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THE MORATORIUM



The Spread of War

Expulsions at Sydney U.

M. Pablo: REFLECTIONS on LENIN

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THE STRUGGLE AT SYDNEY UNIVERSITY

A FURTHER REPORT:
EXPULSIONS AND AFTER

THE FIRST EXPULSION OF STUDENT MILITANTS IN AUSTRALIA HAS
JUST TAKEN PLACE

Since the interim report in INTERNATIONAL 12, there have been important developments at Sydney University, the most important of which has been the expulsion of two students for, in effect, refusing to accept the absolute authority of the University Administration, and, basing themselves instead on the decisions of student mass meetings. The two students were convicted of "encouraging, urging and assisting others" --- during a campaign for student demands --- to occupy the Administration building (a decision taken at a mass meeting), to forcefully enter it, and to refuse to leave it when ordered by the university Registrar.

Undoubtedly, behind this decision of the university authorities stands the State Government. During the occupation the Vice-Chancellor held a secret meeting with the Premier and his senior ministers and secured their agreement neither to say anything provocative nor to directly intervene in the struggle; such agreement would only have been possible if the Vice-Chancellor convinced them both that their intervention would be disastrous and that, anyhow, the university authorities intended to deal with the occupiers with a "firm hand".

The expulsions have an aspect of revenge about them. After all, the university authorities have also announced that Victoria Lee --- the initial subject of the struggle --- will almost certainly be admitted next year as a result of the student campaign.

The expulsions were announced early in the current university vacation in the hope that the anger of students will have simmered down by the commencement of next term. The strategy of the authorities when the students re-commence is now clear: to attempt to isolate and crush the militants with the support of right-wing students and the acquiescence of the majority. Astonishing as it may seem, the Vice-Chancellor has boasted to the President of the Students Representative Council that he has no worries about the success of this strategy.

As well as the expulsions, three students were given "suspended" expulsions --- expulsions to take effect automatically if they are involved in any future activity against the authorities. There are another 11 students awaiting trials or verdicts.

The attitude taken towards the disciplinary hearings by most of the charged students has been to go before the disciplinary tribunal (which deals with the students one at a time in closed session), to read a statement justifying their actions, to declare they have committed no offences in their own or students' estimations, to denounce the repressive, vengeful nature of the tribunal (set up and composed of those people who were protagonists in the struggle), and then to leave.

Militants have begun to organise the resistance, which a mass meeting of students threatened if there were penalties imposed after the occupation. Rallies of support and a list of demands for an amnesty to be signed by as many students as possible, have been agreed upon.

If proving the existence of mass student opposition to the expulsions fails to move the authorities --- as it almost certainly will --- direct action will be necessary. What form that action should take is now being debated. It should not take the form which will isolate the militants and open up a gap between them and their more cautious mass following, nor should it take the form which, while personally satisfying, evades the necessity of going out to the mass of students and mobilising them.

The proposal for a strike or boycott of classes --- which does not rule out a very large and determined occupation later on --- needs to be seriously studied. In the big Faculty of Arts it would obviously have high chances of success. Elsewhere it may not be as effective, but it may nevertheless be 30%-80% successful. The organisation of such a strike would entail decentralised work by the militants amongst their fellow students in their classes, and would mean a break with their tendency towards a "ghetto" mentality. The strike committees entailed in such a venture would be the prefiguring of the kind of student union needed: one based on lecture classes and departments.

In the last few weeks there have been developments which augur well for the resistance to the expulsions.

In the election, conducted by postal ballot, for a President of the undergraduates, Hall Greenland, standing on a platform of student control, self-management, direct action and alliance with the working class, polled 17% of the primary votes cast (of 13,000 eligible voters, 5,200 in fact voted). The left reformist polled 26%; the right-wing candidate, 24%; and the centre candidate, 14%. The result for the revolutionary left was encouraging, considering "the machines" at the disposal of the other candidates, the fact that the privatised nature of the voting favours conservatism, and the refusal of some "anarchist" militants to support Hall Greenland's candidature.

Another important development was that half the full-time students at Sydney University actively participated in the strike/moratorium/march against the Vietnam War on May 8th --- though "liberal pacifism" was still the dominant sentiment.

If the resistance movement at Sydney becomes a mass mobilisation, and is even crowned with a certain success, then there is the possibility of developing a permanent "student power" movement on the Sydney campus --- and beyond, because a successful development somewhere is likely to encourage imitators elsewhere. The seeds for such a movement have already been planted.

To date, the challenge to the absolute power of the university Administration, the propaganda for "self-managed, open, critical university", and now the defence of the expelled, has been "spontaneous" and "ad hoc" in nature. Militants have merely met irregularly, from time to time, to agree on tactics. Students involved in the struggle have not belonged to an organisation with a programme of aims and a strategy, consequently activity has tended to be unsystematic, fragmented and disorganised.

Preparation to overcome this "spontaneist" and "defensive" nature of the movement are now under way. A draft constitution for a "MOVEMENT FOR LIBERATED EDUCATION" (which would not replace the existing left-wing political clubs) is now being circulated and is reprinted here:

Draft Constitution

THE MOVEMENT FOR LIBERATED EDUCATION (Sydney University Branch)

Provisionally, the principles ^{and} aims of the Movement are:

- i It is anti-authoritarian, and aims immediately for student control in those matters which concern students --- whether they be administrative or pedagogic matters. The goal of the Movement is staff-student self-management.
- ii It aims for an egalitarian education system, free of the present overwhelming class bias, open to all --- at whatever level --- who wish to attend. The Movement foresees a time when everyone will, after a certain age, combine education with productive labour.
- iii Recognising that now universities, colleges and schools are training and "socialising" machines for capitalism, the Movement is particularly opposed to the inculcation of narrow specialisations and bourgeois ideology.
- iv The Movement is not confined to Sydney University, or even to higher education and schools, but is part of the incipient movement under modern capitalism towards self-management --- a movement which will become decisive when it becomes rooted in the working class.
- v The Movement naturally supports the blacks of Australia's internal and external colonies and all the peoples of the

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THE MORATORIUM IN FACT

AN OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL OF THE MORATORIUM OF 8-10 MAY IN WHICH SOME 100,000 DEMONSTRATED THROUGHOUT AUSTRALIA SHOULD START FROM AN APPRECIATION OF THE NATURE OF THE WAR.

The struggle of the Vietnamese is nothing other than a genuine revolution which first succeeded in driving out the French imperialist overlord.

Confronted with the continuing upsurge of the colonial revolution since the second imperialist world war, the most powerful imperialism (the United States) determined on a policy of counter-revolutionary intervention wherever this revolution raised its head (including Vietnam) in a desperate effort to redress the relationship of world forces.

From the point of view of the interests of imperialism these widespread interventions are logical because the continued development of the world revolution-in-all-its-forms increasingly restricts the area of influence and domination of imperialism, posing the grim perspective for the economically highly developed imperialist states of eventual constriction of their economies, with its concomitant of revolutionary development at home.

The serious decline of the status of British imperialism in the world produced the precipitate rush of dependent Australian junior imperialism into the embrace of U.S. imperialism, involving acceptance of its satellite role.

This role involved a continued justification of U.S. world policy, best spelled out in the case of the Vietnamese revolution, by joining the counter-revolutionary intervention. That such participation is minimal does not seriously detract from its display of subservient solidarity --- the main requirement of U.S. imperialism from its satellites.

On the other hand, this calculatedly minimum participation ensures that only a small number of Australians are personally involved, which in conditions of a still relatively euphoric situation and a low working class political level, explains the difficulty in mobilising effective action in defence of the Vietnamese revolution and for defeat of the imperialist government and its policy.

Revolutionary Marxists appreciate that the defeat of Australian imperialism and its policies (to the essentials of which any government respecting the social status quo is wedded) can be furthered only

to the extent that the working class progresses from its almost exclusively reformist, "fair shares" level of political development on to an implicitly revolutionary orientation.

In Australia the revolutionary component of the population consists very largely of student radicals whose political development mainly stemmed from resentful reaction to the evidences of imperialism's real visage as displayed in the colonial countries..

In the Sydney moratorium demonstration two facts emerged: more than half the participants were students, while the trade union component marching from Hyde Park numbered about 3,000.

This highlights the gap between the revolutionary vanguard and the working class, the latter being the mass basis of the Labor Party and for which the reformist, constitutionalist, essentially status quo-adhering image, projected by the Labor Party leadership is still congenial.

This fact was implicitly recognised by the Moratorium leadership which conformed strictly with the conditions in regard to the character of the action if Labor Party endorsement was to be forthcoming. The most odious of these conditions was that emphasis must be placed on the demand on demonstrators of "no violence" (a theme the official marshals were quite preoccupied with), with its inference that demonstrators inevitably tend to initiate violence.

The historical fact, of course, is that the police have invariably initiated violence against demonstrators, while the reactionary government justifies its continuing ultimate violence against the Vietnamese people; and the military establishment encourages the violent attack by their troops on civilian demonstrators by quashing the sentences of 45 benighted soldiers in Adelaide.

The propositions advanced by the Moratorium committee --- withdraw the troops and anti-conscription --- were acceptable to the ALP leaders especially in view of the interval to still elapse before a Labor government is constituted, and their expectation that even then their electorate will concede the propriety of a cautious timing of withdrawal.

Neither proposition is necessarily incompatible with the continuance of capitalist rule, especially since Nixon aims for major American disengagement consistent with "Vietnamisation" of the counter-revolution, buttressed by massive U.S. material aid and advisers.

At the same time account must be taken of the factor which determined the favourable attitude to the Moratorium demonstrations that eventually emerged from the internal debates of the Labor politicians in Canberra.

This factor was the appreciation by the "left" wing of the desirability of establishing rapport with active uninhibited student radicalism so as to inhibit Labor's embarrassment from the left. In the

event it was shown that the "left's" assurance that the Moratorium committee would accept the political limits required by the ALP was soundly based and their viewpoint prevailed over the hesitant right wing.

There can be no question then that the main beneficiary of the Moratorium actions was the reformist Labor Party.

The approaching electoral victory of the Labor Party represents the next forward stage in Australia's political development. This is not viewed with equanimity by the capitalist class for the reason that the party has the working class as its mass base.

The class must go through the experience of a government formed by its traditional party. After a certain period of the latter's governmental performance, growing rank and file exasperation with its incapacity to provide real solutions to the problems of society will be revealed, with the beginning of the differentiation in the party in advance of which no significant revolutionary socialist formation will emerge.

Consequently revolutionary Marxists give critical support to the Labor Party in its pursuit of electoral victory over the Liberal-Country Party coalition government. Further, revolutionary cadres need to be integrated in the movement, not as conformists, but to consistently enunciate the transitional programme alternative, and to be in the position to effect the natural juncture with the mass left wing for the clash inevitably proceeding from the differentiation referred to. It cannot be over-emphasised that there will be no significant renunciation of the Labor Party during the whole preparatory period referred to above. And nothing but disillusionment and stultification awaits the politically naive who equate the Labor Party with the Liberal Party and think to jump over stages by a spirited independent stance in head-on collision with the Labor Party formation.

In a quite different category, however, is the imperative for revolutionary Marxists to enunciate and fight for a viable policy right now, on Vietnam, for instance. To counterpose "unity" to this in the hope or belief that somehow the masses will one day find the revolutionary road is the renunciation of the essentials of Leninism, is renunciation of the historically confirmed role of the subjective factor in the class struggle, through which the subject class emerges from trade union to revolutionary consciousness.

The positive achievement of the Moratorium was to establish the right to demonstrate, up to date branded by the Establishment and treated as criminal activity.

In projected future demonstrations the salutary perspective for the radical cadres is to organise contingents --- which at this stage will be largely students --- with banners appropriate to the vanguard role. Agreeing as they do with the officials' propositions despite their limitations --- withdraw the Australian troops and anti-conscription --- they have every right in a united front action to

spell out the clarifying revolutionary socialist propositions to propel the assembled masses towards increasing awareness and scepticism of the all-pervading political opportunism now able to parade as the ultimate in viable revolutionary politics.

Such slogans would embrace the themes:

- + Stop Gorton's Violence on the Vietnamese People,
- + Support the Struggle of the Vietnamese People;
- + Support Vietnamese National Independence and Self-Determination;
- + Support the Vietnamese Revolution;
- + Support the NLF;
- + End the Counter-revolutionary Alliance with U.S. Imperialism;
- + End conscription for Counter-revolution.

(NOTE: The much bigger Melbourne demonstration was attributable to the more left wing position of the Victorian Labor Party and the consequent involvement of more workers behind this party.)

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THEY SIMPLY DIED

"Lenin... set to work to chart a totally new path for humanity.

"The difficulties, pitfalls and problems of this path are starkly revealed in the fate of many of Lenin's colleagues --- Bukharin, Zinoviev, Trotsky, Rykov, Tomsy and many others, who all died accused of crimes they did not commit." (L.Aarons in TRIBUNE, 22nd April, 1970)

Perhaps this exemplifies what we mean. These men did not just die. They were murdered after the most preposterous criminal frame-up in history.

Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsy, charged with: agents of Hitler, the Mikado, British military Intelligence, the Polish Deuxieme Bureau, attempts on the lives of Stalin, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, railway catastrophes, colliery explosions, mass poisonings of workers, assassination of Gorky, Menzinsky, Kuibyshev, Sverdlov. Bukharin was out to assassinate Lenin in 1918.

Tomsy suicided.

Zinoviev charged with treason, conspiracy and attempts at the assassination of Stalin, terrorism and collusion with the Gestapo.

Trotsky was attacked by a G.P.U. assassin and died on 21st August, 1940.

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WAR SPREADING

SUDDENLY, AS USUAL, THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IS AGAIN WORSENERD BY THE INTERACTION OF A MASS OF FACTORS

In Indo-China the war is extending to Laos and Cambodia; in the Middle East military operations are intensifying, in the air and on the ground; on the plane of "disarmament" the interminable palavers do not achieve concealment of the apocalyptic realities some figures and facts summarize: more than a billion dollars (i.e., a million million) were squandered over the last six years in military expenditure by the West and the East, within an annual rate now about 200 milliard dollars (i.e., 1,000 millions x 200); the Americans have just decided to accelerate the manufacture of multiple-headed rockets, as well as the "anti-missile protection" of their territory.

In Vietnam the United States appear determined to rapidly withdraw the bulk of their troops, it is true on condition of succeeding in their operation of "vietnamisation" of the war, thus avoiding complete capitulation of the Saigon regime to the victorious N.L.F.; but in face of the slowness of the "progress" which, according to them, "Vietnamisation" is realising despite everything and the danger of seeing the whole of South-East Asia escaping them, the "militaro-industrial" complex of which every American president becomes gradually the mouthpiece, has succeeded not only in slowing down "disengagement", but has extended the war to Laos and Cambodia. Naturally the pretext is that the two countries had become "privileged sanctuaries" of Hanoi and the Viet Cong, rendering illusory the "stabilisation" of the Saigon regime.

The Pentagon is in the act of "persuading" Nixon that not only aerial bombardments of Laos must continue, but that they must be resumed against North Vietnam itself. On the other hand, it has "become clear", according to the American strategists that the "war will be lost or won in Cambodia" on the High Plateaux of which (as well as in the Mekong Delta) the Vietnamese revolutionary forces now number 50 to 60 thousand men.

The coup d'etat perpetrated at Phnom-Penh by the C.I.A. and the Cambodian right, profiting by Sihanouk's absence abroad, aimed to use the country's army, rising to some 35,000 soldiers, to cooperate with the Saigon forces and American aviation, to "harass" the Vietnamese revolutionary forces operating in the region and thus to "neutralise" this "sanctuary".

But it is becoming clear that from the moment the Americans and their allies engage so openly in Laos and Cambodia, in Thailand even against the Vietnamese, the latter, aided by the Soviet and the Chinese, no longer have any reason to respect the appearances of "neutrality" of these territories and proceed to engage, in their turn, thoroughly in

the revolutionary war over the whole of South-East Asia.

Furthermore this perspective is in the long run inevitable by the single fact of the proximity of the region to the mounting power of China.

In the Middle East the continual arial operations of Israel aim at preventing Egypt and the other Arab countries of the "Oriental Front" reconstructing their military potential and completing their preparations with a view to the new trial of strength.

Thanks to the American "Phantoms", Israel possesses an offensive arm capable of reaching objectives deep in the interior of the Arab countries. Thus it hopes to win the "war of attrition", on condition the Soviet leaders reduce their aid to simply defensive arms, formidable as some of them are, such as the ground-air SAM 3 rockets that Moscow has just delivered to Egypt.

But in fact the greatest danger for Israel comes from the perspective of a long revolutionary war to which their allies are driving the Arabs.

The logic of the Palestinian resistance proceeds in this direction, basing itself on the number and space and above all the organic incapacity of the present different Arab regions to compensate their inferiority, in the domain of classical warfare (based on a superior technology and advanced social structures), by recourse to the peoples' revolutionary war.

The Americans are aware of this dynamic of the Palestinian resistance each day further contaminating the Arab masses.

That is why they made Hussein act last February, in connivance with other counter-revolutionary Arab forces, counting on a relationship of forces (between the king of Jordan and the Organisations of Resistance) favourable for the success of the operation aiming to "break down" the revolutionary elan of the masses.

But their calculations were quickly shown to be erroneous, the Palestinian Resistance, under the pressure firstly of the base and also of some far-sighted cadres of the left of El Fath, of the democratic Popular Front and other organisations, having rapidly succeeded in cementing an effective militant united front. The Americans are now taking up the same operation with the Lebanese right, but it is to be hoped that the Palestinian Resistance, recovering all its elan will never permit the reactionary "stabilisation" of the crucial Lebanese front.

It is thus possible that in the near future the situation in the Middle East will evolve towards a long revolutionary war, the Arab masses being aided by the Soviet leaders and the Chinese and Israel by the Americans intervening above all with aviation.

It is in anticipation of such eventual developments that the crisis now raging in Cyprus must be judged.

The island can serve the Americans as an immense aero-naval base covering the Arab countries and Israel. Whence the present feverish endeavours being displayed by the American and Greek agents of the CIA and the Pentagon to lead to complete American military control of the island.

As to the perspectives of "disarmament" it is obvious that the decision of the United States to accelerate the construction of their offensive and "defensive" arms will perpetuate the general course to armaments, making their "control" absolutely illusory.

Besides the inevitable acceleration of Soviet and Chinese armament, the next step will probably be the atomic armament of Japan which, encouraged by the Americans, and perhaps by the Soviet leaders, is closely "watching over" the atomic progress of China.

In fact, behind the particular situations and their inevitable vicissitudes, the dominant forces of the international situation, examined from the viewpoint of States, remain those of the USSR, of China and the United States, in their reciprocal relations.

The mounting military power of the USSR is threatened only by the consequences of its extreme bureaucratic regime on the human factor, on the morale, the social spirit, the non-activity of the Soviet masses, as well as by the evolution of its relations with China.

The power of the latter is and will continue increasing for a whole long period (independently of the "Stalinisation" of its internal regime), largely increasing the élan, the potential of its revolution.

On the other hand the power of the United States is historically declining, and this tendency will get worse.

American imperialism gives itself over to rear-guard conflicts throughout the whole world, because it is clear it is on the way to definitively losing the game and on the level of the relationship of forces between States, against the USSR and China, objectively its enemies, and above all on the level of the global relationship of forces between it and the world revolution in all its forms; revolutionary movement of the masses, including in the United States, and the workers' states.

It is in the light of this perspective that the struggles in the various sectors of the world front of the revolution must be guided.

To strengthen the multiform struggle against capitalism and imperialism is also to strengthen the struggle against the attempts of defeat.

30th March 1970

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THE NEW CRISIS TRAVERSING THE ISLAND THAT HAS BECOME APPARENT SINCE THE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTED MURDER OF MAKARIOS AND THE "MYSTERIOUS" ASSASSINATION OF THE LATE MINISTER FOR THE INTERIOR GEORGADJIS IS INSCRIBED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. IT IS IN EXPECTATION OF EVENTUAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS REGION, ANALYSED IN THIS ISSUE THAT THE AMERICANS' INTEREST IN CYPRUS IS REVIVING.

In fact the island has a very considerable military importance as an aero-naval base, situated within reach of Israel and the Arab countries of the Middle East.

The Americans want to increase their control over Cyprus per medium of the "double union" which means that a "Greek" part of the island would go to Greece, and that a "Turkish" part would go to Turkey.

As these two countries are active members of NATO and are controlled by the Americans (above all the Athens regime), these latter, camouflaged behind NATO would have bases throughout the whole island.

The international press has mentioned overtures engaged in by the Americans in this direction in Athens, Ankara and Nicosia. London, under United States pressure would agree not to interfere.

The Greek junta, docile instrument of the Americans and possessing a considerable armed force in Cyprus is endeavouring to carry out this plan, acting under the cover of its Cypriot paramilitary agents of the "National Front" which is demanding "union" with Greece.

But union would practically mean "the double union", consequently division of the island and its passage to the total control of NATO.

Makarios is resisting this enterprise. For this reason it was necessary to eliminate him physically and profiting from the "void" this created, to bring to power in Nicosia a regime of Cypriot "Quislings" fulfilling the "double union".

The exact role of Georgadjis in this conspiracy is still not completely clear. In any case it is certain the man was implicated in the undertaking and deemed capable, according to his habits, of playing a double game; but the operation having miscarried and become compromising, he was eliminated by his accomplices, men of the Americans and the Junta.

Thus the precarious equilibrium on which the power of Makarios was based for a long time was broken.

The worst can come at any time/^{now} Cyprus, the Americans and the colonels, temporarily disconcerted by the check, resuming the initiative to eliminate Makarios.

Operating in his favour are the reactions of the Soviet leaders who have signified to the Americans that they are opposed (but in what way?) to alteration of the status quo of the island; and that of the Turks, subjected to the pressure of their public opinion and of the Soviet leaders.

But a suitable "division" of the island would appease the Turks.

In fact, the island could only be saved from the malevolent power of the Americans and of the Junta by arming the population, democratising the regime and granting the Turkish population the status of national minority to which is thoroughly entitled. Cyprus can and must be defended by the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, armed, democratically organised and mobilised. This is the last chance, alone effective.

--- 25 March 1970

BOOKS

THE QUESTION OF THE "PARTY" IN THE LIGHT OF THE 1904 DISCUSSIONS

"Building the true revolutionary Party" is a theme retaining the constant attention of the world revolutionary left. This question has no where found a fully satisfactory answer.

Lacking a concrete, living, actual "model", the past is anxiously investigated in the hope of finding "the solution". Thus some have the tendency to idealise the Bolshevik experience, others the Luxemburgist experience. In fact, both proceed by excessive extrapolations setting out from some facts they know, or believe they know.

Their way of "understanding" and of interpreting "Bolshevism" or "Luxemburgism" is strongly tainted by their own inclinations, experiences and defects. To build a new revolutionary vanguard equal to the problems the socialist revolution will have to resolve in order to conquer, to consolidate itself, to succeed in this end of the twentieth century, is a question that must be grappled with on t

basis of the experience of the past clarified by the critical cognisance of this experience, so as to adequately go beyond it.

It is a question of reaching a new, higher synthesis corresponding to the new realities, and not of reviving an embellished, idealised "model" of the past, understood as a universal and lasting panacea for the problem "of leadership".

From this point of view the interest shown by some to make known important texts of the Marxist literature of the past relating to the question of the "Party" is commendable and useful, on condition a tendentious interpretation of these texts is avoided. But naturally it is the readers on whom the indispensable task of the critical study of such texts is incumbent.

SPARTACUS PUBLICATIONS (Paris 1970) has just published "Report of the Siberian Delegation" by Leon Trotsky, and PIERRE BELFOND PUBLICATIONS (Paris 1970) "Our Political Tasks", also by Trotsky.

These two texts are very little known, including by "Trotskyists", and have reference to the criticisms Trotsky directed in 1904 against Lenin's "What Is To Be Done?" and the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party held in July 1903 (first in Brussels and then in London).

Besides, "Our Political Tasks" contains some political texts of Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky, relative to the viewpoints of each of them on the question of the "Party" and their differences.

There is no doubt that after 1904 Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa were led to further dialecticise their conception of the "Party" in its relations with the class and the movement of the masses. Thus Lenin had to recognise the one-sided and consequently erroneous character (according to Trotsky in his "Stalin") of his "theory" on "socialist consciousness" inculcated in the proletariat from outside, also the danger coming from the "comitards", that is, from professional bureaucrats institutionalising the "Party" in the face of the class and its spontaneous movement.

Trotsky and Rosa had to recognise, each according to his and her own experience, the necessity of the organisation, which could not be simply "democratic" but also "centralised".

That is not to say that all three of them finished up with practically the same point of view, but simply that there had been a convergence of tendencies, capable of terminating in a genuine dialectical conception of the "Party", conjunctural instrument of the struggle for the revolution in a given historical framework, which changes according to circumstances and occasion. To contribute to a better elaboration of this conception, by using the genuine experience of the past, remains a very important task. For this reason we intend soon to take up a critical examination of all the texts referring to this question.

A few further words: we regret that this "Report of the Siberian Delegation" should have been accompanied by conversion of the title to "Trotsky against Lenin", and that the author of the preface (as well as Alain Guillerm in "Luxemburgism Today" in the same section of Editions Spartacus), who is a fervent and consistent "Luxemburgist" so furiously sets about the appeal to "Leninism" and "Trotskyism" of a number of young militants.

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THE STRUGGLE AT SYDNEY UNIVERSITY (Continued from page 3)

Third World in their struggles for national and social emancipation.

As for structures, the Movement will meet weekly during term, will have a coordinating committee of seven (the composition of which can be changed by the weekly meeting), will encourage the formation of self-acting branches wherever possible, and will create (when necessary) volunteer commissions to carry out decisions and research.

Membership will be open to all students and staff.

To develop the movement against expulsions into a general "student power" movement is a natural, logical development --- from the particular to the general. Unchecked authoritarianism --- of which these expulsions are a manifestation --- is something that affects all students --- it is an integral part of present university education. As a recent essay on the student revolt puts it:

"The problem is not simply one of autocratic administrations but also of the essentially coercive nature of educational relationships. The hierarchy of authority within each institution, the competitive examination system and the faculty's (the academic staff's) ultimate power of determining success and failure, together help to keep the students in a generally subordinate and passive position: the receivers of education rather than active participants in a process of learning. Here it is the essentially coercive nature of the educational process which is at stake, for it is central to the bourgeoisie's exercise of ideological, political and social control over students." (1)

The struggle against the expulsions, against this manifestation of the all-pervading authoritarianism in universities (and schools, too), is part of the wider struggle of students against the authoritarian retreat at universities which stunts their growth as full human beings, and which processes them into the quiescent, conformist, narrow specialists capitalism and the State desire.

To take the struggle at Sydney University from the stage of mass struggle against certain blatant manifestations of authoritarianism on one campus, to a total struggle against the whole authoritarian higher education system at the service of the bourgeoisie, demands the establishment of a permanent movement rooted in the mass of students at every university, college and school struggling against the principal authoritarian mechanisms in those educational institutions.

The Wobblies (I.W.W.) have something to teach today's students; especially their ideas on generalising struggle and solidarity, on thorough organisation and direct action, on control and self-management. The recent wave of student struggles in Britain and U.S.A. have shown the way; in Britain there were 10 simultaneous occupations; in U.S.A. up to 5 million students on strike in May, and in some places colleges were occupied and run by the students as "anti-war centres". The disarray and sectional nature of the student movement (concluded on page 21)

Continued from International 12, April-May 1970

II — Lenin as Philosopher

The spirit and the style of "Leninism" as a vital and intelligent interpretation and a continuation of revolutionary Marxism in a given period, were assured by Lenin himself. Viewed in this light, the "Leninist" Party from which so many epigones have copied their organisations, caricatures of "Bolshevism" reduced to "statutory" formulae and rules, was safeguarded as such by Lenin during his lifetime.

The Bolshevik Party was an instrument of history in Russia designed for an occasion and forged to cope with the reality of the revolution in that country. Its extreme tactical suppleness both within its own organisational framework and outside, as well as its behaviour, bore the indelible, powerful and unique mark of the spirit and style of Lenin, animating and guiding this Party.

By his inflexible purposefulness, Lenin dominated the occasional instruments of his political struggle and the organisations, tactics and programmes.

But his very aim was illuminated and given a deeper meaning by incessant theoretical work to achieve the utmost mastery of the theory of cognition and further to refine the method of its application.

In the historical work of Lenin, the thought and the whole bearing of the man acquired progressively a marvellous, quite "dialectical" suppleness, not only resulting from experience, and from reflecting on situations and people, but, above all, from the deepening of the theory of cognition which lays stress on the utter richness and complexity of

reality, and the relativity of all subjective grasping of it and of all subjective truth.

It is therefore necessary always to set out from life, from reality, from experience, and to return there to verify the conclusions of the specific workings of abstract thought, having mastered the dialectic method.

Suppleness and profound awareness of the relativity of truth, i.e. of the degree of grasping of reality, did not signify for Lenin weakness, doubt or concessions to the political or theoretical opponent, but simply a better and more effective approach to the objective, thanks to a finer, more variegated and therefore more profound knowledge of reality.

Without a profound theoretical method, the organisation of the rank-and-file will become lost inexorably in the forest of subjective, mechanical and unilateral schemes.

It is therefore necessary to start building by setting out from an adequate mastery of Marxist theory, which presupposes the mastery of the theory and method of cognition, of materialist dialectics.

It is in the light of this consideration that the meaning of Lenin's aphorism that "one cannot fully understand Marx's 'Capital', and, in particular, its first chapter, without having included with its study the whole of Hegel's 'Logic'" becomes clear.

This was not a mere quip, neither was Lenin embarrassed to stress the inevitability of "errors" and "stupidities" committed by everybody including himself.

This great humility was the mark of profound understanding of the relationship between reality and thought; this in no way diminishes the recognition of the real progressive power of thought of the whole of mankind.

The interest in science and philosophy displayed by Lenin was governed by his endeavour ceaselessly to deepen the theory of cognition and its method.

This preoccupation, already evident in "Materialism and Empirio-criticism", written in 1903, reached an even higher level after systematic and literally passionate study of Hegel's philosophy, in particular his "Logic", which Lenin undertook at the outset of the first world war.

"Materialism and Empirio-criticism" was the object of much criticism reproaching Lenin for mechanical conceptions with regard to the interpretation of modern physics and of its "crisis", and oversimplification of the process of cognition.

For example, a man like Pannekoek reproached Lenin for hurling invectives rather than performing a rigorous scientific and philosophical refutation of the arguments of his opponents in this work and for investing "the philosophical concept of objective reality" with physical matter only, and not with "reality" which observes as a whole, which would imply the notion of the dialectical interaction between the material and social reality and the thought of man as a social being, acting through social labour.

Pannekoek did not seem to take into account the "Philosophical Notebooks" of Lenin, written between 1914 and 1916, and published for the first

time in 1929-30, nor of the other critique of idealism, made from a social class point of view, which already comprised "Materialism and Empirio-criticism."

It means that it is unjust to attribute to Lenin the application of a "bourgeois materialism" calling on the laws of "chemistry, physics and mechanics" to explain ideas and to neglect "historical and dialectical materialism" which "reveals the specific laws of the evolution of human society and puts stress on the continued interaction between human thoughts and society." (5)

In "Materialism and Empirio-criticism" Lenin threw light on three basic ideas: The primacy of the "objective reality" of man's environment over thought; the relativity of human cognition with regard to this reality; the criterion of social application by which "truth", always remaining "relative", demonstrates its "reality".

Lenin removed the mystery from philosophy as an ideology which does not arrive at clearly establishing its links with natural sciences and with man. He concluded, at least implicitly, that it was necessary to consider as valid "philosophy" only another theory elaborated by cognition.

This work was undertaken by Lenin in a systematic manner in 1914, during his stay in Switzerland, when he was already at a mature age.

In "Materialism and Empirio-criticism" Lenin's concept of the theory of cognition was essentially comprised in his notion of "reflection" of the "image". This led him to praise the work of a representative of "bourgeois materialism", very famous at the time — E. Haeckel, who reduced cognition

to a "physical phenomenon the anatomical organ of which was the brain". (In "The Wonders of Life".)

To be sure, when Lenin spoke in "Materialism and Empirio-criticism", of "reflection", he did not mean an "image", an "identical" copy of reality, or a passive "reflection" of it.

For example, he wrote to Bogdanov that "social existence and social consciousness are no more identical than are generally existence and consciousness."

Social consciousness "reflects social existence, such is the teaching of Marx", but it is also necessary to add "more or less faithfully", and it will be "absurd to talk of identity."

However, the concrete manner in which the active "reflection" of reality is applied by man as a social being, acting within society, was to be expounded by Lenin only in his famous "Philosophical Notebooks".

In these notes, commenting on the study of Hegel, Lenin arrived at the concept of "a reflex or reflection of the natural or social being of man as a reflection of his practical and social activity, hence as a complex reflection, rising from sensation and perception to cognition and to ideas." (6)

In this essay, while seeking to confirm, with the help of Hegel, his concepts of external reality, of the relativity of truth, made valid, however, by the criterion of its application to life, Lenin came strongly under the influence of the "idealist" philosopher, deepening

and refining the latter's theory of cognition, and under the influence of his method, in a word, dialectics.

Thus it is interesting to note in what manner Lenin imperceptibly "dialecticised" his own thought further by studying Hegel.

This process did not proceed along a straight line following the scheme of Hegel's "Logic", but it conformed rather to the progression of thought as Hegel himself envisaged it:

"...cognition rolls onward from content to content. First of all, this advance is determined as beginning from simple determinateness, the succeeding ones becoming ever richer and more concrete. For the result contains its beginning and its course has enriched it by a fresh determinateness. The universal constitutes the foundation; the advance is therefore not to be taken as a flouring from one other to the next other. In the absolute method the Notion maintaining itself in its otherness, the universal in its particularisation, in judgement and reality; at each stage of its further determination it raises the entire mass of its preceding content, and by its dialectical advance it not only does not lose anything or leave anything behind, but carried along with it all it has gained, and inwardly enriches and consolidates itself." (In the section "The Idea" of "The Logic" of Hegel — (7)).

Following Hegel, Lenin set out from existence to arrive, by the above progression of thought, at the concepts, at the integral theory of cognition and at the method.

(6) "The Thought of Lenin", by Henri Lafobvre. Bordas, Paris 1957. (A work which contains a very important section on the philosophical thought of Lenin, but which remains strongly marred by "stalinist" influence in the political part proper.)

(7) Our English translation from "Hegel's Science of Logic", by A.V. Miller. Allen and Unwin, London 1969.

(5) "Lenin as Philosopher", by Anton Pannekoek, New York, 1948 (originally published in 1938).

At first human thought grasps the appearance and the phenomenon, but these form part of the essence of existence, they are real.

Appearance is already determined by essence, and so are the phenomenon and the reality at an advanced stage of the infinite process of deepening of thought.

"The appearance," as Lenin remarked, "is the Essence in one of its forms, in one of its aspects, in one of its moments. The appearance is the reflection of the Essence itself in itself."

Thus it has an objective significance, it already constitutes a real assumption of thought, of the "thing in itself" of Kant, as has also the phenomenon, a superior form of essence.

Phenomena are bound by laws, but one must let relativity and dialectics intervene into this domain also.

The Law, according to Lenin, interpreting Hegel, is what is permanent, what remains, what is identical and "at rest" within the phenomena.

But, for these reasons, the Law is also "narrow, incomplete and approximate", while the phenomenon is infinitely richer than the Law, for it contains the latter as the reflection of the essential in the movement of the universe (of which the phenomenon forms part).

The totality, the universal connection, the interdependence and the interaction constitute the true plot of reality which makes clear the notion of necessity, freedom and causality.

Causality, part of the universal link-up, expresses universality only incompletely and in fragments.

Necessity, said Hegel, is blind

only insofar as it is not understood in its internal causality. Once it is understood it becomes freedom, without disappearing as a consequence of this.

Lenin, by critically studying Hegel, this "idealist" who was infinitely closer to dialectical materialism than so many "vulgar materialists", arrived imperceptibly at grasping the process of cognition in all its dialectical richness and refinement.

Cognition is certainly the reflection of nature and of society by man.

But Lenin said:

"This is not a simple, immediate, total reflection; this process consists of a whole series of abstractions, formulations, concepts, laws etc. — and these concepts, laws etc. also embrace relatively and approximately the universal laws of eternally moving and developing nature."

"To reflect" must therefore signify "to grasp" reality in an active, dialectical relationship between external objectivity and thought.

From this it also follows that in reality man 'cannot grasp and reproduce nature as a whole, in its "immediate totality", all that is possible is to approach it externally by creating abstractions, concepts, laws, a scientific image of the universe."

He added:

"The reflection of nature in human thought must not be understood in a 'dead', 'abstract' fashion (in the form of a simple, pale 'image') without movement, without contradictions, but in the eternal process of movement, in the birth of contradictions and in their resolution."

Since external objectivity is constituted by universal connection and movement, thought, by its very nature and in order to grasp objectivity, must interrupt the continuity of movement, "simplify, brutalise, separate, curdle, dislocate" the movement.

Hence the "relativity" of each "truth" the partial validity of which is real and is proved in practice.

Human concepts are subjective in their abstraction and in their separation, but taken in "their totality, their process, their aim, their trend, their source" they are objective, corresponding to real definitions of external objectivity, which could be verified in practice.

Thanks to a departure which is methodical, both analytical and synthetic, thought rises to the richest, most varied and deep-going understanding of external objectivity, of material and social reality, which is precisely the aim of dialectics, conceived at the same time as a theory and as a method of cognition.

"The object, as it is outside of thought and concept, is the simple representation of a simple name! It is what it is in the categories of thought and in conceptual determination," wrote Hegel.

And beside this formally "idealist" assertion Lenin noted with admiration:

"This is right! The presentation and the thought, the development of both and nothing else!"

Dialectics does not consider concepts as immovable, but by their very nature as transitions from one to the other.

It therefore abolishes the rigid boundaries, it makes everything relative, but without suffering shipwreck for this in negativity, scepticism and doubt.

At every moment it reaches a new level of deeper understanding of reality, of nature, of society and of man, while always maintaining an inner trend towards total truth, negating all limitation, remaining continuously open towards the infinite, the absolute.

Following Hegel, Lenin remarked:

"Neither the bald negation, nor the unconsidered negation, nor the optical negation, nor hesitation, nor doubt, are characteristic or essential in dialectics, which, it must be well understood, contains within it the element of negation, even as its most important element — no, but negation as a moment of connection, a moment of development which maintains the positive — i.e. without any hesitation, without any eclecticism."

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Lenin was fully aware of the fact that philosophy, which has a history internally linked with the history of the class struggle, is, to borrow an expression of L. Althusser (8) "politics continued in a certain manner, in a certain domain, with regard to a certain reality", politics continued by "different means" in a specific field.

Lenin used his deepgoing understanding of Hegel's 'Logic' in his political struggle, drawing from that work the greatest advantage for the effectiveness of that struggle.

It is not difficult to determine the degree of "dialecticalisation" of

(8) "Lenine et la Philosophie", by L. Althusser. Maspero, Paris 1969.

Lenin's thought in all his works from 1916 to his death.

First of all in the general process of his thought, which was never bound by schema and formulae, but which always set out from reality to return to it, with full awareness of the extreme richness and complexity of this reality on the nove.

Lenin was free of all complacency towards "conservative traditionalism", of all rigid bonds with the past, committing himself without hesitation to the eternal future of social reality and endeavouring to the best of his ability to grasp it.

Hence the "deviationist" aspect of his tactics of sudden unforeseen turns which left him often "isolated" within his own momentarily disoriented Party.

Because life constantly creates something "new" and because it is infinitely richer, more variegated, more dynamic (in the force and speed of the movement) than is thought, the latter, so as to follow life (always with a certain delay) must remain alert, active, critical and not resting on the findings of the past to find answers to new situations.

The "dialecticalisation" of Lenin's thought also showed in his manner of grasping the "concept" of, for example, "state", "revolution", "democracy", "class" etc.

In "State and Revolution" Lenin re-established and enriched the whole of the dialectics of the marxist notion of "the state," how it originates, exists, evolves, withers away and becomes extinct.

He studied the concept of the state in its special concrete social context, in relation to the class struggle and its evolution, in the

complex and varied interaction between these two elements.

Was the "Commune" a "state" or not?

Lenin repeated with Engels that "the Commune was no longer a state in the proper sense; for this state had already begun to "wither away".

Was the Soviet State founded by the October revolution a genuine "workers' state" in 1920-1921, after the famous discussion on trade unions, or was it not?

Lenin replied that it was necessary to take into account the interests of the peasants, the "allies of the proletariat," as well as the serious bureaucratic "deformations" with which the state began to become stained. Hence this "workers' state" was an abstraction, making it necessary that its real content should be more accurately defined.

In the "Infantile Disorders of Communism" Lenin patiently explained the reasons why the enforced application of the "measure" of a "truth" leads to an "error" and even to an "absurdity".

He made himself clear with regard to the Revolution, which is never "pure", which never repeats itself in the same manner and which stays more original in its beginning and development, --

"more varied in forms and aspects, more living, more 'malicious' than is imagined by the best parties, the most conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes."

He defended therein the work necessary in the trade unions, including the "reactionary" ones, and the recourse to elections, to parliamentarism and to compromises, given the heterogeneity of the proletariat as a class and

of the masses in general, and he wrote of the fact that the revolution is not the work of conscious, restrained "vanguards" but of millions and millions of people with all their weaknesses and prejudices.

In all these questions Lenin reasoned "dialectically", not forgetting that every situation is concrete, that delimitations and rigid counterpositions are conventional, that quantity turns into quality, that the

forceful application of a "measure" turns truth into error.

It was, moreover, in the manner in which Lenin approached the problems posed by the building of socialism in the USSR and by the new phenomena which sprang from that experience, that he demonstrated among other things the full benefit derived from his intensive philosophical growth, and of his creative deepening of Hegelian dialectics.

March 1970

To follow: Lenin and the Building of Socialism.

THE STRUGGLE AT SYDNEY UNIVERSITY (continued from page 18)

needs to be overcome in Australia, although no one underestimates the difficulties entailed in this --- not least the dispersal of students for long periods and the rapid turnover of the student population in comparison to workers.

The "offensive programme" --- at the centre of which should be student control --- of such a movement is something to now be getting down to.

Though to emphasise the need for a "revolutionary syndicalism" amongst students is not to ignore the necessity of building in Australia --- via the tactic of entrism sui generis --- a revolutionary party, based on the working class and struggling for self-managed socialism, and part of a new international.

A.G. 23.5.70

(1) John Cowley, "The Strange Death of the Liberal University", the Socialist Register 1969, p.96

NOTE: Last week-end's Socialist Scholars' Conference at Sydney University (attendance some 350 people) adopted the following proposition:

"That the implicit striving of the left wing at Sydney University for a new educational set-up based on self-management of the educational institutions and exposure of the present status quo-oriented purpose of official education represents the viewpoint of this Conference and we support the continuing struggle led by the left wing for this objective and support defence of the victims of the present University administration."

The Socialist Scholars' Conference was also unanimous in its resolve to continue the campaign for the admission of Belgian Marxist, Ernest Mandel, who was refused admission to Australia by the Gorton Government without any reasons being stated.

The reason for comrade Mandel's proposed visit was to address the conference on "The Crisis in the Capitalist Relations of Production". This protest is fully supported by INTERNATIONAL.

THE QUESTION OF THE "PARTY" (continued from page 13)

To criticise in order to destroy, or to criticise in order to "go beyond" are two qualitatively different steps. For a Marxist dialectician the step of critical-going-beyond is a constant application of his understanding in the sense of conserving the positive, integrated acquisition in a higher synthesis.

From this point of view "Leninism", "Trotskyism", but also "Luxemburgism" are, under different headings, very positive moments of the development of revolutionary Marxism, that from the very first it is a question of recognising thoroughly in their concrete reality, so as to be able to "go beyond" them all positively.

As to a positive way of interpreting "Luxemburgism", I will be taking this up.

April 1970

M.P.

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