

# INTERNATIONAL-8

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40  
**Hang, draw, quarter,  
tar and feather them!**



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## EDITORIAL

### THE ROAD TO THE REVIVAL OF THE AUSTRALIAN REVOLUTIONARY LEFT.

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What has been happening over the past few months on the Left ? There have certainly been some large demonstrations which have however tended to fall into a set pattern.

There have been signs of a revolutionary left emerging which could become an important factor in Australian politics. But this revolutionary Left is scattered and unorganised.

There have been clear signs that among the youth, the revolt against the system continues, although often this revolt finds no organised outlet except through centralised organisations found in the centre of cities.

The universities have seen signs of revolt which have led to clashes with the university authorities, which may lead to a real confrontation, but there is a real lack of revolutionary orientation in most universities and a near-total neglect of the question of self-management in the university.

The revolt against the penal clauses exploded into major strikes but not only were these contained by the union bureaucracies, but the union movement seems to have sunk back into an apathy and domination of the bureaucracies. There is interest in the idea of self-management and workers control, but little seems to have emerged and little active movement begun.

The Communist Party, while making big steps forward, seems now steeped in a deadening polemic which has become ritualised, without the real signs of a revival appearing, nor the hopes of a revitalisation eventuating.

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A rather pessimistic appraisal perhaps of the past few months since INTERNATIONAL was last published. Yet within all these analyses there appears potential, but potential for radical movement which is unfulfilled.

Yet we must never be content with a routinist analysis of the reality, or even with a sense of jogging along with some advance being registered. We must always ask if we cannot see some break-through which will allow us to leap over to a new level of development.

#### THE DEMOS.

The demonstrations in Sydney, and elsewhere in the past three months have been quite numerous. Yet they apply a certain pattern every time -- a pattern visible over the past year in fact. They reach a maximum of some 3,000 demonstrators -- perhaps there is some clash with police to get on the

streets, and for some time the more militant section of the demonstration will occupy the roadway. A few will be arrested in the struggle to get on the road, but as a whole the mass of demonstrators will keep on the footpaths.

The demonstration will result in a dozen arrests, in some struggles with police, in some pushing and shoving, in some exhilarating racing along the roadway, arms linked. But its total effect while beneficial and a necessary introduction for the youth new to the demo., in effect does not challenge the rulers of our society. Maybe they will pause and see some spectre of Paris 68 before their eyes, but that will be comfortably and reasonably dismissed.

The rulers of our society will only begin to really feel concern when tens of thousands of demonstrators march through the streets of our cities and express a militant and even revolutionary opposition to their rule.

The problem we face is therefore to break out of the limit of say 3,000 demonstrators and double and triple that figure by the end of the year. But more, we must also try to inject a new sense of revolutionary purpose in these demonstrations. The Brisbane demonstrations, while small, have succeeded in doing this. What revolutionaries in other States must seek to do, is to find the transitional slogans which will rally large numbers on the street and find also the forms of struggle which will allow a real challenge to the rulers.

How then to get tens of thousands on to the streets ?

Best first to ask how the 3,000 get on the streets in the present demos. They come essentially through the organisation of the university students, the high schools students, the unions (but here very few are really brought along), and the organised Left parties, etc..

Yet there are large layers really untouched by such mobilisation. First, there are the rebellious youth in suburbia who are largely untouched by the forces listed above. They number in their thousands, and yet little or no effort is made by the traditional left, esconced in their bastions in the city centre to organise them. The decentralisation of the Left into suburbia where, after all, the youth live, is an essential task of the Left. It is one which can be achieved with some real sense of initiative and a feel for the needs of situation and the form of revolt in suburbia.

In the unions, the traditional Left is happy to operate at the level of the union bureaucracy, or even when in opposition, to set up what amounts to almost parallel organisms of a Left Opposition on a union-wide basis. The role of the shop committee movement and the new move to form action committees around the demand for self-management and for workers control, as well as the "traditional" demands of the workers movement, is key.

In short, WHAT IS MISSING IN THE AUSTRALIAN REVOLUTIONARY LEFT IS GRASSROOTS ORGANISATION. ACTION COMMITTEES-SHOP COMMITTEES IN THE FACTORIES, SCHOOLS, OFFICES, FACULTIES IN THE UNI-

VERSITIES --- ANTI-WAR ORGANISATION IN SUBURBIA TO MOBILISE THE UNORGANISED YOUTH AND WORKERS IN THESE AREAS INTO POLITICAL ACTION.

The goal of any revolutionary is to make the revolution. The apparently trite saying that emerged from the Cuban Revolution has a deep significance. It is not the duty of revolutionaries to build up a bookshop empire, nor to find a cushy job in the office of some Party/ Union. It is not the task to make all political activity subsidiary to building up the organisation and bureaucratic structure, but, rather, to make the building of an organisational and material apparatus subsidiary to the development of political action.

Political ideas are pointless without the means of putting them into operation through material and personal resources; material structures are pointless unless they are subject always to political considerations.

There is not much point to large demonstrations around demands which can easily be contained in the capitalist structure: indeed, such demonstrations fit very neatly into the structure of 'repressive tolerance'. But there is not much point either to demonstrations which may be around very advanced slogans and which do not mobilise the mass.. What is needed is the transitional slogan not arbitrarily interpreted, but one which really calls masses into motion and throws them into conflict with the rulers of our society. But in addition to these fundamental considerations, there is the need to organise at all levels -- to get to the "peasants" of our society in the factories and in suburbia who will together encircle the citadels of power.

Let's face it: political action on the Left has been rather esoteric in the past -- we have concentrated on centres of the cities -- the physical centre and as well the universities where there is a large concentration of readily-available rebellious youth. We have been rather fascinated by the cosmopolitan atmosphere that pervades it; We have escaped from suburbia. We have been deluded by the equation that power lies in the visible centres of power: government offices, big business offices, the universities. True, in abstract they do. But the rulers rule through their control of men's minds. And men and women live in suburbia and it is there they spend much of their waking lives. It is there that they vegetate and live out their misery which is of a different quality to the past. It is there, too, that they express their revolt.

Let us take the revolution to suburbia. Let us tap the discontent, the human misery that exists there.

What has existed in suburbia on the Left? The CPA branches have been stultified by a past which leaves them no option but to hide their existence, and to seek outlets in the most traditional and innocuous forms of action. They are above all unable in their present form to tap the enormous potential for revolt among the youth. They find themselves essentially out of sympathy with many of its aspects. Their drive in the Fifties for 'respectability', and their inheritance of stalinist Victorian prudery make them more in sympathy with religious and pacifist prudery than the iconoclastic inclinations of the youth.

The A. L. P. branches are of course even more stultified and without perspective. What is left? Frankly, nothing. The youth must maintain a tenuous connection with the organisations functioning out of the centre, or they must find other outlets for their revolt.

The Left -- the revolutionary Left -- must face this problem squarely, they must find a solution. That solution lies in tapping the youth revolt; in forming centres around which the revolt can polarise.

#### ACTION COMMITTEES IN THE FACTORIES

Along with the task of organising the youth in suburbia, there is the need to organise the workers on their local, factory level and to develop action committees which can be in fact the shop committees or new, more viable structures. Such action committees cannot of course divorce themselves from the struggle in the unions, any more than the new rebel groups in suburbia can divorce themselves from the unions. In suburbia or from the A. L. P. and C. P. A. structures that exist. But their main task is the organisation of the factory across union frontiers into a militant struggle for workers demands, and, above all, for workers control and self-management.

A preliminary form of such committees could well be a committee precisely around workers control and self-management. But action committees if they are really to be viable organisations must be aimed not simply as being propaganda organisations, but above all, as means of mobilising the mass of the workers around transitional demands. They must become organisms of struggle and, in the final analysis, genuine workers councils, with the members elected by the workers on the job.

The action committees might exist temporarily as ad-hoc groups, informal groups in loose liaison. But the aim must be to formalise the link where possible. They must, of necessity, be concerned with the need to change union leaderships, but must be aware that the real way to achieve that to some purpose is grassroots organisation, on the shop floor.

The action committees are still in their infancy -- in fact, the movement has really only shown any signs of life in Brisbane. But action committees are in fact embryonic in many unions and workshops. The need is to give consciousness to such a demand and develop it.

#### THE WORKERS CONTROL AND SELF-MANAGEMENT MOVEMENT

The Left Action Conference in Easter gave some hope of the movement for workers control and self-management getting off the ground. Yet, in Sydney, where it has taken some organised form, the response has been disappointing. Perhaps the reason is that the demand for self-management, while it can be theoretically grasped, can only be really applied and made to live in struggle, and that there is no easily-applied formula which will provide a solution. If workers control and self-management are to be more than

fake legislative programmes, and are to become programmes for struggle on the shop floor, then the movement aimed at such goals must aim to inject the unions and the shop committees that exist and the action committees to be created, with such a concept of workers control and self-management that will allow a real mobilisation of the workers around such slogans in concrete struggles.

We have been criticised in different quarters for projecting as a demand for struggle the occupation of factories and the call to self-manage the railways, bus depots, etc., during struggles. Such calls, have been for some, "ultra-left".

The demand for occupation and self-management are of course very advanced slogans. They can only be raised specifically in certain situations (although they must be projected in any revolutionary organ, as a real means of struggle). But the real roots of such a demand -- the call for the workers, no matter how momentarily, to take power into their own hands and run the factory, workshop etc., themselves is something which touches on a deeply felt need of the masses in our present capitalist society. The demand for real control, for real power, is the deep motive force of social change in our society. The mass of workers can therefore respond to such demands in an unexpected way, in a way which allows the most advanced demands to take reality.

To remain in a routine rut, to reject such slogans as occupation and self-management in all conditions, to refuse to keep a weather eye open for the opportunity to utilise such slogans, to even mention them, to even pose them, is a gross opportunism, which cannot be excused by accusations of "ultra-leftism."

The Forum on Workers Control and Self-Management to be held in Sydney on Sunday August 24, should be attended by all those interested in these questions, and all those involved in shop steward movements and rank-and-file committees as well as individual militants. But the aim should be the development of a movement which is able to real project these demands as militant demands onto the shop floor and get beyond academic and formalised discussion.

#### WHERE IS THE CPA HEADING?

To those who thought the return of Laurie Aarons from Moscow after the CP summit meeting would provide a cataclysmic end to the struggle inside the CPA between the anti-stalinist wing and the old-time stalinists, the events of the past few weeks since Laurie Aarons' return must have been an anti-climax. The anti-stalinists have won a victory; and the opposition of the pro-stalinists has remained largely formalised. The CPA seems to continue as before.

Yet it is certain that the steps taken by the Aarons leadership must have their culmination in some revival of the CPA in a new form, tackling all the problems facing the Left, providing even the means for its remobilisation.

The CPA, given its structure, must really come to grips with the problems of mobilising in the suburbs, where it has some branches, not matter their state of health, and in the factories, where it has also strength.

It must revitalise its whole structure and come to grips with its own past as well as the way in which it can be integrated in the need to build revolutionary organisation in our present structures.

### THE A. L. F. IN A REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE

Space will not allow an analysis of the position of the ALP. Sufficient to say that it exists and that it holds the loyalty -- the deep loyalty even -- of a large section of the (older) working class. It is insufficient to simply ignore and "expose" the A. L. F. The structures of the ALP are based in suburbia (though often simply as a power structure controlling local government) and in the unions. A pedagogic attitude towards the ALP as a form of organisation is necessary -- we cannot afford to simply ignore or denounce it.

The ALP has been busy at the last Federal Conference in modernising itself and readapting its past attitudes. Significant was the recognition of the demand for more control and power in everyday life among the workers. Speeches by Holding and Cairns pointed to this. But still in essence their proposals were in the context of containing this demand within the given structures and of developing forms of "workers participation", which of course only serve to supplement the dictatorship of the boss in factory, office or school. Yet it is significant that in the high counsels of the A. L. F. such considerations as the desire of workers for power should be recognised and even accommodated in policies worked out for the electorate. Revolutionary socialists must take these demands forward to a demand for workers control and self-management....

### IN CONCLUSION ...

We have in the past 18 months spent much space on discussing the evolution of the Left. We have, we believe, influenced it. But there are still problems -- enormous problems, which are essentially questions of the very framework within which we discuss. It is always necessary to go beyond these self-imposed limits and ask how we can really begin to think in terms of a revolution in this country. The problem of getting tens of thousands on the streets; the need to organise action committees; the need to build a revolutionary socialist party with -- let us be modest -- 15 or 20% of the vote: all these go beyond our present conceptual framework. They are questions all must consider. Let us hope these few pages will start a discussion that can begin to pose solutions.

DF. 4 August, 1969.

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### FRANCE: THE STUDENT MOVEMENT ONE YEAR AFTER THE MAY REVOLUTION

(This article, translated from SOUS LE DRAPEAU DU SOCIALISME No. 48, May-June 1969, should be of interest to student militants in Australia who, although facing somewhat different problems, will see the problems of the revolutionary student movement as bearing on many of the questions they themselves are discussing ... Editor.)

This article will first examine the present problems of the student movement and then have a glance back and a look at more fundamental questions.

### THE STUDENT MOVEMENT TODAY

You don't have to be an expert to understand that today, on the first anniversary of the May revolutionary crisis, the student movement is in full disarray. After having been the "detonator" of the movement in May, it is now finding it difficult to follow a coherent line of development and is therefore becoming smaller, little by little.

This is a very grave situation and demands an explanation. Recall that in May the UNEF (French National Students' Union) represented the desires and demands of the students; the present situation seems incredible. The basic explanation lies in an examination of the role of the different political groups which have played a part in the leadership of the student movement: the Maoist organisations, the former JCR, ESU, anarchist groups etc. These comrades consider the students as a simple manoeuvrable mass which became radical in May for different reasons, which played a certain role

in relation to the working class, but whose demands are essentially marked by the petty-bourgeois origin of this milieu.

Once the universities recommenced after the holidays, the pattern appeared: the mythical belief that May was going to repeat itself replaced political analysis and much effort was spent in the student movement to separate reformists from revolutionaries. Organisationally, anarchistic ideas triumphed: autonomous action committees both politically and structurally, disinterested in the problem of the UNEF, etc. The current idea was that the student movement, given its petty bourgeois origin, did not need a trade union-type organisation but a mass political organisation, a role which UNEF should fill. In fact what has emerged is UNEF as a political organisation which is unable to grasp the aspirations of the mass of students and to undertake new struggles. All these problems

1. JCR -- Revolutionary Communist Youth. Supports "United Secretariat" of Fourth International. Banned by de Gaulle -- now in Ligne Communiste and around paper Rouge. ESU -- United Socialist Students -- linked with PSU (United Socialist Party) -- controls UNEF.

were posed in December 1968 at the UNEF Congress in Marseilles and our comrades there, with others, spoke strongly of the dangers.

Let's say right now that all the impasses and illusions in the student movement are mainly due to the reformist policies of the working class organisations which offer no alternative to a sterile activism or a reformism in the image of those workers' organisations. Let's add also that the petty bourgeois origin of the students sometimes results in imbecilic political stances and disorganisation, but that it does not explain these phenomena, even if it gives them a certain coloration.

#### ROOTS OF THE MOVEMENT

The quarrels of the student movement on these questions are far from being ones among arm-chair theoreticians. The analysis of the student movement directly concerns the political strategy to be adopted in that movement.

We believe that the student movement expresses the revolt of a social group confronted with the perspective which capitalist society offers it, and therefore is fundamentally different from a movement of intellectuals which ideologically grasps the need for revolution. It is clear that although an ideological crisis exists and is developing in the university, it is only a consequence of the structural crisis of the capitalist university. This crisis has its roots in the rationalisation of the university necessitated by the changes which have occurred in the capitalist mode of production. Today the university must supply French capitalism with

a mass of middle-layer technicians, with a level of skill able to cope with the complexities of modern technology. That means a total break with the old Mandarin university, which had principally to disengage and train the political and technical elite to supply the State apparatus.

However, the moment the social recruitment to higher education is widened (which means a notable rise in the cultural and technical level of these layers), the grip of big business on the university is strengthened and its authoritarian control accentuated. The feeling of being only a cog in a wheel was certainly a major cause of the May revolt. Today the student is far from having the assured social position he had only 20 years ago. Professional training is today increasingly an undertaking run by big capital, in which those involved have less and less say.

The May movement developed on this base and fundamentally expressed the desire of the students to take their destiny in their own hands, although with all sorts of illusions. This was spread through the commissions which have sat in all the French universities on strike.

All the demands advanced expressed, in a more or less confused way, this desire to decide their own fate.

As well, the result of massive occupation in the streets or in the universities was that the student social group solidified. Those who try to divide the students into revolutionaries and reformists for all time

forget that the "reformist" students formed commissions on the university and went into the streets when they felt it necessary. They also forget that political awareness developed through experience of repression was complemented by the experience of the self-managerial occupation of the universities.

No social layer, when it awakens to the need for revolution, does so in the abstract. It starts from its own particular problems, by discovering how these problems can be solved only by a revolution in the mode of production. There is no revolutionary inheritance blessed upon one and not the other social milieu. Socialism must be seen as a concrete response to the problems of the student movement and not as a vague propaganda slogan.

It is true that there were reformist illusions in the May student movement, but that was a stage in the growth of political awareness of a part of the students, and not a coherent political and theoretical position. If events had gone another way, there is no doubt that these reformist illusions would have completely disappeared. That said, these illusions are today the basis on which the so-called moderate organisations and the UEC (Communist Students' Union) play their part.

The incontestable homogeneity of the student movement confronted with the perspectives the bourgeoisie offer it and the students' conditions of daily existence, together form the objective basis for political action by revolutionaries. For today

the trend for the students to become proletarians when they begin to work means that it is less and less possible to conceive of the students having objective interests in maintaining the capitalist system.

There is a growing homogeneity of students against the capitalist management of the university. That does not mean that this covers every section of the student movement. It is, however, dominant -- and it is on that basis that we must develop a political line for the student movement.

In this we fundamentally disagree with those who see the students as a privileged layer, later to become oppressive cadres of society. (It's true for a few, but untrue for the students as a whole.) For those who see students as a privileged layer, political activity in the university means handing out revolutionary propaganda... Sure, they speak in terms of mobilising the mass of students -- but the slogans, the objectives are such that the actions are really undertaken by militant specialists and are in fact those of a minority.

For if you believe that students become revolutionary through "ideology", and those who are not revolutionaries are reactionaries, there can be no basis for mass struggles, and you simply limit your action to vague propaganda.

#### THE EXPERIENCE OF ACTION COMMITTEES

Action committees have often offered the mass of students the perspective of becoming revolutionary militants, whereas the mass of students await concrete objectives for struggle (examinations,

scholarships, organisation of studies, etc.) All that has been offered is the perspective of a Political University, seen as a means of training new militants, as a limited preserve of specialists who will train others. It shows the confusion of those who propose it (militants of ROUGE<sup>2</sup>, certain Maoists) concerning the role of revolutionary organisations whose obvious goal is to train militants in battles and develop propaganda around their theses, and, on the other hand, the mass student organisation whose goal must be to lead struggles against the offensive of the regime.

The Action Committees are symbolic of this confusion and are involved in the concept of building a mass political organisation in the place of the trade unions. It is to be noted that the slogan of the Political University is no longer on the agenda and that the Action Committees are withering away. It would be wrong to be smug over the results of the absurd positions of these comrades, for the failure of their line has resulted in the discouragement of the student movement.

Their refusal to organise parallel recommencement of the universities, given the delay by the administration in October 1963, so as to give structure to a mass student movement in October, resulted in the beginnings of a break between the student movement and the revolutionaries. While ties remained between them during the battle over exams in October, these rapidly deteriorated given lack of common objectives in struggle, errors and minority actions. The ideology of

spontaneity played a very harmful role during this period, encouraging the belief that May was going to reproduce itself and that all that was needed was some provocation to unleash the cycle of provocation-repression-mobilisation.

This ideology was widespread in the Action Committees when they were alive; it expressed part of what May meant in the student movement — that is, the revolt against authority both university (professors, examinations, proctorial boards, etc.) and political (healthy criticism of the bureaucratisation of workers' organisations). If, however, this criticism helped the movement to progress in May, it became a brake in October because of the failure to perceive the qualitative change in the relationship of forces and the need to organise and for discussion of political objectives.

Unfortunately comrades claiming to be revolutionary marxists hopped on the bandwagon of this movement, while warning for tactical reasons against illusions in spontaneity. This was particularly flagrant with ROUGE, which espoused illusions in spontaneity until February with the aim of winning new layers of militants because these positions formed the dominant ideology of the movement, and then switched to a "Leninist" visage when they felt discouragement rising and the need for organisation reappearing. Since then these comrades have been theorising away the present difficulties by saying that no permanent structure of the mass movement is possible and that revolutionary militants must therefore leave aside the animation

2. ROUGE — paper of the "Communist League", formed by JCR and the Frank group.

of the mass movement and concentrate on the formation of a vanguard. It should be added that the ideology of spontaneity arises also because the students are difficult to organise because they can be ballotted, sometimes month by month, from one department to another, and that that fact adds to the difficulties arising from the petty bourgeois origin of the students. Only the conscious intervention of revolutionary marxist militants can even begin to combat these difficulties by giving a degree of permanency and coherence to the political line.

The resignation of the ROUGE group before these tasks is a real brake on the development of struggles.

The Action Committees which emerged from the May mobilisation have withered away because of their failure to adopt a line corresponding to the changes in the political situation and their continuing with the same propaganda as though the relations between the students and the revolutionary militants remain the same as they were in May 1963. Hence the inept ultra-left and adventurist slogans: "The bourgeoisie is weak", and "The bourgeoisie is scared"...

Another theory is that of the Maoists, who see the main field of intervention as the ideological crisis of the bourgeoisie. True, this crisis

exists, especially in the universities, but it is not as developed as the structural crisis of the regime.

These comrades see the victory of the "Cultural Revolution" in China as meaning that the dominant world ideology today is the proletarian ideology, and that therefore it is sufficient to reveal this ideology for it to take hold. The result is an incredible voluntarism based on verbal denunciation, which has forgotten that only mass struggles, starting from the illusions of the masses, can develop political consciousness, and no crying of such formulae as "Chase the cop out of your head."

#### THE FAURE REFORM AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Without examining it in detail, we can say that this reform<sup>3</sup> has two goals. First, political: the recovery for the regime of those involved in the May revolt, with a vocabulary adequate for that purpose but emptying the advanced demands of May of their content to make them weapons for the achievement of the regime's objectives. Second: a more long-term effort at rationalising the capitalist university and setting up a "participationist" system submerging the struggles and finally supplying the regime with a social base.

The objectives are clear: to make the top-heavy university establishment more manageable, to adapt it to its functions and to put it

3. Reform of higher education under de Gaulle's Education Minister Faure after May 1963 — based on "participation".

under the control of big business, to organise a system of concurrent universities, to allow the students to manage the minor details and thus feel a part of the system which dominates them.

This decentralisation of administrative management is accompanied by a more developed centralisation concerning the fundamental choices, the "Conseils d'unités" being often only able to make proposals, while the Ministry decides.

The UEC (Communist Students' Union) is taking part in the reformed institutions, approving their "positive" aspects (which?), and believe they can impose a democratic co-management in the framework of the system.

What is most to be criticised in their participation in the university elections is their illusion in co-management, the illusion of an entente with the teaching body which is often conservative and reactionary. The UEC, by entering into the Faculty Councils, perpetuates the parliamentary myth and puts on a secondary plane the mass struggle which alone can make the regime retreat. That said, the Faure elections have allowed the temperature of the student body to be measured. If the results are not a victory for the student movement, they are also no victory for the government. More than half the students followed the call for a boycott, perhaps not all for political reasons, but in any case because they felt that these elections would in no way relieve their problems.

In fact, it seems more and more that the Faure reforms will not even solve the problems of higher education. They only take up the former concerns of the old Fauchet reforms in new forms (selection, outrageous specialisation, total power with administration, etc.)

The government has also been unable to create a mass "reformist" organisation in the university able to serve as a support for its aims. On the other hand, the errors of the student movement have disoriented the students who were ready to place their confidence in it as they did in the UNEF in May. It can be asked if the boycott of the elections was politically correct, and if tactically participation with mass resignations afterwards would not have been better understood and constituted a strong political response to the regime.

Some experiences on these lines in the provinces showed that they paid off and that undoubtedly the UNEF would have won a majority. The struggle against participation can start only from political considerations such as: "Participation in the university is only the first step towards participation in the enterprises". But that has to be shown and understood by the mass of students. This must be done beginning from the problems posed by participation in the university by proposing other forms of independent organisation to represent the students (general assemblies by faculty, etc.) We will take up this question later on.

Today, many students are open to "reformism": far from separating ourselves from them we must lead them in actions which will allow them to overcome this reformism. The most striking fact about the present situation is that certain movements and strikes have been provoked by moderate anti-leftist elements who have been pushed by the logic of the mobilisation without drawing all the conclusions. The failings of the organisations which led the May struggle leave the way open for these moderate organisations, but even there nothing is decided, and the UNEF could undoubtedly regain the leadership in these sectors. The growing discontent with the results of the Faure laws is opening the eyes of a growing number of students who were mistaken in their hopes in the reform. It is once more possible on this question for the UNEF to become a combat organisation which will lead mass struggles and advance through experience of battles to a genuine transitional programme for the university.

#### REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM: WHY AND HOW?

We must now formulate a revolutionary union line for the problems of the student movement. We do not intend to substitute a vanguard organisation, a "Red Union", for the mass student union. We believe the attempt to do that was the reason for the failure of the

Action Committees and the line of a "mass political movement" of ROUGE, ESU etc. . . That line failed because it attempted to found a political organisation through a union organisation. Certain comrades, on the basis that students are not a social class, reject the idea of a student union. A whole ultra-leftist current which developed after May (Maoists, anarchists, ROUGE etc.) did not take account of the changed situation in the student movement or of the homogeneity growing there, and forgot that the idea of unionism had never for marxists been attached mechanically to that of a class but rather to socio-professional categories. What marks a union's orientation are the objective interests of the layer envisaged, and for that reason the workers' unions must fight for the socialist revolution beginning from the problems of each category. Today, by the same token, the solution of university problems is increasingly a part of the need for a change in the regime, and therefore the objective needs of the students are linked directly with the socialist reorganisation of society. For that reason, the revolutionary unionist line, placing the union specifically on the terrain of class struggle, can lead the struggle in the university without falling into the trap of reformism and corporativism. The students, as against the petty bourgeoisie, see their historical future before them and not behind them; and therefore a "Poujadist"<sup>4</sup> prejudice need not grip them if revolutionaries have

4. Poujade was the extreme right-wing leader of the small shopkeepers and peasants in the 1950s.



a coherent policy. Today, to refuse to fight in defence of the students' interests is to work outside this milieu, it being understood, of course, that the interests of students greatly surpass the simple material conditions of work and concern the general organisation of the university ideologically, socially and politically. We cannot refuse to do union work on the ground that the experience of working class unions is marked by reformism (something which arises for other reasons besides simply the union structure).

Today the problem of a union is made concrete in the construction of the UNEF. In fact, only the UNEF, because it represents the capitalisation of struggles in the student body, and the part it has played in relation to the workers as well as to the students, can be the basis for the unification of the student movement.

The main struggle at the moment is for UNEF to continue to exist. The UNEF today is only a framework, and many militants have been fed-up with the post-May UNEF (a closed camp in which the mini-groups confront one another, heavy and bureaucratic structures, etc.)

The policy of the ESU national bureau has been marked more often by the desire to keep control of the UNEF machine than to build the organisation. In the provinces the May revolt often found expression outside the UNEF (as when the UEC controlled it).

After the role it has played, however, the UNEF still has to be built, and any possibility of the student movement intervening in the class struggle is dependent on that primary task being fulfilled. That of course means that the UNEF cannot be transformed into a revolutionary political organisation which will be under the thumb of some mini-group.

The student union will be built only through the struggles it leads. The only strategy possible today, therefore, is to break with both parliamentary reformism and minority activism through the slogan of student control. That is to say that the decisions on the whole of university life must be taken by students meeting in general assemblies in faculties, years, lecture rooms, labs., etc.

As for questions of management, we must call for publicity on the facts of management without assuming these functions, as that would lead to insurmountable contradictions. That cannot be done everywhere at the same time; much depends on the level of mobilisation and different local situations. But the line of student control, with the struggles that that supposes against the authorities, is a concrete response to participation. The full national achievement of student control can be achieved only in an intense period of struggle and can open the way, as in May, to the self-management of the university. Student control can right now allow important struggles to begin, in particular on the question of

examinations, selections, power of elected councils in the universities.

The collective resulting from the general assemblies must organise the struggles to give victory to the desires of the students. The role of the student union is clear: make proposals to the student general assemblies, give the necessary political explanations, point out the juncture of each partial struggle with all those undertaken at the same time.

The urgent task today is to draw up, through struggle, a transitional programme uniting the struggle of students, staff, research workers, technicians etc.; a programme which integrates with the historical aspiration of the working class.

#### STUDENT-WORKER ALLIANCE

The problem of the juncture of the student movement and the workers' movement includes the basic political problems of orientation argued among the different tendencies of the workers' movement (stalinism, anarchism, trotskyism etc.) In May the worker-student juncture was made both outside and through the workers' organisations — "through" in that the unions have, for good or evil, managed to control the movement.

One thing is sure today — the most combative section of the working class still has, with many reservations, confidence in the CGT? To ignore that fact is to fall into voluntarism and risk being incomprehensible to the working class, because it is through the CGT that the revolutionary worker current will emerge.

It is little use handing out leaflets telling the "truth" when there is not much activity in the student movement. No, the link with the workers' struggles is essentially political, through the fact that the students fight the same social structure — capitalism.

There can also be no question of subordinating the students' struggles to those of the workers' movement. By adopting an economist line in the university based on the illusion that the productive forces have stopped growing and that the bourgeoisie is about to launch a frontal attack on the working class (it seems there are to be a million unemployed soon!) these comrades conclude that the students will be first to feel this attack. As a result they develop a policy of "immediate defence of students' interests" without understanding the breadth of the problems — their ideological, cultural and social dimensions. They ignore completely the importance of the anti-imperialist struggles as key to political awareness. The best demonstration of the reformist policy of student union leaders is the failure of the UNEF leadership to develop a coherent revolutionary policy. If this organisation functioned democratically, with tendency struggle, it could play an important role against trade union bureaucracies. It is possible for revolutionary marxists to lead student struggles — and that is something of great importance in the development of the class struggle in France. To give the students a revolutionary union organisation to carry on the battles which will inevitably take place is the task of the hour.

J-L LETOURMY, April 1969

BOOK REVIEW

THE HORNSEY AFFAIR - by students and staff of  
Hornsey College of Art.

(Penguin Special)

[ Students and staff at Hornsey College of Art occupied the school in London last year and ran it themselves under a system of self-management for several months. We publish here a review of a book written by the participants in this example of self-management. The book is not yet available in Australia. ]

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During the 1848 of Europe's young revolutionaries -- in 1968 -- the most original, the most radical and portentous student rebellion in Britain was the liberation of Hornsey College of Art. In one memorable respect, this went boldly beyond such rebellion anywhere, -- the old regime was not just abolished but for a time actually replaced. The students -- and their allies among the staff -- seized Hornsey, managed it themselves (the canteen as well as the studio) and set about demolishing the old education and elaborating new liberating courses.

Their action was essentially an anticipation of the next revolution and the new society. What they reached out for and took -- as fleeting as the moment was -- was socialism. The writers of this book well realise that the rebels of this North London College were harbingers and forerunners. I quote from the preface:

"For although the Hornsey revolution was a small happening located in the margins of the social order, it was not small in its meaning, nor in the courageous energy and imagination of those who made it, nor in the implications for the future of all of us."

This is typical of the whole preface. And Tom Nairn (a member of the Hornsey staff) in his introduction emphasises that Hornsey demonstrates how we all can abolish our alienation. To quote just a short paragraph:

"People ask constantly: 'Can it be spread?' I don't know whether it will spread to other parts of the education system or beyond. But

there is no doubt whatever it will spread everywhere, into every crevice of the kind of society we have."

The self-management of Hornsey began on May 28th., 1968. What was their old regime like?

THE ANCIEN REGIME

Entry to this art college was by irrelevant, class-biased academic examinations, and once in, the students were divided into diploma and vocational streams. The 'diploma' students were a small minority doing certain additional, formal academic subjects and destined for middle management. The 'vocational' students -- a large proportion of whom were working class students because this course demanded slightly lower school qualifications -- were destined to be the technicians and executors of the plans of the diploma men. So Hornsey duplicated and reinforced class divisions.

Hornsey students were dispersed in ten different locations. The only canteen -- at the main building -- was only open for short periods during the day and closed promptly at 6pm. In the canteen, a partition divided students from staff.

The students pursued a 9 to 6 timetable and were forced too early into courses of rigid specialisation in old techniques in an age of technological advance and the combining in the practice of the skills of art and design. In no sphere did the student have any say. Needless to say, many students took the traditional way out of artists -- ultra-individualistic, extremist work.

It was possible for creative and valuable projects to be carried through at Hornsey -- and Hornsey was famous for some of them -- but only if the authorities sanctioned and supported the project. Without this nothing was possible. Indeed, the arbitrary caprices and whims of the authorities meant many schemes and projects of the students were starved of funds and facilities. Or else bureaucratic rules prevented the launching of a project.

"Separation" was the essence of the old Hornsey -- separation of the students from each other and from the staff, separation of the students from the conditions necessary for the fulfilment of their talent and ideas.

On May 28th. the students pushed aside the old regime and ended this separation. A stunting regime had been arbitrarily imposed too long on precisely those students who will freely throw themselves into tasks they are convinced are important, who desire to develop all their talents to the utmost, who want to control their work.

The events in France were riveting the students' attention when the college authorities gave permission for an all-night sit-in and discussion on May 28th. at the main building. Students had called the meeting because of the refusal of the college authorities to waive the students unions presidents study commitments and

allow the union to dispose of its funds as it saw fit.

But the form and content of the sit-in quickly escalated. The authorities' attempt to shut down the college switchboard and canteen for the duration of the sit-in was foiled and the students began to operate both. (They were to do so for six weeks). In the general assembly that went on into the night, increasing emphasis was given to the utter absence of student -- or staff -- power in the administration and more and more speakers expressed their profound discontent with the content and arrangement of courses. Clearly, not only did they want student power for abstract democratic reasons, but because they wanted to change and shape the education they were getting.

After the first twenty-four hours, the students decided they would retain control of the college until: (1) staff-student government (with right of recall) had been set up and recognised; and (2) a new curriculum was instituted. But they did not wait for the authorities to capitulate to these demands -- they put them into effect themselves.

The general assembly of students and staff were the source of all power. Commissions were set up to carry decisions. And the 'new' education began.

On the third day, of the occupation the staff-student general assembly adopted a document beginning:

"Hornsey College of Art is now in the full control of the students. The students are free to implement a new educational structure immediately..."

And after outlining the general principles of a new educational structure, went on:

"It is proposed that a new

educational structure along the lines of that described above is immediately implemented as a continuation of the sit-in itself. The problems brought up during the sit-in will thus be resolved by direct action rather than by negotiation. It is proposed that the whole existing educational structure which has proved inadequate be ignored."

On the fifth day of the occupation, the general assembly adopted an open letter which began:

"The students of Hornsey College of Art have taken over the direct control of the College, its buildings and facilities for the purpose of implementing a 'new' educational structure."

The student-staff assembly reigned supreme. Rotas were organised for all the necessary jobs like canteen, security, etc., a press office created, delegations and speakers organised to go out to other colleges and outside meetings. Seminars sat continuously elaborating a critique of the old education and drawing up the general outlines of the 'new' education at Hornsey -- maximum, egalitarian entry, emphasis on mastery of techniques and versatility in training, encouragement of free associations of staff and students to carry through joint projects, etc., etc. And dozens of projects were started and completed during this six-weeks occupation.

#### LIFE IN A SELF-MANAGED COLLEGE.

What was it like to live in such a college is recaptured in magnificent personal reminiscences which are interspersed in the detailed narrative. When people ask: how will self-management work? is it possible? -- hand them a copy of the "Hornsey Affair".

Fifty staffmembers were sacked -- out of a staff of 300 -- and eight students expelled. The 'liberal studies' department at the college was abolished

completely. The college was fortified internally and externally .. against its own students and staff....

Six weeks after this self-managing free association was at an end, the college shut down for three and one half months, and the old authorities reinstated and their vicarious Restoration begun.

And a sham scheme of "participation" was set up for the students..

How had this come to pass?

This question is not really raised or answered by the compilers of this book -- the radical leaders of the occupation. In fact, the most confused and unsatisfactory part of the book deals with the period between victorious liberating conquest of the college and the repressive restoration.

What happened?

The Hornsey occupation had erupted and developed quite spontaneously. It was quite new and original; consequently the Hornsey comrades were unconscious and inexperienced revolutionaries. Neither the Hornsey students as a whole, nor any large group among them, nor any of the English revolutionaries who visited them and gave them useless advice, realised that they had created a revolutionary alternative to existing social organisation under capitalism. Such a creation carries with it certain imperatives which must be obeyed if it is to survive and flourish (though even then objective conditions might be against it.) The students and staff were not conscious of what had to be done to ensure a chance of survival. If such attempts at self-management -- and Hornsey was more, it was a trial run -- are to succeed, men and women who have a clear consciousness of the sign-

ificance of the action, of the requirements of success, and of possible dangers are needed. This is the business of an association and a paper of modern revolutionary socialists.

Obviously, in order to survive and flourish, Hornsey under self-management needed imitators and allies -- it had to spread. If egalitarian entry into the college was to be achieved, then the whole education system would have to be changed. If Hornsey was to survive it needed finance from elsewhere. If it was to resist a State invasion or siege, allies were essential -- the Hornsey rebels numbered less than a thousand. True, they aroused art students all over the country to support them. Guildford School of Art actually imitated their occupation though not their self-management. Yet they did not realise or want to realise, that a wider mobilisation was necessary. But this narrowness, this concern for Hornsey and art education only rose out of the very strength of the desire among Hornsey rebels to change the world right now. A spontaneous natural, revolutionary localism gripped Hornsey.

As the authors of this book explain it:

"In part, this myopia, because really altering an environment is often impossible without a host of other wider changes. It was myopia, and also influenced by those pressures which saw an educational debate as limited and 'safe', while a political one would have been dangerous and 'irresponsible'. But in part, it corresponded to revolutionary necessity. Profound changes in one's immediate environment may be unrealisable without the wider revolution. However, it is no less true today -- in western conditions -- that the wider revolution is unrealisable without the hope of these immediate changes, without the vivid conviction of a mutation at the very roots of living.

"The revolution of day-to-day being can't wait on the first Five Year Plan, the right decisions from above at the earliest possible, reasonable opportunity. Not any longer, not in our time."

Eventually, isolated as they were, and without a revolutionary recognition of what they had embarked on, it was natural that mystifications about British society should begin to reassert themselves in the minds of the rebels. Two of the most widely accepted mystifications about the British Way-of-Life are that to take up a hard intransigent position in negotiations is irrational and paranoid and that negotiated compromises to conflicts are right and proper and indeed the traditional British way of solving conflicts. The Hornsey rebels accepted both of these mystifications -- and began negotiations for a compromise settlement.

Even on the third day of the usurpation the Hornsey students had accepted a staff proposal for a 13-man commission (6 students, 6 staff and the Principal) to draw up a solution acceptable to everyone (including the authorities!) -- though that decision was not acted upon immediately. However, by July 12th, the students accepting staff counsel an 'being reasonable' -- sealed an agreement with the authorities. In return for the end of the occupation, there was to be a return to the status quo ante and a truce, while a joint staff-student commission drew up reforms. The students pinned great hopes to this commission whose powers and status were left very vague. In the event, the authorities, once they had reoccupied the college, broke the agreement and completely ignored the commission while they got on with

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their repression of a stunned and dispersed movement.

"La negotiation, c'est la ruse", (negotiations are a trap), the Paris students chanted in May, and Hornsey proved them right.

As for the present, the authors make it clear that the Hornsey movement is far from

dead. The Hornsey students know that self-management is possible and many yearn to relive those days of May-June -- without their illusions and better prepared. They have dared and will dare again.

MICHAEL QUINN(london), 22. 6. 69.

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CRISIS IN

ITALY ...

a statement by the International Secretariat of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the Fourth International ...

The IS having discussed the present situation in Italy at length reached the following conclusions and recommendations :

a// the persistence of revolutionary activity among the Italian working class students and other layers of Italian society, has precipitated a political and social crisis which threatens to grow increasingly greater after the holiday period and during the renewal of collective agreements for five million workers.

The present governmental crisis is one aspect of this more general crisis.

b// - the margin of manoeuvre of the bourgeoisie in a democratic framework and parliamentary framework have become very limited and risk even being completely exhausted after the holidays if there is new, grave revolutionary agitation.

That fact is forcing the bourgeois circles to consider as a solution a "strong" government, while certain of them are even considering an extra-parliamentary government based on the Army, whose goal would be to break the revolutionary upsurge in the country by repression and demoralisation. Despite the many difficulties for the achievement of such a project, this threat must not be minimised.

c// - This danger however can be easily overcome if an offensive of proletarian forces united the country with the aim of taking power and establish a regime transitional to socialism. The objective conditions for such an offensive are in reality excellent.

A united front of Italian proletarian forces must therefore fight for a Workers Government of workers parties based on the trade unions and committees created with this aim in the factories, public service, universities, districts, and villages...

d// - Our Italian comrades must develop this line strongly among the mass of Italian militants, especially the CPI Left, the unions and in the PSUIP.

They should at the same time including through tenacious individual propaganda, to expand the numerical size of their group, to extend it nationally, and have it function organisationally in as serious and militant a way as possible.

The existence of an ideologically armed revolutionary marxist group can influence all revolutionary forces and help orientate them to a victorious struggle.

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A LETTER TO READERS

DELAY IN PUBLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL is published late in August this time due to pressures of work on those who are involved in its publication. To compensate however for the long interval since the publication of the May-June issue, we intend next month to publish two booklets: the first, the long article by Michel Pablo THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. This covers the period 1938-1948 and fills a gap in the history of the world labour movement that has not been tackled in writing from a revolutionary marxist view. Denis Francis will be writing an introduction of the booklet and will cover the period 1948-1968 and the development of the Fourth International in that period.

The next issue of INTERNATIONAL, which will deal especially with the new world situation following the US decision to withdraw and the Freeth statement of a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. We hope it will be ready the end of September.

To those readers who have subscribed in the past few months, our apologies - we will send them all publications regularly over the coming weeks.

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PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST

Three publications of interest from the Left in the past few weeks are worth the attention of readers. The ARENA just out contains some very interesting material, including an article by Humphrey McQueen on Racism and the Working Class. The latest AUSTRALIAN LEFT REVIEW also contains a number of important articles. A comparison with the old Communist Review of 8 or 9 years ago leaves no comparison. Finally, TRIBUNE for August 20 is history-making in its own way: the front-page editorial in fact condemns the common Gorton-Brejtnev anti-Chinese front developing, while there is a strong affirmation of their opposition to the invasion of Czechoslovakia inside...

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INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST MEETING POSTPONED

Comrades and readers will recall that we announced the international conference of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency was to be held in June. Unfortunately the arrest of a number of delegates by the police of the country where the conference was to be held forced the postponement of the conference. All comrades have since been released.

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REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST ALLIANCE FORMED IN FRANCE

At a conference in Lyon recently, the French Section of the FI (Revolutionary Marxist Tendency) and groups of comrades who have emerged from the French CP, especially the Communist Students Union (UEC) united to form the Revolutionary Marxist Alliance.

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INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS

The following INTERNATIONAL publications are still available or will become available in the coming weeks :

THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REVOLUTION by Denis Freney... a coverage of the development of the Southern African Revolution and an evaluation of its present progress.... 24 pages, offset print : 20 cents a copy.

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (1938-1948) by Michel Pablo, with an introduction by Denis Francis covering the period 1948-1968... a basic document for analysis of the war period and of the vital post-war years. Vital for all those who wish to gain an understanding of revolutionary marxism and of the present situation of the Fourth International and its different tendencies.... ONLY 20 cents for 36 pages.

LIBERATION OF WOMEN AND OTHER ESSAYS by Michel Pablo... essays on the way to the liberation of women, on Freud and marxism, on dialectics in Plato and on the evolution of Catholic Church ... only 25 cents.

SUBSCRIPTION TO INTERNATIONAL : ONE DOLLAR FOR SIX ISSUES.

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ALL INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS ARE NOW AVAILABLE FROM LIBERATION, 368 PITTSWATER ROAD, HARBOR, NSW-2096.... A WIDE RANGE OF SOCIALIST, ANTI-WAR, MARXIST AND OTHER LITERATURE ALSO AVAILABLE PLUS WIDE RANGE OF POSTERS, BADGES, PENDANTS ETC....

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SEND ALL SUBSCRIPTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS TO A. McLEAN, PO BOX 13, BALMAIN, NSW-2041 ..make cheques, etc.. payable to A. McLean..

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