states takes place at the same time as the deepening crisis and renewed class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

If we approach the question of international perspectives from a Marxist point of view, then we proceed very differently from the United Secretariat resolution. We recognize that it will take a victorious proletarian revolution in at least one advanced capitalist country to alter the world balance of forces. We break through the formal schematism of the 'three sectors' theory to reveal the fundamental historic crisis of world capitalism, the fundamental class polarization on a world-wide basis between capital and labour with the crisis in the workers' states as essentially a subordinate reflection of this polarization.

With this outlook the task of building the Trotskyist party becomes absolutely central to our whole perspective—not a formal afterthought tacked on to the end of a resolution whose main thrust contradicts this demand.



If we approach the question this way we must then place our understanding of the development of the capitalist crisis at the very centre of our international strategy, see the development of the social classes within this framework, and pose our own tasks on this basis. Such an approach will reveal that the capitalist boom in the 1950s has now gone over into a fundamentally economic crisis requiring the ruling class to intensify its class struggle against workers in all countries. This, in turn, places the working class in a new position where it is required to fight back, but its own objective needs, its own desire to fight, comes into conflict with the conservative reformist and Stalinist leaderships of the working class. Thus the central strategy of the Transitional Programme, which saw the crisis of humanity as a crisis of leadership, and the solution to this crisis coming only through the struggle to construct the Fourth International, is our central strategy today.

While the very centre of the crisis is in the imperialist countries this crisis must have the profoundest impact in the underdeveloped and Stalinist countries. This crisis of European capital places the weaker colonial capital in an absolute and profound crisis. This in turn leads to the creation of the objective conditions for the renewal of working-class struggle in these areas: Curaçao, Argentina, Pakistan, West Bengal.

Precisely at the point, where the workers' states reach a level of economic development which requires of them greater integration into the world market if the economies are to move forward, the world market is marked by the fiercest international competition since the 1920s. The ruling bureaucracies are forced to discipline their own working class in a futile attempt to raise the level of productivity to a point where competition is possible, thus intensifying the conflict between the working class and these bureaucracies.

The deeper we get into the resolution the clearer it becomes that the Pabloites have no understanding whatsoever of the real movement of world

forces and the role Trotskyists must play in this period. The very structure of the resolution reveals this. It begins, as we have noted, with a brief description of the three 'sectors' of the revolution under conditions of a favourable global balance of forces. It then launches into a description of the 'new relationship' which for some mystical reason has emerged in this period between these sectors.

The shift in the 'centre of gravity' to the advanced countries is laid primarily at the door of the Vietnam war. One would be forced to conclude from this that if the imperialists succeeded in getting themselves out of this war then the whole struggle in the advanced countries would be finished.

Then we are treated to a brief description of the May-June events in France. Then, only after a description of May-June, do we get to an economic analysis of the 'end of the long imperialist boom' as if this phenomenon had no causal relationship to May-June. Then comes a section of the crisis in the workers' states, the 'problems of the resurgent colonial revolution', 'the crisis of the traditional workers' movement and the appearance of a new youth vanguard in the imperialist countries' and finally 'the construction of a new revolutionary leadership'.

Thus the very structure of the resolution itself reflects its method. It has no central thrust, as the authors are incapable of comprehending the centrality of the capitalist crisis and the tasks which flow from this understanding. We have only a collection of impressions of various sectors of the world, disjointed, commentaryish and the central strategy of constructing the Fourth International becomes liquidated and broken up by this very impressionism.

When we turn to the specific analysis of each 'sector' the confusion and liquidationism will become even clearer. First is the question of the colonial revolution. We are informed that:

'After the victory of the Cuban revolution, the colonial revolution unquestionably marked time. For ten years, no new workers' state has been established.' And further: 'In fact, starting early in the sixties the colonial revolution suffered a series of spectacular reverses.'

In this way the Pabloites admit that their whole assessment in earlier resolutions of the forward sweep of revolution in this 'epi-centre' came to nought. Obviously what is required at this point is a serious assessment of the reasons for the complete failure of any of their predictions to come true.

This is particularly the case when we realize that the Pabloites denied in their earlier resolution that the 'subjective factor', the question of leadership of the revolution, should be given any great weight. The lesson they learned from Cuba was that 'the weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened up the possibility

of coming to power with a blunted instrument'. The political landscape of the colonial countries has been virtually cluttered with blunted instruments, some in power, some not in power. Certainly the failure of new Cubas to develop was not due to some lack of 'blunt instruments'.

The resolution offers two explanations for this state of affairs. First, 'the capacity to lead the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses—though strictly limited for well-known historical reasons—which the colonial bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois nationalist governments had for a certain period came to an end'.

Thus it is asserted that, contrary to Lenin and Trotsky, the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie did have a 'strictly limited' capacity to lead the anti-imperialist struggle but it no longer has such a capacity. There is no attempt to explain seriously what the limits were on this capacity and why today it no longer has this capacity. In effect all we have here is impressions—in the early 1960s it seemed as if these 'blunted instruments' could accomplish the task and by now it seems as if they cannot.

The second explanation is essentially that the enemy is no longer as 'weak' as it once seemed. Great credit is given to American counter-insurgency efforts and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) activities in defeating guerrillas and dumping the Sukarnos, the Nkrumahs and the like. Did the Pabloites expect the American imperialists to stand idly by and not use their great economic and military might to maintain as best they could the political status quo in the colonial world?

To attribute the failure of revolution to the strength of the enemy is just as incorrect as to see victory assured because of the weakness of the enemy. In both cases there is a complete under-estimation of the critical role of leadership and programme necessary for mobilizing the strength of the working class and the support of the peasantry against the very real power of imperialism as a world system.

Bankrupt

The truth of the matter is that the position taken by the United Secretariat on the colonial question—so central in their eyes to their reunification—has been proven by historical events to be absolutely and completely bankrupt. We can see this most clearly in the case of Algeria, mentioned by Peng Shu-tse in his discussion article.

The June 1962 Plenum of the Socialist Workers' Party passed a resolution answering the criticisms of the Socialist Labour League and ourselves, entitled 'Problems of the Fourth International

—and the Next Steps'. Discussing the position taken by the SLL on Cuba and Algeria, the resolution makes the following judgement:

'The disorientation displayed by the SLL in regard to these two revolutions flows from their wrong method of approach to the fundamental processes at work. The root cause of the errors in both cases is the same: a loss of Marxist objectivity, disregard and depreciation of all other factors in the situation but the character of the official leadership. The subjective method of analysis results in oversimplified and sectarian conclusions.'

What was the position taken on Algeria by the SWP and United Secretariat on the one hand and the SLL on the other? The dispute centred first of all on how to interpret the Evian Agreements which ended the Algerian war and established the independent Ben Bella government. The resolution in question assesses the Agreements as follows:

'For more than seven years the Algerian rebels had to strain every resource to win national liberation from French rule. Now they have signed a cease-fire which, for all its shortcomings, substantially realizes this wholly progressive aim.'

While the SLL stated:

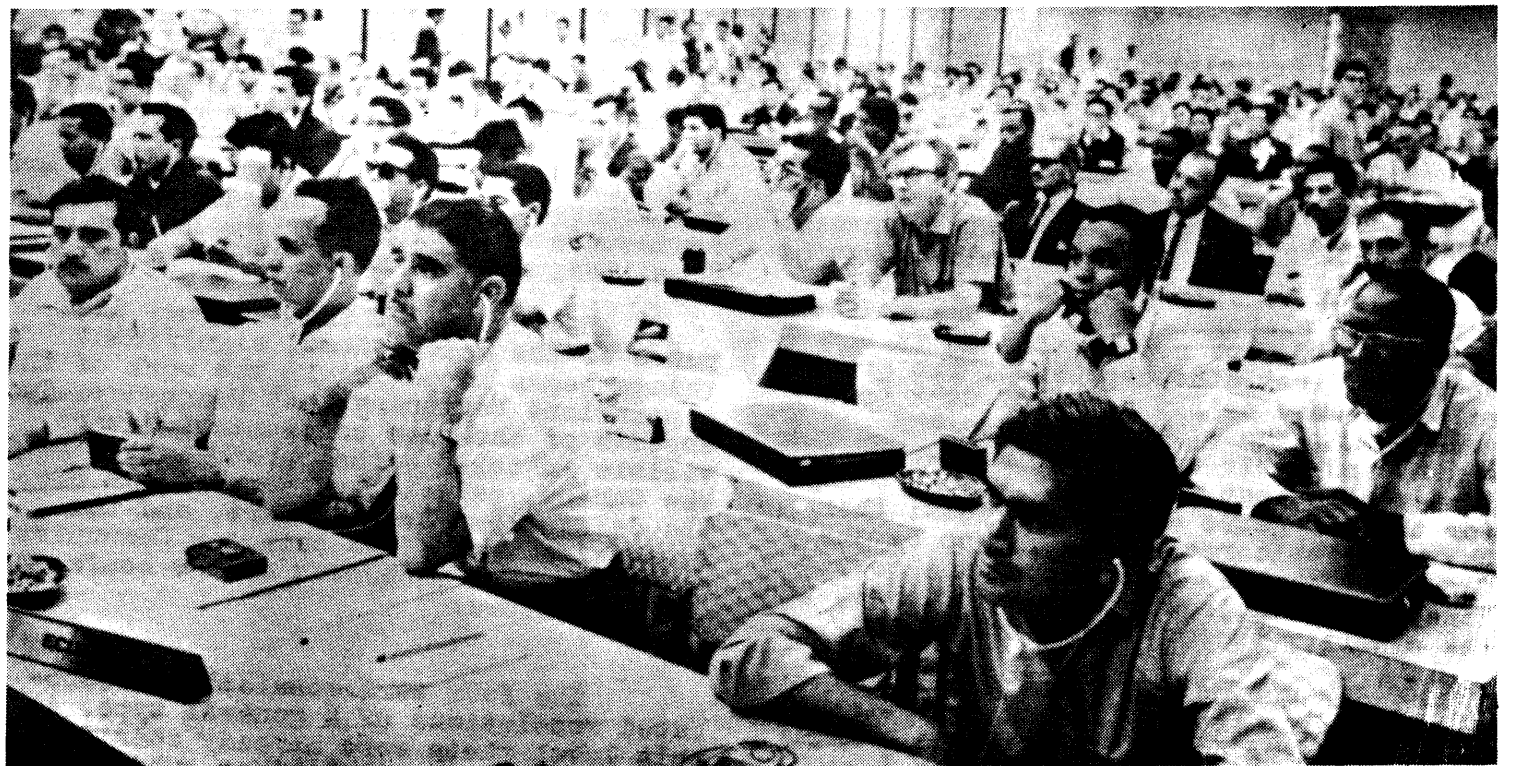
'This settlement is the most cynical deal which a nationalist leadership has ever made with a colonial power.'

Dominance

The Evian Agreements granted formal independence to Algeria—in fact specifically placed the FLN in power as the government—and in return maintained basic economic dominance over the country particularly as regards the critically important Sahara oil and gas reserves. To the SWP and the United Secretariat, these compromises did not matter, nor did the 'subjective' factor of the bourgeois character of the leadership. The objective situation—the new world reality with its onward sweep of colonial revolution—would quickly force Ben Bella along the road to socialist revolution. In order to egg Ben Bella along this road Michel Pablo joined the Ben Bella capitalist government.

But history was to tragically illustrate once again the decisive role of revolutionary leadership and programme. Trapped by the provisions of the Evian Agreements, limited by his own social base, Ben Bella was forced to turn on the trade union movement of Algeria, make economic concession after economic concession to French imperialism, and so demoralize the mass of the Algerians that Boumedienne was able to remove him in a

OLAS, shown in session below, is the blunt instrument the Latin American Pabloites wish to liquidate their movements into. The question the Pabloites cannot answer is why, with such a surplus of blunt instruments in the colonial countries no more Cubas have occurred.



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The Pabloite 'epi-center' method sees 'serious setbacks' in the colonial countries and 'new successes' like May-June 1968 in the metropolitan countries.(above)

In turn the Pabloites adapt to each change in the international situation.

revolution in an advanced capitalist country. Without such a revolution the Soviet Union would find itself fighting for its life in a world dominated by world capitalism and this objective situation would lay the basis for the growth of bureaucracy within the Soviet Union.

Aided stability

According to the Pabloite schema this relationship of forces changed in 1943, or at least definitively in 1949, with the triumph of the Chinese Revolution. Even if we take this later date, we see that while the Soviet Union now existed under conditions where workers' states formed a buffer on its eastern and western flanks, at the same time the Soviet bureaucracy was willing to pay for this buffer by helping the capitalists achieve a certain degree of stability in the rest of the world.

This political stability allowed world capitalism to go through another period of temporary growth so that while the Soviet Union's economy also advanced in this period, it emerged in the 1960s still with a greatly inferior level of productivity when compared to capitalist Europe and America. This inferiority was further intensified by the great arms burden foisted upon the workers' states by the aggressive character of world imperialism.

Thus the Soviet Union was able only to extend the perimeter of its isolation and that at the cost of deep polycentrist processes breaking loose within the bureaucratic strata. Despite the monopoly of foreign trade, the nationalization of basic industry and the planned economy, these countries are forced to compete under conditions of a world market dominated by imperialism. Attempts at isolated autarchic economic development within the confines of Comecon are futile and reactionary for they seek to ignore rather than overcome the central problem—the relatively lower level of productivity in the workers' states when compared to Europe and America.

It is this economic situation, under conditions of deepening world capitalist crisis, which sets the objective stage for the deepening crisis of the ruling bureaucracies in the workers' states and the concurrent renewed combativity of the working class of these countries as displayed in Poland, Hungary and more recently Czechoslovakia.

Degeneration

The current resolution seeks to see the struggle in the Soviet countries as some independent conflict between the bureaucracy and the needs of the planned economies and the working class. What the resolution totally ignores is that this bureaucracy represents a counter-revolutionary force, a degeneration in the direction of capitalism. The contradiction between this bureaucracy and the planned economy is but an expression of the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour and can only be understood within this context. This is why the crisis in the workers' states takes place at the same time as the deepening crisis and renewed class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries.

If we approach the question of international perspectives from a Marxist point of view, then we proceed very differently from the United Secretariat resolution. We recognize that it will take a victorious proletarian revolution in at least one advanced capitalist country to alter the world balance of forces. We break through the formal schematism of the 'three sectors' theory to reveal the fundamental historic crisis of world capitalism, the fundamental class polarization on a world-wide basis between capital and labour with the crisis in the workers' states as essentially a subordinate reflection of this polarization.

With this outlook the task of building the Trotskyist party becomes absolutely central to our whole perspective—not a formal afterthought tacked on to the end of a resolution whose main thrust contradicts this demand.

If we approach the question this way we must then place our understanding of the development of the capitalist crisis at the very centre of our international strategy, see the development of the social classes within this framework, and pose our own tasks on this basis. Such an approach will reveal that the capitalist boom in the 1950s has now gone over into a fundamentally economic crisis requiring the ruling class to intensify its class struggle against workers in all countries. This, in turn, places the working class in a new position where it is required to fight back, but its own objective needs, its own desire to fight, comes into conflict with the conservative reformist and Stalinist leaderships of the working class. Thus the central strategy of the Transitional Programme, which saw the crisis of humanity as a crisis of leadership, and the solution to this crisis coming only through the struggle to construct the Fourth International, is our central strategy today.

While the very centre of the crisis is in the imperialist countries this crisis must have the profoundest impact in the underdeveloped and Stalinist countries. This crisis of European capital places the weaker colonial capital in an absolute and profound crisis. This in turn leads to the creation of the objective conditions for the renewal of working-class struggle in these areas: Curaçao, Argentina, Pakistan, West Bengal.

Precisely at the point, where the workers' states reach a level of economic development which requires of them greater integration into the world market if the economies are to move forward, the world market is marked by the fiercest international competition since the 1920s. The ruling bureaucracies are forced to discipline their own working class in a futile attempt to raise the level of productivity to a point where competition is possible, thus intensifying the conflict between the working class and these bureaucracies.

The deeper we get into the resolution the clearer it becomes that the Pabloites have no understanding whatsoever of the real movement of world

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Stalinism is no longer seen as the ideology of the bureaucracy as a whole but rather as a tendency within the bureaucracy. This way the Pabloites were able to uncritically support Dubcek (left) during Czech events (above).

military coup without the Algerian masses putting up any fight at all.

The assessment of the SLL proved to be totally correct and that of the Pabloites disastrously wrong. The theoretical position of the SLL, which saw and sees the essential crisis today as a crisis of leadership of the working class, was fully confirmed and the theory of 'blunted instruments' invalidated. These are the 'facts', Messrs. Hansen and company, of the Algerian experience.

It is not correct to place the blame for the failures in the colonial sphere at the door of these petty-bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists alone. As Peng correctly points out, the United Secretariat must bear its direct responsibility for supporting these forces and refusing to struggle to build a working-class alternative.

What real assessment and change in orientation does the current resolution offer? We are told that the 'colonial revolution had reached the point where it could go no further unless it made the transition into a socialist revolution—and for that the subjective factor was lacking'. Good, six years too late, but better late than never. Then we turn to the section 'Problems of the Resurgent Colonial Revolution' to see what the resolution proposes as the solution to this subjective leadership need.

Guerrilla warfare, guerrilla warfare and more guerrilla warfare. The entire section is permeated with the Castroite perspective of the resolution on Latin America discussed earlier.

In the midst of all this guerrilla business, applied not only to Latin America, but also to Asia and Africa, appear two sentences—no doubt inserted at the insistence of Hansen:

'Still lacking is a revolutionary Marxist appreciation of the need for a transitional programme for the city masses in order to set these explosive forces in motion through their own inherent needs. Likewise lacking as yet is a revolutionary Marxist appreciation of the role which a party of the calibre of the Bolsheviks could play in bringing the struggle to a successful conclusion at the earliest possible moment.'

Even if we leave aside the important point that the need for this party is

seen as not an absolute necessity but because it would allow victory earlier than by other means, the statement sticks out like a sore thumb among the guerrillas. The point is, it is not simply the Castroites who lack this 'revolutionary Marxist appreciation', but the overwhelming majority of the adherents of the United Secretariat.

Only 'tendency'

When we turn to the treatment of the Stalinist countries we are particularly struck, in fact stunned, by one theme running through the whole section. The section is written from a theoretical position that Stalinism no longer exists in these states—or to the extent that if it does exist it is nothing more than a 'tendency' competing with other non-Stalinist tendencies within the leadership of these countries.

Thus we see mentions of a past 'Stalinist era'; we are told that part of the crisis in these countries is 'the bureaucracy's inability to develop a consistent ideological line to take the place of the Stalinist doctrine' and the 'embryonic new vanguard' is warned not to be forced to make a choice between the new technocratic section of the bureaucracy and a 'return to Stalinism'.

If we place these formulations within the context of the position taken by the United Secretariat on Czechoslovakia (not discussed in this resolution), it becomes clear this is no matter of terminology alone. The United Secretariat

openly supported Dubcek against the Soviet Union. Our position was one of opposition to the Soviet intervention, but refusal to give any political support whatsoever to the Dubcek section of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. Instead we relied on the independent struggle of the working class of Czechoslovakia and called for the creation of a section of the Fourth International to take this struggle forward to the political revolution. We gave critical support to Dubcek only insofar as he resisted the Soviet invasion.

Transformed

Clearly the United Secretariat no longer views Stalinism scientifically as the ideology and practice of a bureaucratic caste which rules in these countries. Instead it has become transformed into a **tendency** within that bureaucracy and the ideology identified with the particular programme of that tendency. The purpose of such formulations is to free the United Secretariat from an independent struggle against the bureaucracy as a whole so that the political revolution can be dropped in favour of support for a section (the 'non-Stalinist' section) of the bureaucracy against another section of the bureaucracy.

What is this but another variation on the theme of the **self-reform** of the bureaucracy which lay at the roots of the political disputes which led to the split in the Fourth International in 1952-1953?

Once again we can see the theoretical and methodological continuity between Pablo's positions of 1950-1953 and the political positions expressed in this resolution. We say that Stalin the man has gone but Stalinism remains in the material form of a bureaucratic caste and in the ideology of this caste. We say that Pablo, the man, has gone, but Pabloism remains as the theory and method of the United Secretariat.

Now we must turn to the analysis of the document on the crisis in the advanced countries and the strategy and tactical tasks flowing from an understanding of that crisis. The section 'The End of the Long Imperialist Boom' makes for the first time a serious assessment of the capitalist crisis. But in the middle of the analysis the document makes an important ex-

ception:

'Doubtless, American imperialism still commands sufficient reserves and resources to continue using Keynesian techniques in the United States for some time without mounting a direct assault on the living standards of the American working class.'

Great faith

The authors of the resolution have, typically, greater faith in the 'reserves and resources' of American imperialism than does Nixon, and the finance capital which rules through Nixon.

All the spokesmen of the Administration and the banks have repeated time and again that Keynesianism is out, bankrupt, worthless in dealing with the crisis now facing American capitalism. Thus, while American capitalism is forced to throw as much of the cost of its crisis on to Europe as possible, it must at the same time launch an attack on American workers. This has already affected the living standards of American workers who are experiencing, for the first time since before the Second World War, an actual fall in their real wages. At the same time Nixon is planning new attacks on the working class through the conscious introduction of recession and unemployment.

The world crisis has destroyed, among other things, John Maynard Keynes. He lives on only in the minds of the authors of this resolution as an expression of their childlike faith in American capitalism. Even 'facts' only slowly break down such faith.

But an even more important point is the nature of the strategy the United Secretariat develops even from its inadequate assessment of the capitalist crisis. Here impressionism enters once again in a new form: 'the appearance of a new youth vanguard'. It is clear from the last two sections of the perspectives resolution and the accompanying resolution—'The Worldwide Radicalization of the Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International'—that the new epi-centre within all other epi-centres is the student movement. Thus, as we noted in our first article, Hansen's alternative to rural guerrilla warfare is an orientation towards the urban student movement in Latin America. Everywhere, but especially in the advanced countries, the United Secretariat is looking towards these students.

Sectarian

This immediately poses the question of the relationship between the radicalization of the students and the struggles of the working class, something of which the United Secretariat has finally taken note. Here two important positions emerge. First, and most importantly, caught up in their impressionism and some numerical gains among the students, the resolution adopts a sectarian and completely bankrupt policy towards the existing leaderships of the working class—reformist and Stalinist.

There is talk of the 'new enfeebling of the traditional workers' organizations', the 'weakening of the CP's grip on the worker youth in France and Italy', etc. The United Secretariat's sections are seen as 'being borne along and propelled by popular currents'.

Pabloism completely failed its own 'acid test' in Algeria lining up with Ben Bella (left) who paved the way for Boumedienne (right).



And finally :

"The new relationship arising among the three sectors of the world revolution guarantees that the question of the International will be divorced from the polarization around the Soviet Union which has been in effect ever since October 1917. Although this polarization was beneficial when the Soviet Union was led by Lenin and Trotsky, it has pernicious effects long after Kremlin policy came into direct opposition to the expansion of the world revolution."

What this all adds up to is that the Pabloites 'being borne along and propelled by popular currents' among the student youth, with the 'new enfeebling' of the reformist and Stalinist (they no longer even use this term) organizations, with polarization no longer centred around the Soviet Union, have a perspective of simply sweeping by these traditional organizations directly into power.

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IF WE LOOK at the assessment made of May-June in the resolution ('The World Radicalization of Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International'), the perspective put forward for future struggles in France, and the actual practice of the Pabloites in the recent Krivine Presidential candidacy, we will see exactly what these people are driving at.

After correctly attacking the Communist Party and the CGT leadership for selling out the May-June Revolution, the resolution ignores the central lesson of this—the CP was able to get away with it.

This in itself illustrated that 'enfeebled' or not, the Communist Party

remains a powerful force in the French working-class movement which can play a decisively counter-revolutionary role in future developments unless it is confronted and its power in the French working class destroyed.

'Dual power'

The only concrete proposals made by the resolution for future struggles in France is that 'dual-power' organizations must be strengthened. In other words the Pabloites propose to somehow organize workers in France independently of the CP and in this fashion skirt around the very great power the Communist Party has in the French working class.

The complete absence of any strategy to deal with this question of the Communist Party is revealed in the Krivine candidacy in the recent elections following the 'no' vote and the resignation of de Gaulle. After first abstaining in the 'no' vote, the Pabloites in France organized an election campaign aimed at expressing the student movement developed a year ago in May-June.

Thus they ignored the central task posed after the resignation of de Gaulle—the development of a strategy aimed at breaking the Communist Party rank and file from its Stalinist leadership. This required first a 'no' in the referendum, as the workers understood it, then a call to vote for Duclos, posing to the Communist Party a socialist programme as an alternative to Gaullism and capitalism. This would have begun the process of exposing the Communist Party before the mass of French workers who still look to this party for leadership in their struggles against the capitalists.

Vital task

The very centre of our strategy, we repeat, must be overcoming the crisis



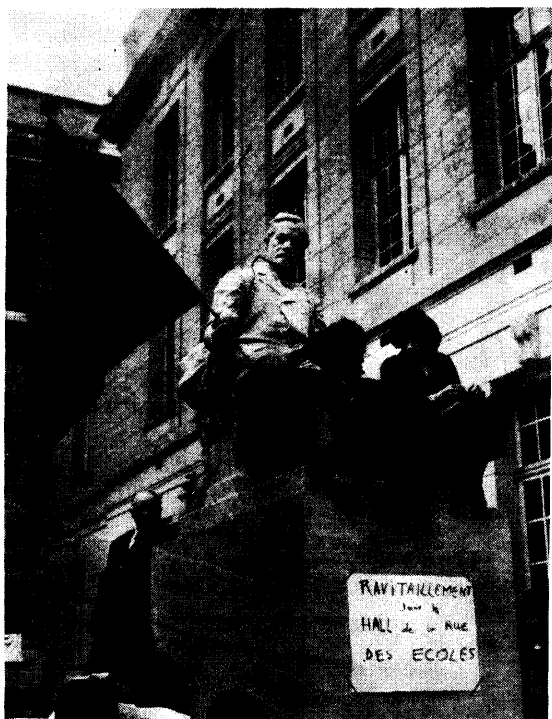
While students in the May-June 1968 events evinced a certain independence from the Stalinists in the end the Stalinists were able to contain and defeat the revolution.

of leadership under conditions of deepening capitalist crisis and renewed desire to struggle on the part of the working class. This requires not only our own independent struggle for the strategy of the Transitional Programme, but a tactical approach aimed at the very difficult but vital task of breaking the mass of the working class from its traditional reformist and Stalinist parties.

This cannot be done from outside through the student movement alone. While the students in May-June evinced a certain independence from the Stalinists, and sections of workers proceeded to struggle beyond the limits set by the Communist Party, in the end the Stalinists were able to contain and defeat the revolution. The Pabloites contributed to this defeat by confining their activities to the 'popular currents' among the students and allowing themselves to be 'borne along and propelled' by these currents. The real task was to confront these currents with the real need to direct the whole struggle around the question of power and the Communist Party and to break in the process from all the Cohn-Bendits and other anarchistic 'popular' currents.

We have no doubt that in time the Pabloites will turn their attention once again to these traditional organizations, finding empirically that they cannot be by-passed by flowing along with the students. At this point, rather than developing an independent orientation directed towards the rank and file and directly linked to the struggle to build the Trotskyist party, they will, as they presently are doing in relation to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the workers' states, seek 'points of support' among the factions of the leaderships of these movements. Consistent with Pabloism at each stage of its development is a rejection of independent working-class struggle and the independent construction of the revolutionary party. This is the essence of liquidationism.

The second aspect of this orientation is what they call 'the strategy of the red university'. They formulate a series of demands which start from the perspective of student power and propose to carry this perspective forward to the creation of a working-class university to serve the political and educational needs of the working class. In the United States, they state, 'the red university slogan appeared in the variation, "For a Black University!"'. Thus it seems they do not see any distinction between a university for the working class as a whole and a university for black as blacks. But such distinctions do not seem to matter. The method is to start where the students start with student or black student 'power' and then propose to carry these demands further.



The Pabloites see the Red University (Sorbonne top) as the same as the Black University (Howard above) Both concepts are utopian and keep students separated from the working class.

It is, of course, noted that the creation of such a university is impossible under capitalism. All the better, states the resolution, for in the process of struggle the students will realize this and discover they must join with the working class and overthrow capitalism so that they can have a red university and the workers' red factories. Utilizing this logic we can envisage a situation where a group of hippies decide to retire to a farm in Pennsylvania and create on this an ideal communist state. Our authors would then be forced to support this effort, understanding that in the course of their efforts the hippies would be forced to the realization that in order to establish their commune they will have to join with the working class and overthrow capitalism.

What is required on the university campuses is a head-on confrontation with the 'popular current' of student power and particularly the Utopian notion of a 'red university'. We must counterpose to this the whole strategic programme of the working class which encompassed demands in defence of the students against police attack and against economic blows aimed at them as the crisis deepens.

'Sector' method

Once again we have here another expression of the 'sector' method. In the Pabloite perspective, workers are to fight in their independent sector and the students in theirs and each will be somehow inter-related.

The only uniting force between international sectors or these sectors of struggle within a country is the revolutionary party and its programme. The students join the working class through joining and subordinating themselves to the revolutionary party. This party fights for a single programme in all fields of struggle not for separate programmes and demands in each isolated sector. It is this single programme which unites the class nationally and internationally against capitalism and rallies to the working class the viable sections of the middle class and intelligentsia.

By dissolving the revolutionary party into the 'popular currents' of the students, the Pabloites only deepen the divisions between students and workers and within the working class and leave the leadership of the working class to the 'enfeebled' traditional parties.

In conclusion we must return to the



Krivine (second from right) during election campaign which reflected Pabloites' attempt to get around, instead of confronting, existence of French Communist Party. Today they talk of an "enfeebled" reformist and Stalinist movement. Tomorrow they will liquidate themselves once again in this movement.

question of method. In the resolution of 1962 'The Problems of the Fourth International—and the Next Steps' and the 1963 article by Joseph Hansen 'Cuba—The Acid Test' the central method which is reflected in this current resolution is clearly stated.

'It is a fact,' the SWP stated in 1962, 'that the main arena and most dynamic sector of the world revolution is today located in the under-developed countries where imperialism and capitalism are breaking at their weakest links.'

But what, according to dialectics, is a 'fact'? It is not a permanent fixture, but rather a temporary unity of oppositional forces which will soon emerge as a new and different fact. And so the 'fact' of the colonial revolution being the main arena and most dynamic sector of the world revolution soon became the fact of the fall of Ben Bella, Nkrumah, Sukarno—the fact noted in the current resolution :

'Starting early in the sixties the colonial revolution suffered a series of spectacular reverses.'

Understanding

To note the new facts represents no greater step towards a Marxist understanding than the noting of the old facts.

What is required is an understanding of the underlying contradictory developments which lead to the changes in appearance—which lead one fact to be replaced by another fact. This requires first and foremost a study of the objective development of the contradictions and on this materialist basis the projection of a course of independent struggle aimed at destroying all the

existing facts of capitalist relations and replacing them with the qualitatively new facts of socialist relations.

Now we turn to 'Cuba—the Acid Test' and find Hansen lecturing us once again on facts :

'But no revolutionary socialists "choose" what shall be regarded as the touchstone of revolutionary politics. This is done by much bigger forces; namely classes in conflict. Cuba and Algeria happen to be the two areas in the world where this conflict has reached revolutionary proportions at the moment. This was not determined by any decision of ours. It was determined by revolutionary mass actions. Nor did we choose the current leaderships of the colonial revolution. They are the result of objective conditions of vast sweep. What we did was to study the facts and in these facts seek openings for effective application of our programme.'

Here is empiricism in a nutshell.

Of course revolutionists cannot choose by a subjective act where or even if a revolutionary explosion will or should break out. But Marxism is a science. A serious understanding of the objective laws of capitalist development allows one to predict in general outline the way in which the revolutionary crisis will develop. Thus as early as 1961 we were able to see the development of a European crisis, a renewed struggle of the working class in the advanced countries, and a new May-June. Of course, we could neither

predict that May-June would take place in France and not England or Italy, nor the exact date it would erupt. But we were able to understand that the key to the development of the Fourth International did not lie with the colonial revolution nor with its petty-bourgeois leadership but in a turn towards the industrial workers in the advanced countries and a real fight among them for the Transitional Programme and the revolutionary party.

Not surprised

Also we were not surprised when the fact of Ben Bella in power moving leftward was transformed into the fact of Ben Bella out of power and the rightward movement of the Boumedienne regime. This could not but be the case with the growing crisis of international capital and the economic squeeze this necessitated on the vulnerable and weak petty-bourgeois strata of the under-developed countries. We are not even hypnotized by the fact of the growth of rightist regimes in colonial areas for we understand that the very same objective conditions which spell the doom of the pseudo-revolutionary nationalists also create new conditions for struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry in the colonial countries. Hence the resurgence of the struggle in recent months in the colonial areas in new and different forms, with the proletariat in the forefront.

Of course we do not 'choose the current leaderships of the colonial re-

volution', but neither do we accept these facts as unalterable. But this is exactly what Hansen does. He advises that we accept these facts of the existing leaderships and 'in these facts seek openings for effective application of our programme'.

Here we have the heart of the whole liquidationism of Pabloism under the differing sets of facts it has faced since 1950. The Pabloites study the existing situation and then choose openings within the existing leaderships of the working class, colonial peoples and Stalinist countries. We, on the other hand, recognize the fact of the traditional leaderships as subject to change—not automatic change—but change through our own conscious struggle.

The existing workers' movement is a unity of opposites—the leadership reflecting essentially the interests of the capitalists and the working class seeking to fight back against capitalist attacks. At the moment there is a relative identity between the two and this identity cannot be destroyed except through the intervention of the conscious factor—our struggle to pit the working class against the leadership and in the course of this struggle build the parties of the Fourth International as the alternative.

The breaking of the unity between the opposition forces of the rank-and-file workers and capital reflected through the leadership and its ideology is a necessary part of breaking the capitalist system itself which is a contradictory unity between capital and labour. Only this will create a new world reality—a world socialist society.

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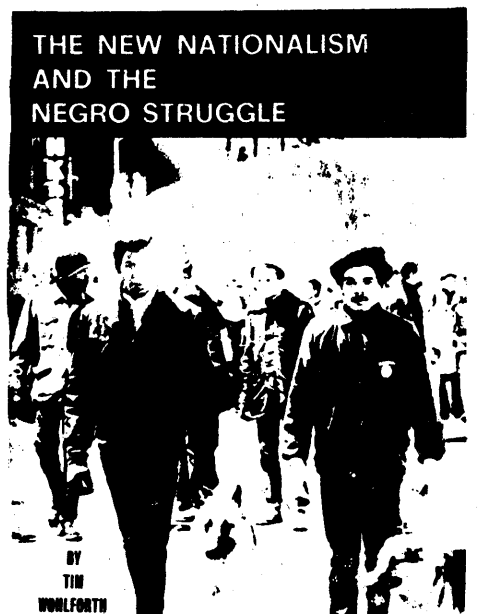
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