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 * WORKERS ' FIGHT *
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DISCUSSION ON THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

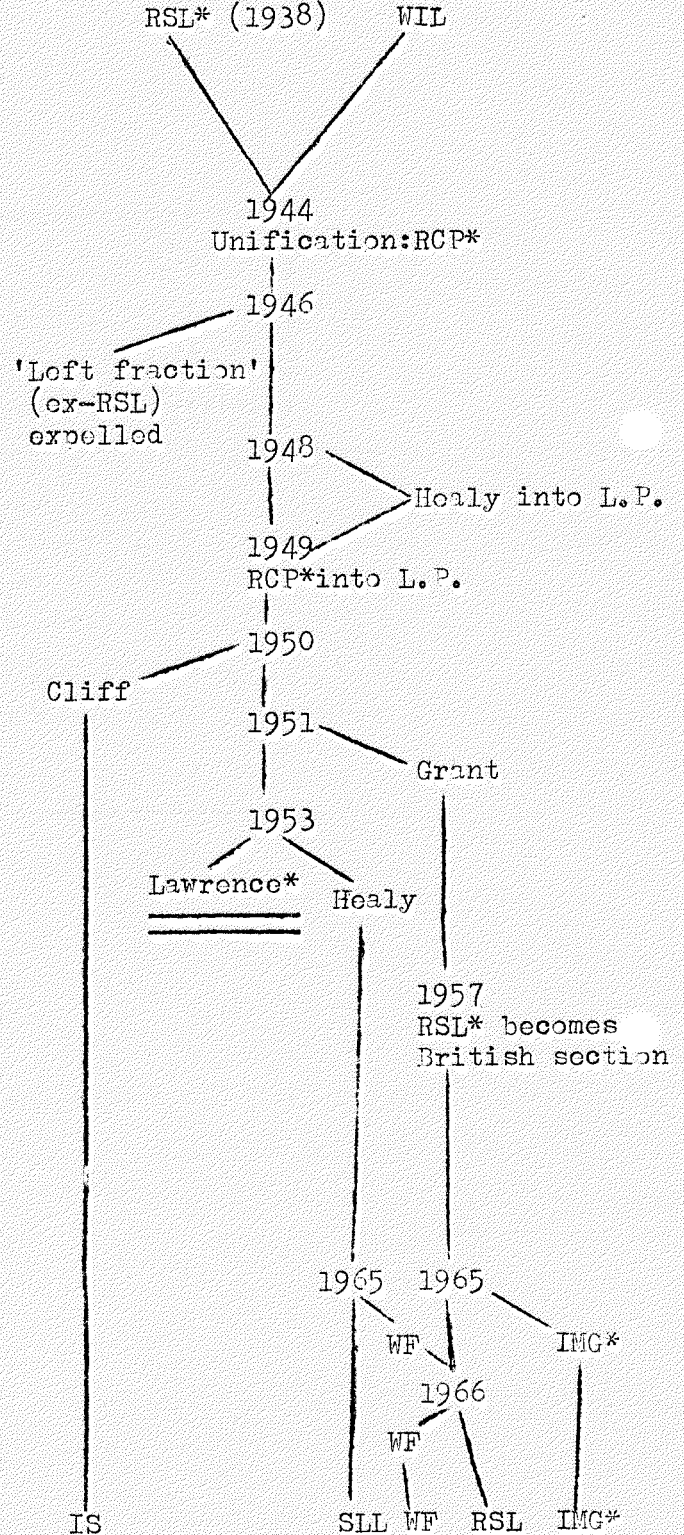
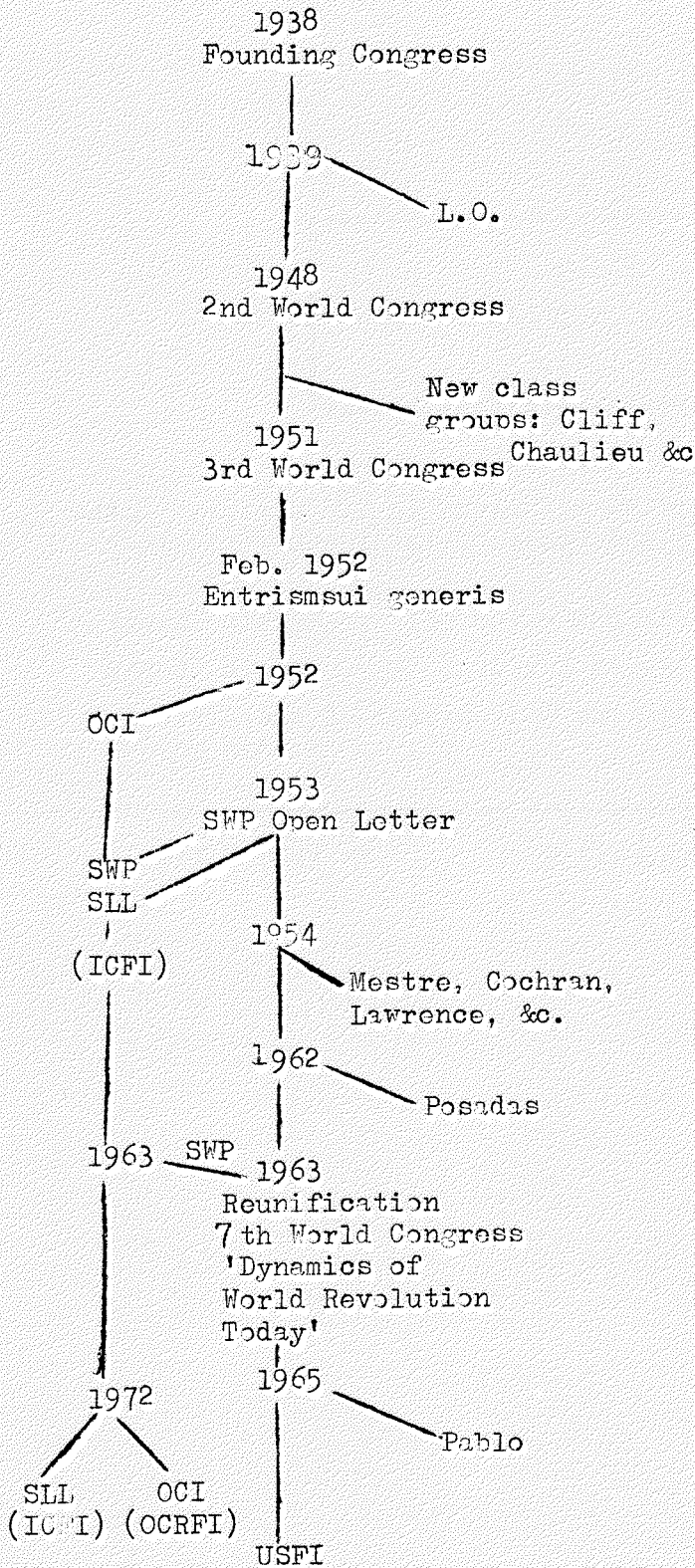
- P.1 Dates, names, splits & fusions in the history of the P.I. (to help in the study of the Theses and other documents).
- P.2 'Trotskyism' in French - the OCI Martin Thomas
- P.7 The French Trotskyist Movement Martin Thomas
- P.18 What is wrong with the "Adventures of the Red Mole" Martin Thomas

P.19 Philosophy and Education Neal Smith

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THE BRITISH MOVEMENT

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* = official British section

The picture has been slightly simplified, and certain developments left out, in order to make it clearer.

T H E O. C. I.

To many comrades, repelled by the antics of the IMG and the other sections of the Fourth International, the idea of a disembodied "struggle against Pabloism" no doubt seems attractive. But we must ask: struggle against 'Pabloism', for what alternative? There is no crystalline 'uncontaminated Trotskyism' to counterpose to it: for world events since 1938 require explanation somehow.

The actual organised alternative to the USFI is the ICFI/ICRFI - producing only a crude, primitive, and distorted rehash of '1938 Trotskyism'; incapable of analysing reality before their eyes (as is shown by their incomprehension of the Cuban revolution); and guilty of political errors no less gross than the FI's. The record of the ICFI was until recently clear before our eyes, in the shape of the Socialist Labour League. Now, however, there is an alternative center for the "struggle against 'Pabloism'", in the OCRFI. If the evident stupidities of the SLL in our own 'parish' are too much to take, the OCI, at least, has the advantage of being on another country and in another language!

But the OCI shares responsibility for the line of the ICFI/ICRFI, right up to their recent split with the SLL. They are responsible for their present 'Israelis and Arabs unite and fight' line on Palestine (even worse than 'Protestants and Catholics unite and fight' in Ireland).

To remove a part of the language veil that shields the errors of the OCI, I have translated (and cut slightly) an article from 'Rouge', paper of the French Section of the Fourth International, of 12th February '72.

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812 delegates from 51 departments (figures given by the organisers) participated in the 'National Conference for the Workers' Government', called by the AJS-OCI on 5 and 6 February....

.... The majority of the speakers, in fact, came to the rostrum to explain in what way they had - or had not - carried on the preparatory campaign for the Conference, finishing up with the ritual proclamation: "Only the workers' government can satisfy our demands".

The nature of this government, its composition, the very function of the slogan, was not discussed. One has the right, however to wait for some clarifications: the Lambertist ** line has had some twists and turns recently. A definition would have been welcome.

WORKERS' GOVERNMENT - SOCIALIST - COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT?

For a long time the Lambertists understood by 'workers' government' a Socialist Party - Communist Party government ***. In line with that conception they put forward the slogan of "a single working class candidate" in the presidential elections of May 1969 with its corollary: "one of the two working class candidates should withdraw!" One remembers that on that

** Lambertist: Pierre Lambert is the leader of the OCI (my footnote).

occasion the AJS-OCI undertook an incredible campaign of pressure to persuade (3 Duclos⁺⁺ to withdraw, in order that Deferre⁺⁺⁺ (who had more chance of success!) should remain the single candidate of the "Workers' United Front". Such was the interpretation of the slogan of "Workers' Government".

But what do we see? Francois Mitterand and his handful of hacks, all old lackeys of the bourgeoisie, seized the SP at the Epinay Congress of evil memory. The great workers' party of Deferre-Mollet-Chandernagor-Mauroy has fallen to the bourgeois politicians. It is in great danger of being destroyed. Fortunately the game is not up! There are enough old stalwarts in the 'old party' whose routine Francois' plots are messing up. With a bit of luck they will settle with him around an election. Thus the Socialist Party will be saved for the working class!

Meanwhile, however, the slogan of 'Socialist-Communist Government', becomes (temporarily?) inopportune. The slogan of workers' government henceforth means a government-of-workers'-organisations-without-participation-of-bourgeois-ministers - without further definition. The SP? And the CFDT? Is it a question of a government of political and trade union organisations already existing? Or of a government built on Workers' Councils which will take form in the course of revolutionary crisis? The Lambertist conference for the Workers' Government does not bring any reply to these questions.

"IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS !"

However, the slogan of the workers' government does not, through Lambertist spectacles, take on an essentially propagandist value. On the contrary. They strive at every moment to make of it a tactical slogan, that is, concretised in a precise governmental formula implying a definite politics.

The ambiguity hanging over the Socialist Party, if it compels the Lambertists to some caution, does not prevent them at all from proposing as usual the concretisation of the slogan.

Today the concrete content of the slogan of the workers' government is no longer "one of the two candidates should withdraw!", but "Don't wait until 1973! Immediate elections!"

"Should one not", writes the AJS-OCI, "immediately take up the fight to demand the resignation of the bourgeois deputies *+ ? Is it necessary to accept that scoundrels like Rives-Henrys and those who support him should be able to sit in parliament, and give their support to all the anti-working class measures that the Pompidou-Chaban-Giscard government is taking and will take?"

"To these questions, there is only one reply: it is by taking up a united campaign for resignations that one can and should unite the workers of town and country in order to realise in each locality the worker-peasant alliance; the

*** Just as their German comrades understand by a workers' government, a 'pure' social-democratic government, that is one without even minority representation of the liberals. (Rouge Footnote)

++ Duclos - CP Presidential candidate.

+++ Deferre - SP Presidential candidate. (It should be remembered that the French Socialist Party is, as we said in WF No 10, "in no sense a party of the working class" - the OCI's opinion notwithstanding.)

*+ deputies = MP's.

candidates of the working class parties undertaking to refuse to give their (4 votes to candidates of bourgeois parties under any form or under any circumstances" (Political Report. Supplement IO no545 p.15).

A PROPAGANDA SLOGAN

For revolutionary Marxists a workers' government is not a government composed of ministers from "working class parties", or supposedly working class parties: the Labour government of Wilson, the social democratic government of Brandt, even if they are made up entirely of party functionaries of solid pedigree, are not workers' governments, but 100% bourgeois governments. What defines the proletarian character of a government is not the social origin of its ministers, but the content of its programme. It is the nature of its action: a workers' government is a government which makes itself the active agent of the destruction of capitalist power and the bringing in of socialism, stimulating and centralising the revolutionary action of the masses.

In the present situation, the slogan of "workers' government" takes on an essentially propaganda function.....

THE LAMBERTIST CONFERENCE: THE LAUNCHING OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

The Lambertist conference had another function which the orators of the AJS-OCI undertook to unveil gradually through their interventions. It was Stephane Just who opened the conference with a political report. He did it in his own peculiar style, describing at length the evolution of the class struggle in France since the miners' strike in March 1963, May 1968, and the referendum episode of April 1969. Just finished his report by letting out at last his 'bombshell': "We aim to occupy all the fronts of the political struggle. We will be present in the parliamentary battle in the next elections: there will be dozens of candidates who will defend the line of this conference for a workers' government. We take the initiative in forming 'Committees for Workers' Unity'. (CWO)

Taking their turns, Berg, Chisserey, Lambert came back to the question, pounding out the new perspective offered. Lambert: "The workers' government is a simple thing, everyone says it and knows it. Every smallest demand is today a political demand and needs for its realisation the workers' government. This is evident that is admitted, that is understood by every person of good faith! (sic). We express the only working class politics, we say nothing other than the masses have already realised in their consciousness....We propose the Committees for workers' Unity, which should deal with the struggle in the factories, but also the electoral battle. These committees will welcome all those who agree with this: no representatives of the bosses in the government!"

It is necessary to realise that the perspective of an electoral campaign and the formation of the CWO is not as simple as that. Lambertist militants still remember the attitude of their organisation in the 1969 presidential elections. Didn't the organisation, in the name of the United Front, violently denounce Alain Krivine **, presented as a splitting candidate manipulated by the bourgeoisie (one should remember the vicious insinuations of the Lambertists about the origin of the signatures necessary to register the candidate)? Did not Informations Ouvrieres ,*** in no.433, 21 May 1969 write : "Isn't the tactic

** Ligue Communiste Presidential Candidate in 1969.

*** Informations Ouvrieres: paper of the OCI.

which revolutionaries should recommend to oppose^{to} the splitting of the class (5 front, the United Front through a single candidate for the working class organisations? The candidature of Krivine is thus an element ranged against the United Front..... We pursue the same struggle for the single candidate for the united working class organisations". What it is today that justifies another tactic, that the delegates did not debate.

However, some posed questions which indicated some uneasiness. Thus the one peasant delegate: "I ask, in what way concretely, do we build the Workers' government?" A delegate from Renault: "Do we demand that people join us in the CWO to prepare as from now the elections?" A high school delegate made reference to the preparatory campaign for the conference: "Very often it seemed to us that the slogan of workers' government appeared as glossed over." An engineer, delegate from Lorient: "We think that it is necessary to create the CWO, but not posing to the participants the precondition of agreement on the workers' government". A teacher delegate got ritual applause for a speech totally in contradiction to the 'official' pronouncements: "I am against the creation of the CWO because it is ambiguous. The Workers' Alliance Committees (which group together in the factories the Lambertist sympathisers, in agreement on the Workers' United Front and the necessity of a revolutionary party) answer to all that we want to make of the CWO".

Lambert, in his closing speech had to try to reply to all the questions. After a long and violent attack against group dynamics and institutional psychotherapy "some of the promoters of which have joined the Ligue Communiste⁺⁺" (?), he defined what he understood by the CWO: "The CWO cannot be a committee of action for a workers' government because the committee of action is based on the theory of powers, a reactionary theory denying centralisation, one which is a variant of the so-called elite theory, of group dynamics, of Guichard.... Everyone says that the government must be changed; the CWO groups together those who want to fight, in whatever form, including the electoral form, for the workers' government". In brief, the CWO are the electoral committees for the future Lambertist campaign for the legislative elections of 1973. As it closed, the conference voted in principle for a money raising campaign to support the activities of the CWO.

A 180° TURN

Why doesn't the AJS-OCI put forward the slogans: "In each electoral district a single working class candidate! In each electoral district one or other of the candidates should withdraw!" In June 1969, in a situation of extreme division of "the working class parties", these slogans were, according to the Lambertists, the very incarnation of the Proletarian United Front. The AJS-OCI had no words too harsh for the 'petty bourgeois traitors' who, not sharing their feeble analysis, presented a revolutionary candidate, in order to wage, one year after May '68, a big campaign of anti-capitalist denunciation.

And, today while we see a very clear drawing-together of the SP and the CP in view of an electoral agreement, are these slogans worn out? Why are the slogans correct in July '69 not all the more correct today in the climate of unity?

Why did the fact of presenting a revolutionary candidate in June '69 constitute an act of splitting the working class, while presenting candidates in the legislative elections of '73 constitutes an act of revolutionary politics?

⁺⁺ Ligue Communiste : French section of the Fourth International

In fact for the Lambertists principles are one thing and cold reality are another: absent for nearly two years from all the important struggles in France they have very well understood - drawing lessons from the much-maligned Krivine campaign - of what benefit a well conducted electoral campaign could be for their organisation. Lambert may very well declare that his organisation does not "aspire to build the new leadership of the working class, for the latter identifies and will continue to identify itself with the traditional leadership", the AJS-OCI has just, in appearing in an independent fashion on the electoral scene, constituted itself as a political alternative to those leaderships. Twisting principles by the neck. "Instability, lack of firmness, impressionism characterise the political behaviour of the petty-bourgeoisie", wrote Informations Ouvrieres in its issue NO. 431. Alas!

Apologies for stilted translation.
Martin Thomas.

A note to update.....

'Rouge' of 13 January gives an account of the OCI's current attitude to the Union of the Left. I'll just translate the quotations they give from Informations Ouvrieres, the OCI's paper.

"To the question: what government can satisfy the demands? there is only one reply: only a government of the great workers' parties, a government formed by the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, a government without any representation of the bourgeois parties."

"The leaders of the SP and the CP will not "change life" ('changer la vie', or 'change life', is the slogan of the Union of the Left) while they maintain their alliance with the so-called left radicals, defenders of the bourgeois order. To "change life" demands breaking with all the bourgeois politicians and parties, from the UDR (Gaullists) to the radicals of the right and of the left".

Imagine what we would say about a 'revolutionary' in Britain who said "only a government of the great workers' party, a Labour government, can satisfy the workers' demands" ! A note of sheer farce is added to the situation by the fact that the left radicals (a miserable rump parliamentary group) actually signed the programme of the Union of the Left without altering a single dot or comma of the programme previously agreed by the "great workers' parties", the SP and CP.

M.T.

This account will be mainly factual, with only a few tentative generalisations. The subject is important, because of the central role France has played in the world Trotskyist movement and the world class struggle, and particularly because of the leading role of the Ligue Communiste (LC) in the Fourth International today.

Sources are as follows:

Y. Craipeau: 'Le mouvement Trotskyiste en France'. The first part of this book, covering the period up to 1936 in great detail, was written by Craipeau when he was General Secretary of the French section of the FI. The second part, covering 1936 to date far more sketchily, was written recently, from Craipeau's present position in the left wing of the centrist Parti Socialiste Unifié.

'Quelques enseignements de notre histoire', a pamphlet published by the OCI (French former sister organisation of the SLL).

'La quatrième internationale', P. Frank. Frank was for many years the leader of the French section of the FI, and at present is "'grand old man' of the LC.

Various current documents of the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière.

In 1929, Trotsky called upon the Left Oppositionists in France to unite their efforts round a weekly paper, 'La Verité'. Before 1929, there were several small groupings, mostly expelled members of the French CP: Revolution Proletarienne (Monatte and Rosmer); Bulletin Communiste (Souvarine, former Party Secretary); Unite Leniniste (Tréinté, Souvarine's successor); Lutte de Classe (Naville and Rosenthal); Contre le Courant (Paz); and others. Those who did not join with 'La Verité' soon disappeared from the scene (except Revolution Proletarienne, which gravitated towards 'pure syndicalism').

In April 1930 the Ligue Communiste (left opposition) was founded, with about 100 members - mostly in Paris, mostly intellectuals or immigrant workers.

The Unitary Opposition.

In 1930, the French teachers' union (traditionally anti-clerical, left-wing, and internationalist) issued a manifesto for a 'Unitary Opposition'. The French Trade Union movement was divided between the reformist CGT and the CGTU, which was controlled by the Stalinists, used by then as a sort of adjunct to the party, and submitted to their disastrous ultra-left 'third period' policies. The teachers union (within the CGTU) opposed the mechanical submission of the unions to the party and the third period policies, while stating, "we believe that the ideological independence and the spiritual autonomy of the trade unions is a myth."

The Ligue Communiste supported the Unitary Opposition, and in fact took a leading part in it. But "the UO constituted for some a step towards the position of the independence of the trade unions" from politics - ie towards the strong French syndicalist tradition. (I).

Trotsky, in his article, "The Mistakes of the rightist elements of the Communist League and the Trade Union Question" (2), criticised the League for tendencies to liquidate its political independence into the UO. This view was accepted after a violent internal struggle, which was followed by the loss of a number of leading members of the League (Collinet, Gourget, Rosmer) and a situation developed where "the influence of the Ligue Communiste collapsed completely in the trade unions." (3). The UO itself soon also fell apart. (8)

The United Front

For this whole period, however, the principal slogan of the Ligue Communiste was for the workers' United Front. With this slogan, they gained increasing influence, especially among the youth. But "the Ligue Communiste felt itself already in an impasse. Paradoxically, the future was progressively closed to it just as its slogans for action passed into reality.Until June or July 1934, its ideas gained ground...(But then) the most urgent of the slogans of the Ligue - the United Front - was realised (as the CP turned from its 'third period' policy towards 'popular frontism')... the masses turned with entire confidence towards the two workers' parties which realised unity in action". (4).

Following this development (and the turn, in 1933, from being a Comintern Opposition to the building of a Fourth International), Trotsky promptly argued for the Ligue to enter the SFIO (Socialist Party), which had grown and moved leftwards considerably. At the congress of the Ligue, this entry tactic was finally approved by 66 votes to 41. The opposition to entry was made up of two factions.

One, led by Lhuillier, was opposed to entry "on principle" (like Oehler in the US, Vercoeken in Belgium, etc). The other, led by Naville, simply estimated that there was nothing to be won in the SFIO. The first faction split off to join a previous sectarian splinter group, Lastrade's Union Communiste, which had left the Ligue in protest against the international Trotskyist movement joining with centrist organisations (the SAF, RSP, and OSP) in signing the August 1933 "Declaration for the Fourth International".

The Naville group first declared that the Ligue Communists would maintain separate existence, then joined the SFIO, but for several months remained separate from the majority (5).

Entrism

This famous "French turn" was certainly based on different perspectives from the "entry sui generis" turn of 1952. It was not a case of expecting mass centrist currents in the future, but of seeing the SFIO as a mass centrist current there and then, and hoping in the relatively short term to gain forces for Trotskyism from it.

According to Crapeau, however, (6) there was some confusion on perspectives. The youth leaders thought in terms of a very short term raid; the adults believed in keeping their heads low for a time at least.

For some time the Trotskyists made excellent progress, particularly among the youth in the Paris area. In July 1935, however, the reformist apparatus began to move against them, expelling 13 Trotskyist youth. Trotsky, and some of the French Trotskyists (7) were for a clear break from the

socialists at that point. The majority, however, opposed a break. While they (9) were still dithering, and, according to Craipeau, falling into gross opportunism in order to remain inside the SFIO, Pivert, in September 1935, formed a left centrist tendency in the SFIO, the 'Gauche Revolutionnaire'. This made a break even more difficult for the Trotskyists, since vacillating elements would now prefer to remain with the Pivertists rather than come out with the Trotskyists.

At this point the situation was made worse by the action of Molinier and Frank in trying, essentially to skip over the problem. They proposed a "mass paper", the "Commune" (See Trotsky - "What is a mass Paper?"), and finally split with half the Trotskyist forces (8). The major difference other than the question of the paper was Molinier and Frank's advocacy of "groupes d'action revolutionnaire" (revolutionary action groups). These groups - to be formed on the basis of the same "five slogans" as the "Commune" (compare IS's "Four Points") - were envisaged as a sort of confused hybrid soviet / united front / party sympathisers' group formation. (9). (Of the later dispute in the modern IC on "Committees of Action" - see below).

Molinier and Frank, having proclaimed the necessity of staying in the SFIO, then at the end of February 1936, declared at eight days notice, a conference to found the revolutionary party - the 'Parti Communiste Internationaliste'.

Finally, in June 1936, Molinier's group and the official group were reunited uneasily in the 'Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste'. This mess-up left no numerical gains from the period in the SFIO. (10)

In this shaky state, the Trotskyists faced the challenge of the mass strike following the election of the Popular Front government in May 1936. The Trotskyists had prepared for this by raising the slogan of a general strike for a year previously, but in the actual struggle found themselves largely incapable of fighting effectively against the sell-out by the reformists and the Stalinists.

The worker militants "did more or less whatever came into their minds". The party's paper, "La Lutte Ouvriere", was controlled by the former "Commune" group, despite the fact that they were in a minority in the party, and there were cases of some of the party's youth groups refusing to sell it. (11).

Thus the Trotskyists made no big gains out of the great action which they alone had agitated for. The gains went instead, largely to the Communist Party which had sold out the strike. Workers newly brought into militancy and inspired by the (limited) gains of 1936 joined the party that seemed to them the most active, conspicuous, and combative.

The War

In August 1936, the PCI (Molinier's group) split again. The following years with the demoralising influence of the Moscow trials, were dark. Frank refers to the "dispersion" of the French Trotskyists which got to such a point that the International declared that it would no longer take responsibility for their activity." (12) In 1938 the PCI had a big internal discussion on the class nature of the USSR, with one third of the membership doubting the 'degenerated Workers' state' description. (13)

Meanwhile, in April 1938, Pivert split from the Socialist Party and in June formed the Parti Socialist Ouvrier et Paysan (PSOP), with some 5,000 or

6000 members, a leftward moving, centrist party. The PCI rapidly joined the PSOP; the POI was torn apart into four or five factions on the question of joining (I4). Finally, in February 1939, a minority of the POI joined; the majority joined in July, and these still remaining outside were expelled. In November 1939 the PSOP expelled the Trotskyists, and thereafter rapidly disintegrated, war having started on 3rd September 1939. (10)

According to the OCI, "the majority of the old bolshevik-leninist cadres of the POI and of the PCI collapsed" with the beginning of war. A few cadres only were left: Craipeau and Pic (aged 24 yrs) in the POI, Laurent in the PCI (I5).

The POI drifted into opportunistic nationalism: "we must make the maximum of efforts to lead the bourgeois fraction to constitute, with our party, a national resistance movement" (La Verite, November 1940), and the CCI (ex-PCI) apparently into sectarianism; "Down with the bourgeois democracy; down with Hitler!" was their slogan. (I6) The POI was in a state of extreme disorganisation - the "leadership could put out a youth paper 'Young Guard' without the whole organisation being informed. The comrades of the South West region, discussing this paper, found in it the organic signs of centrism and decided to do everything they could to get in touch with these young revolutionaries and to promote their development."! (I7)

The French Trotskyists had seen a whole series of defeats, blunders, mishaps, disasters; the movement was at a very low ebb. The PCI's opportunism will be clear from reading "What is a Mass Paper?": it also appears that the POI wasn't in a much better state, if indeed a better state at all.

In this dark moment, in October 1939, (I8), the group which is today's 'Lutte Ouvriere' group split from the POI. L.O.'s position is that the F.I. was dead from 1940 due to its failure to build roots in the working class and its subsequent adaptation to petty-bourgeois ideologies, such as nationalism. LO's alternative in theory is an extreme (sometimes ridiculous) primitivism and dogmatism, in practice a dour 'heads down and to the factory gates' approach. Their dogmatism and routinism has admittedly preserved them from some of the gross opportunism characteristic of all other post-war Trotskyist groupings. But it meant that - by all accounts - they were unable to break out of their routine adequately to respond to the upsurge of May 1968. And all the indications are that any future revolutionary upsurge will find them caught in their routinist shell. (In addition to this, there are the question of their totally mystical view of the world - Russia a workers' state, Eastern Europe etc capitalist, and their sectarian attitude to new radical forces, such as the student movement: they state (I9) that "Lutte Ouvriere is unwilling to carry on specific activities among students".)

In February 1944 the European secretariat of the FI passed a resolution condemning the POI for nationalistic opportunism and the CCI for sectarianism. (20). In March the POI, the CCI, and another small group united under the auspices of the European secretariat, but the united group, the PCI had 'no political homogeneity' (21).

Post-war and the Splits

The PCI after 1944 seems to have been marked by a strong tendency of delusions of grandeur (There was a similar trend in the British RCP, which entitled its conference perspectives documents 'Preparing for Power').

For example, the group (having perhaps a few hundred members) (22), launched (11) after the elections of November 1945, a campaign to recruit 30,000 workers! (23)

In fact, the PCI did build up a certain amount of influence. In 1947 they were, together with the militants of the proto-L.O. group, able to call a strike in Renault against the fierce opposition of the CP. The pressure on the CP was such that it resigned from the government and took the leadership of the strike to head off the Trotskyists.

The PCI was, however, evidently not very solid politically, and it was marked with successive faction fights and splits, especially after the cold war left turn of the CP. (from 1947) left them even more isolated.

In 1945 D. Rousset was expelled and joined the bourgeois-radical RDR. According to the OCI (25) he was joined in forming a liquidationist current soft on Stalinism, by Neville and Bettelheim. (Their account is not entirely trustworthy as virtually everyone they disagree with is described as liquidationist and soft on Stalinism.) However, it certainly is the case that Bettelheim returned to the CP (He is today a leading Maoist economist).

The more serious faction fight was in 1946-48. Craipeau was one of the principal leaders of the so-called 'rightist' faction, and Lambert (leader of today's OCI) of the chief opposing faction, and from their respectively partisan accounts it is difficult to get a clear view. I will quote their statements. (26)

"It was a matter of finishing with sect practices, verbalism, phrases about 'the revolutionary rise', since the preoccupations of the masses were currently essentially economic and it was precisely these demands which could permit the reinforcement of the revolutionary current. It was a matter of infusing the organisation in this real mass movement. It was a matter, finally, of not contenting oneself with a linear reinforcement of the organisation, but of transforming it into a real revolutionary party." (Craipeau).

"The rightists were searching for the magic solution which would allow the PCI to be a 'workers' party' like the others', a party 'recognised' by the others. More and more, the PCI and Trotskyism seemed to them as a prison isolating them from official public opinion, the leaders of the big organisations, the journalists and the intellectuals....the 'rightists' founded their orientation on a long period of political stability of the system of bourgeois democracy". (OCI).

The main opposing tendency was made up of people from the old CCI (the pre-war PCI, the Molinier 'Commune' group) - Frank, Lambert, and others - together with Mestre and Bleibtreu. They "distrusted the enlargement of the party and believed themselves still in full 'revolutionary rise'. All (ie. the other opposing tendencies as well) were convince that the loss of control of strikes showed the 'opportunism' of the leadership, to the insufficient use of the magic slogan of 'general strike', to an insufficient denunciation of the Stalinists". (Craipeau).

The OCI declares this tendency to have been "faithful to the Transitional Programme", but marked by some confusion on perspectives. "Germain (i.e. Mandel) and all of us after him, affirmed that there was no economic recovery."

There were also various 'new class' tendencies.

In the 1946 Congress, the 'rightists' gained a majority. According to (12 Craipeau, massive gains were in prospect: "The Young Socialists, with a paper membership of 15,000, entered into the road of the Fourth International. Their national leadership had joined the PCI; their weekly Red Flag took up the slogans of la Verite; in 1947 their organisation broke with the Socialist Party and oriented itself towards fusion with the PCI." The prospect of this fusion was, Craipeau says, abruptly torpedoed by the victory of the ex-CCI tendency at the 1947 Congress. The OCI's comment is: "The 'rightists' were looking for a 'big party', ready-built ... they thought they had found it in unification with the Young Socialists..."

"In 1948 the old majorityites (i.e. the 'rightists') were expelled (Demaziere, Parizot...) or resigned (Craipeau, Filiatre, Chavin...)" (28). Nearly half the membership of the PCI was lost without trace. (29). Frank became general secretary. The 'new class'-ists soon went, too.

It would appear that both main factions were characterised by extreme distortion of perspectives. The 'rightist' faction seems to have reacted in a way something like today's IS, the ex-CCI faction something like today's SLL (these comparisons are very approximate).

In 1951 the majority of the PCI supported Germain/Mandel's "Ten Theses" (see SM's theses). In 1952 the majority were expelled from the Fourth International - Lambert forming the OCI, Bleibtreu and Vincent dropping out - while the minority, under Frank, led the official section into entry into the CP. According to the Ligue Communiste, "90% of the members and all the working class section" of the party went with Lambert; according to the OCI, of the 150 or so members of the PCI in this period, 100 went with Lambert, 30 with the F.I.

The gains of the post-war period had thus been more or less thoroughly destroyed, as a result, basically, of the political instability of both the main tendencies in the movement. Voix Ouvriere (today's L.O.) fluctuated between 20 and 30 people; the OCI was down to 50 in 1958; Frank's 30 or so were further weakened by splits by Mestre and Corvin (in 1954, Mestre being in fact the majority leader; he gravitated to a position where he supported the invasion of Czechoslovakia) and by Pablo (1965).

The Movement Today.

Three times the French Trotskyist movement had come near to building some real influence - in early 1934, on the basis of the united front; inside the Socialist Party; and in the immediate post-war period. Each time the gains had been rapidly reduced to nothing. Each time there had been a painful process of rebuilding almost from nothing.

The splits of the post-war period were, however, evidently more basic than previous splits, since the tendencies that emerged from that period are the basic tendencies in the movement today: the OCI, L.O.. and the Ligue Communiste (descendant of the PCI). (There is also Pablo's group, the AMR, and Revolution !, a semi-Maoist split from the Ligue).

The Ligue Communiste today has around 5,000 members. 65% are students or teachers; 35% are employees of some sort (mostly, from all accounts, white collar workers). The LC has members or cells in 270 factories. 70% of the members are under 24 years old. About 600 or 700 of the members of the LC have been members of other left organisations. 32.5% of the present membership joined between the 2nd Congress and the 3rd Congress (7 to 10 December, 1972).

From word of mouth reports, it appears that the OCI, together with its youth group, the AJS, has forces comparable to those of the Ligue. L.O. has comparable or bigger forces in the working class, but is much weaker than either the AJS or the Ligue among the students. The Maoist-spontaneist currents are much bigger than any of the Trotskyist groupings. (13)

The Ligue Communiste is today the biggest section of the FI (the SWP, together with its youth group, the YSA, has less than 3,000 members), and also the politically dominant section.

The O.C.I.

A fair picture of the OCI's politics is given in 'Permanent Revolution' and in various internal material. Basically, they are right-Healyites; like the SLL in one of its rightist phases, without the ultra-left phases. They have the same ferocious organisational sectarianism as the SLL; for example, one recent demonstration in Paris was marked by a vicious assault on the columns of the Ligue Communiste by OCI supporters yelling "Pabloites assassins!".

An extra twist is added by the peculiarities of the French social-democracy. The Socialist Party, in the war and post-war period, lost virtually all its working class base to the Stalinists. It also lost its control of the trade union confederation, the CGT (the CGT and the CGTU had united in 1935;36). In 1947 a SP split-off from the CGT, "CGT-FO", was formed, with the direct help of the French government and of the CIA. It was, and is, a Cold War creation, extremely right-wing and anti-militant, with a small membership largely concentrated in the 'upper' sections of the working class (white-collar, etc). The Socialist Party cannot be considered today as a workers' party in even the most minimal sense. In fact, half its membership in 1957 (and the figure is probably much the same today) were municipal councillors or officials of some sort ! (32)

The OCI, nonetheless, has its major orientation to the FO and the SP ! Their policy in the FO is, moreover, by all accounts extremely passive. They go so far as to describe the FO as "the last stronghold and the first place where working class democracy exists" - and denounce the CP as "the liberticide party" (33). In relation to the CFDT, the other main trade union federation (formerly a right-wing Catholic federation, but recently separated from the Church and moved considerably to the left), they denounce it as a "bourgeois organisation within the working class", and in fact not a genuine trade union at all.

This social-democratic orientation, rather than any political principles, was probably at the root of their opposition to entry into the C.P. in 1952. The exact roots of the Social-democratic orientation are difficult to isolate: the relation with the Young Socialists in 1946-47 seems to have been the baby of the 'rightists', rather than of Lambert, though it is worth noting that Just (one of the main leaders of the OCI today) in fact joined the Trotskyist movement from the Young Socialists at this period.

Lutte Ouvriere and the Ligue Communiste. (concentrating on Ligue Communiste).

During the 1950s and 1960s the PCI (official French section of the F.I.) adopted a tactic of deep entry in the French CP and its associated organisations, coupled with the maintenance of a sector of open work. A great deal of its work was centred round solidarity with the struggles in Algeria and in Vietnam.

The entry tactic brought results in the CP student organisation. In 1965-66 it split open into various Maoist and 'Italian' groupings, and also a tendency, the J.C.R., in which the F.I. had a leading role. The J.C.R. played a big role in the May events, and its forces later launched the paper 'Rouge' (sept, 1968) and the Ligue Communiste (April 1969): at the 1st Congress the Ligue voted to affiliate to the F.I.

After reading the publications of the LC a lot of the IMG's work looks like a ^{poor} attempt to "render the LC more profound" and transplant it to Britain. For example the tactic of support committees recently pushed by the IMG has been used by the LC - but in France it has more sense since the unions don't give strike pay, and support committees have been able to render real aid.

'Rouge' and the 'Manifesto' of the LC have the same propagandist emphasis as the IMG - for example, I don't think I've ever found them putting demands on the established (ie Stalinist) Labour Leaders. 'Rouge', however, is, presumably deliberately very much a propagandist paper (it's much more difficult to sell revolutionary papers in France than in Britain, since for a start you are likely to get beaten up by the Stalinists) - they sell only 10 000 to 15 000 copies with their 5,000 members. The propagandism may be more justifiable in their circumstances than it is for the IMG. It is duplicated, anyway, by L.O.

Certainly the more gross examples of sectarian passivity shown by the IMG are not echoed by the LC. According to their 'Manifesto' (published March '72) they have, for example, an orthodox position on the question of workers' control (the IMG's present position is that the workers' control demand should not be raised outside a revolutionary situation, while reportedly the Belgian section has an attitude more like the IMG in its Institute for Workers' Control period.)

On most questions of French politics, I would hesitate to judge the Ligue Communiste. If they have errors they are not gross and visible on the scale of the OCI's opportunism. On the question of Vietnam, however, I find their position quite disturbing. It is effectively one of total political confidence in the NLF and the North Vietnamese regime. For example, they stated that the Vietnamese, having given the Americans a lesson in military struggle, were about to do the same in the diplomatic struggle; in the latest 'Rouge', under the headline "Towards a Mass Political Struggle" they applaud the steps that the DRV, PRG and NLF are taking to "continue the struggle by new means". 'Rouge' has also raised the slogan of support of the Hanoi 7 point plan (eg 22 Jul; 3rd Congress issue).

The main debate at the LC congress was on their attitude to the Union of the left*. The majority analysed this alliance as not a classical Popular Front, but, "a global reformist alternative". The alliance is not a "conscious machination of the bourgeoisie or of one of its significant fractions". The adherence of the Socialist Party and of the left radicals does not change the class character of the alliance, since the hegemony of the alliance is in fact in the hands of the CP. Consequently they are calling for a vote for candidates of the Union of the Left in the second round of the 1973 elections. (The LC and LO are presenting candidates of their own in the first round, having made an agreement to share out the constituencies between them).

A sizeable minority, 71 against 191 advocated voting only for the CP (not SP or left radical) candidates on the second round while the "Bolshevik Leninist tendency for proletarianisation" gained 12 votes for a position of total abstention on the second round. I am inclined to support the 71 vote minority.

The main plank of the "B-L-P" tendency was a stand against the "periphery to centre" orientation of the majority. This position, however, seems to have been argued on a political basis not free from economism.

* CP - Socialist Party - left radical election alliance. See W.F. no. 10.

Some of the documents of the debate preparatory to the first congress have been published by the LC in three (thick) pamphlets. Here the "periphery to centre" orientation was argued for and the question of affiliation to the FI was debated. Three tendencies formed; the majority, a "Mao-spontex" tendency (which has since split to form the 'Revolution' group.) and the "Riviere-Creach tendency". (34)

Creach opposed the affiliation to the FI on a confused variety of grounds. The FI, he says, has been marked by a conception of the vanguard and masses according to a "formal dialectic". The two are in principle separate - that is, the vanguard is considered as a vanguard through self-proclamation, not through the ability to actually lead the masses in practice - and thent the question of "how does the vanguard get at the masses" is posed. Entrism is a product of this "formal dialectic"; in particular, the concept of entry work "drapeau en poche" (the banner in pocket, ie not openly expressing the full Trotskyist programme) coupled with a sector of open work is held by him to show a clear formal separation of vanguard and masses, so that the two are seen as two different areas of work. The formal dialectic, he says, also leads to an organisational fetishism (the self-proclaimed vanguard). Thus the majority, he says, attempt to answer the political question of internationalism by the organisational step of affiliation to the International. The FI, in his opinion is a self-proclaimed vanguard and its political points of definition are no longer relevant to the real struggle today, with the breakup of the stalinist monolithism. New political dividing lines are needed, and to that he calls for an International Conference of the "new vanguard", encompassing such forces as a "fraction of the Zengakuren in Japan, Accion Comunista and Bandera Roja in Spain, Black Dwarf in England, the ELN in Peru, etc."

The question of entrism seems to be quite central to his objections. "To demand affiliation on the eve of a world congress which should mark a turn in the orientation of the IVth International, is to ask us to sign a blank cheque for a political line not yet discussed".

In line with his arguments on the International, he criticises the LC's orientation for failing to take sufficient account of the possibilities of organising the working class outside of stalinism. / In general, the majority had little trouble in ripping Creach's arguments to shreds, and so the ~~Orxthexxstixn~~ debate did not, it seems, reach to fundamental levels. There is a real problem of separation of vanguard and masses - Creach's formulations are logically liquidationist - affiliation to the International is not a solution to the political problems of internationalism, but it could be a step towards the solution - there may be a new vanguard, but the point is to work in it consciously not to hope for what may come out of it.

On the question of entrism, they largely content themselves with saying that in any case everyone agrees that entrism is wrong today, that Creach's form of a priori criticism is "simplistic and impertinent", and that in any case if mistakes were made with the entrism perspective it wasn't only the FI that made them.

They argue sharply against Creach's formulations of the break up of stalinism, saying that he is generalising illegitimately from the student milieu. They characterise stalinism as "the determinant political phenomenon

of our epoch. It is not just a matter of a simple bureaucratic vice affecting (16 the workers' organisations and confined within their organisational orbit. It is necessary to see much more to it: the most tremendous historical abortion." They go so far as the celebrated formulation: "In the same way as the Russian working class was spontaneously trade-unionist, so the French working class is spontaneously stalinist."

This argument on stalinism may be relevant to the question of the "periphery to centre" orientation and "the more backward, the more advanced" (see "The adventures of the Red Mole"). But it is interesting to note that no political objections to the FI other than on the question of entrism seem to have been raised in the debate. And that in France, the one country where entrism sui generis seems to have been most successful, not a single voice could be found to give more than the most qualified endorsement of the entrism sui generis tactic.

Periphery to centre.

The concretisation of this idea in the practice of the IMG has been dreadful - and, moreover, the idea is theoretically mistaken (see the 'Adventures of the Red Mole'). However, it is instructive to consider this orientation concretely in the situation of the Ligue Communiste in France after May 1968. The situation facing the Ligue Communiste was that it had a large membership and influence in the student milieu, and a limited influence in some white-collar sections, while the central sections of the working class were relatively difficult to penetrate because of the solid hold of Stalinism. (Known Trotskyists in the Stalinist-controlled CGT are almost always expelled or at the very least ghettoised). If the LC simply sent its thousands of student supporters to the factory gates with leaflets, the only result would be demoralisation. The main tactic they decided to employ, as I understand it, was to build actions which would (a) use, sustain, and develop their existing base; (b) serve to make the Ligue Communiste a prominent force on the political scene, and thus possibly force the CP to enter into united front activity with them; (c) draw in the more advanced workers at present in the CP or under its influence, and thus give them a toe-hold for starting serious penetration of the Stalinist-dominated sectors.

Thus they concentrated a lot of effort on Secours Rouge, a united front against police repression. They have been energetic in building the FSI (Indochina Solidarity Front). They launched a major campaign around the Burgos trials. They mobilised students to fight the fascist company union thugs who dominate the Citroen factories. They have devoted big efforts to building a substantial base in the CFDT (more white-collar oriented than the CGT, but also more liberal and leftist).

Now, as I said, I think the theoretical conception is wrong. Unless the 'peripheral' mobilisation is accompanied by systematic agitation and propaganda among the 'central' sections, then the logic of the orientation is the same 'winning influence' conception as that of the IMG in the Manchester sit-ins. (See 'Permanent Revolution'). However, the political consequences of the theoretical error may be more or less serious according to the concrete circumstances. The consequences in France have, I think, been less disastrous than in Britain, where the basic assumptions of the 'periphery to centre' orientation do not hold.

Trade union work.

The Ligue and I.O. have had a number of debates in their press on the question of trade union work. I.O. alleges that the Ligue tends to be soft on

the CFDT leadership; the Ligue alleges that L.O. has a basically sectarian and (27) economistic approach, contenting themselves with building influence in this or that local union branch or factory, and dismissing questions of national union policy with sweeping statements that 'all these bureaucrats are just the same'. My inclination is to think that both criticisms are at least to an extent correct.

NOTES

1. Craipeau p.55
2. reproduced in the Merit pamphlet - Trotsky 'On Trade Unions'.
3. Craipeau p. 57. Craipeau seems to imply that the position of Trotsky & his supporters (which included Craipeau himself) was not merely on the question of asserting independence from the UO, but of ceasing to support it.
4. Craipeau p. 107. Frank gives a similar assessment.
5. Craipeau p. 111. Craipeau does not give any rationalisation for Naville's erratic course, though presumably some such rationalisation must have existed. The OCI alleges that Naville opposed entry on principle.
6. Craipeau p. 119
7. including Craipeau.
8. Craipeau p. 144; OCI p. 17
9. OCI p. 17 - 18.
10. Frank p. 38
11. Craipeau p. 189
12. p. 40
13. Craipeau p. 196
14. OCI p. 24.
15. OCI p. 35, Frank p. 125.
16. OCI p. 36
17. OCI p. 39
18. Lutte de Classe March 1967. The article referred to summarised LO's position on 'the degeneration of the Fourth International'.
19. Lutte de Classe Dec 1972 p. 11
20. Frank p. 49
21. OCI p. 44
22. 'Cahier Rouge' no. 6/7 (published by the Ligue Communiste), p. 118
23. OCI p. 58. 'Cahier Rouge' no. 6/7 supports the OCI's view.
24. OCI p. 63, 'Cahier Rouge' no. 6/7 p. 118.
25. OCI p. 61
26. Craipeau p. 202 - 203, OCI p. 62, 63, 64, 74.
27. OCI p. 74
28. Craipeau p. 203.
29. OCI p. 69.
30. 'Cahier Rouge' no. 6/7 p. 121, OCI p. 88.
31. 'Cahier Rouge' no. 6/7 p. 121, OCI p. 93. L.O. seems to have been seriously weakened by an unsuccessful attempt at rank-and-file unionism in Renault after the 1947 strike
32. Lutte Ouvriere, 2 - 8 Jan. 1973.
33. Lutte de Classe, Dec. 1972, p. 14. Reports from the Ligue Communiste & from word of mouth support this.
34. 'Cahiers Rouge' nos. 6/7, 8/9, 10/11. I haven't been able to get hold of no. 10/11, yet.

Martin Thomas.

I will concentrate on the section "The IMG and the FI". It's not all that's wrong with the 'Adventures', but it does contain the most important errors.

1) 1st paragraph. Shachtmanism and Deutscherism. This formulation makes it appear that the correct political path was to be found in some sort of 'golden mean'; that it was necessary to be open to new facts but not too open In fact, what was necessary post-war was not simply preserving a 'golden mean', but developing a new and adequate analysis of the changed world situation. In its efforts to do so, the F.I. has both been "too open" (in the sense of being apt to react impressionistically to each and any new development) and "not open enough" (in the sense of stretching old theories hideously out of shape in order to 'comfortably' assimilate new reality to them, and thus tending to 'destructure' the old theories).

2) 2nd paragraph. The term 'Pabloite' is in quotation marks, but even in quotation marks it shouldn't be used. It sheds no light. Firstly, because 'Pabloism' is not and has never been clearly defined - it's just an all-purpose swear word. Secondly, because it gives the impression that the variety of political errors attacked under the name of 'Pabloism' are in fact due to the personal efforts of Michel Pablo. This is simply not true; in the first place, the so-called 'Pabloite' errors have been practised in a more gross fashion by the 'anti-Pabloites' (SLL, etc) than by the so-called 'Pabloites'. In the second place, the characteristic errors of the F.I. are at least as marked (if not more marked) in its 1963 document 'Dynamics of World Revolution Today' (written after Pablo was deposed from his leading position) as they ever were in Pablo's documents.

3) 3rd paragraph: & 7th paragraph. The impression is given that the F.I. may once have been bad, but now it is getting a little better every day. Now it is true that certain empirical rectifications have been made. But it is also, I think, true that the fundamental current of vulgar speculation is still there, virulent as ever. Take the F.I.'s reaction to the Vietnam peace negotiations for example. The IEC statement in the latest Red Mole is dressed up for public consumption, but it's bad enough. What also needs to be looked at is the coverage in, for example, 'Rouge' (see my article on 'The French Trotskyist Movement'.)

4) 2nd paragraph on 2nd page. The bit about international organisation is not clear. The reply I have written to Pat Longman's resignation letter (to be circulated soon) should clear the question up a bit.

5) The section is not at all clear on the relation of the IMG to the FI: it is it a typical section? is it untypical? etc. I have outlined in my Amendments to the Theses at the last NC my present views on this point.

Martin Thomas.

Several months ago I was asked to produce an educational programme for the group on philosophy - as comrades are no doubt aware, this has not been done. There are two main reasons for this: one which is all too common, and one which is interesting and important.

i) lack of enough free time to do anything more than complete half of the writing, and not all of the reading.

ii) more importantly, the absence of any really clear ideas, both from myself and from other comrades, as to precisely what such an education programme should contain and how it should be presented. Marxist philosophy is an ill-defined area (hasn't philosophy been superceded by Marxism anyway, as Engels points out?) and one which is not found codified anywhere in an unambiguous fashion (for example, what exactly and concretely is the relationship between theory and practice - leaving aside the glib 'love and marriage' phraseology... "you can't have one without the other" etc.) This is a problem which should not be treated lightly, in a cavalier fashion, by simply banging down a few platitudes mixed up with intuitions and real analysis. There are enormous problems and great differences - probably even among WP cdes. For example, I am an ardent admirer of Gramsci - perhaps other cdes. regard him as being a rabid idealist....

In this sort of situation it is blind dogmatism to pretend that Marxist philosophy has sprung fully armed from the head of Marx, to always be hostile to all forms of bourgeois philosophy whatever their content, to regard the area as being complete. The differences are there and they need to be discussed. This has not yet been done in the group and until it is the formulation of an educational programme in philosophy will be an exercise in dressing up mutton as lamb - presenting my crack-pot ideas as our crack-pot ideas. It will be simply an exercise in expertise and bias.

This is the more important reason why the programme has not been completed, and I hope that cdes. find it an acceptable reason for abandoning the attempt to produce such a programme. However, some progress must be made and it seems that the best way to do this would be to initiate in the IB a series of discussions on the problems of Marxist philosophy. Perhaps the most convenient place to start would be my article on dialectics. Now some cdes. regard this article as being dubious in that it seems to them to be idealist - i.e. I am saying that dialectics only applies to thought and not to the real world. This is not what is intended in the article, but it seems to be an important place to start a discussion: on the question of dialectics and the relationship of the laws of the dialectic to the material world and to thought. I suggest that cdes with any comments to make on this article either write to me, or put something in the IB, and in that way a discussion can be got off the ground. PS and myself hope to write further contributions to the discussion to appear in later IB's and then hopefully we can move on to other topics.

One thing that I have produced is a reading list:-

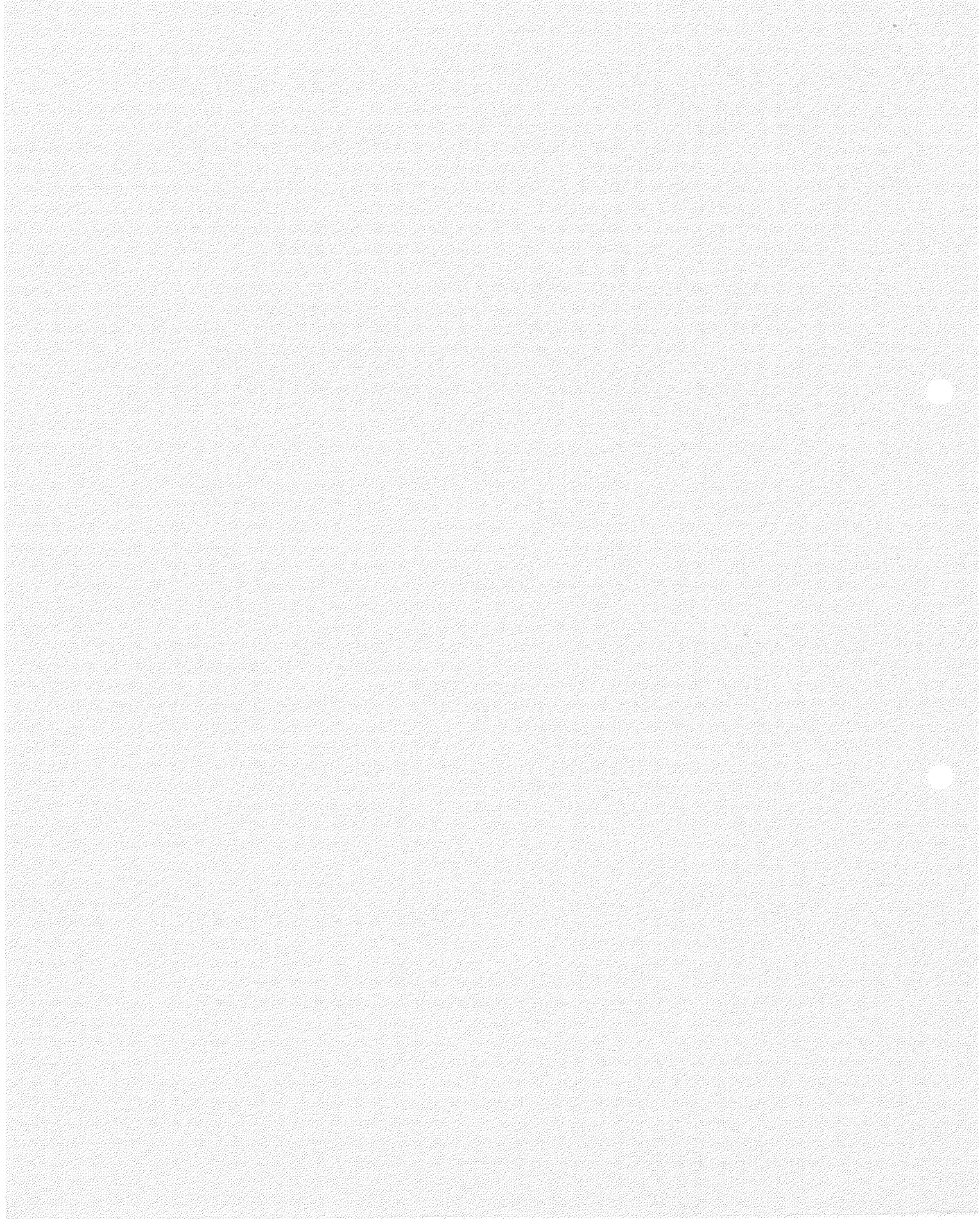
General books of readings

- i) Selsam and Martel (ed):- 'Reader in Marxist philosophy'. International Pub, NY.
(Good collection of Marx, Engels, Lenin)

- ii) Easton and Guddat (ed):- 'Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society'. Doubleday Anchor 1969. (20)
(Very good selection and contains material difficult to find elsewhere. Introduction is full, informative, but heavily tinged with liberalism)
- iii) Bottomore and Rubel (ed):- 'Karl Marx - Selected writings on Philosophy and Sociology'. Penguin 1968.
(Cheapest one, though rather short on the philosophy. Only recommended if the other two are too pricey or too high on the shelves!)
- iv) Wetter:- 'Dialectical Materialism'. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
(Probably the most complete and authoritative account of the development of Marxist philosophy, especially the section on the USSR containing an account of the early battles in the CPSU between 'mechanists' and 'idealists'. Written, unfortunately, by a Jesuit priest so comment is somewhat polemical, but is factually the best I've come across given the large time span he covers. Expensive).
- v.) H. Lefebvre :- 'Dialectical Materialism'. Cape 1969
(Available in cheap paper-back. First section on Hegel and Marx interesting, but most of the book marred by appallingly convoluted style and existentialist tendencies)
- vi) McClellan:- 'Marx before Marxism'. Penguin 1972.
(Useful cheap account of the development of Marx's thought in early period)

Original Sources

- i) Marx:- '1844 Manuscripts'. Lawrence Wishart.
(Essential for an understanding of alienation; an important mile-stone in the break with Hegelianism)
- ii) Marx:- 'Grundrisse' (edited by McClellan). McMillan 1971.
(Expensive - but indicates link between the 'early' and the 'late' Marx. Discusses methodology, technology, communist society, alienation, money, etc.)
- iii) Marx:- 'Capital' (especially, first chapt. Vol I.) Lawrence Wishart.
(Needs no introduction except to say that the first chapter discusses methodology and this is also referred to in the various introductions by Marx.)
- iv) Marx:- 'Poverty of Philosophy'. Lawrence Wishart.
(Attack on the Hegelianism of Proudhon with discussion of role of man in society.)
- v) Engels:- 'Transition from Ape to Man'. In selected works.
(Excellent account of the role of labour in developing man. Ideas accepted by leading anthropologists as Washburn.)
- vi) Engels:- 'Dialectics of Nature'. Lawrence Wishart.
(Important - but is it correct?)



- viii) Marx & Engels:- 'German Ideology' . Lawrence Wishart.
(The decisive break with previous philosophies and the germs of historical materialism. Lengthy, and sometimes tedious, polemic with left-Hegelians.)
- ix) Marx:- 'Theses on Fuerbach'. In selected works.
(Cryptic critique of passive materialism and reassertion of the best of Hegel ie. the dynamic view of the world.)
- x) Lenin:- 'Materialism and Empirio-criticism. Progress Pub.
(Lenin bending the stick in his polemic against empiricism.)
- xi) Lenin :- Collected works, vol 38. Progress Pub.
(The 'Philosophical Notebooks'. Very important for an understanding of Hegelian ideas in Marxist theory, for an understanding of method, for an understanding of Lenin's own philosophical development .However, the passages were not meant for publication and are often obscure and condensed. For an analysis of the significance of vol 38, see Cliff Slaughter's pamphlet 'Lenin on Dialectics', New Park Pubs, and my criticism of that in PR.)
- xii) Lenin:- 'Three Sources and Components Parts of Marxism'. Progress Pubs.
(Title explains the content. Brief but useful summary.)
- xiii) Plekhanov:- 'Fundamental Problems of Marxism.' Lawrence Wishart 1969.
(Very good account of historical materialism, especially good being the section of free will and the individual.)
- viv) Gramsci:- 'Prison Notebooks'. Lawrence Wishart. 1971.
(To my mind the greatest Marxist philosopher after NWI. Especially important is his analysis on the role of culture and common sense ideas, the role of intellectuals, and his critique of mechanism. Much of this is available in 'Modern Prince and other writings'. International Pub N.Y. ,1970).
- xv) Trotsky:- 'In Defence Of Marxism'. Pathfinder Pubs, NY.
(Especially interesting is the treatment of subjects such as physics and psycho-analysis. Not so good on dialectics.)

There are many more - Lucacs, Althusser, Korsh, Sartre (later works) - but the books above should provide more than an introduction to Marxist Philosophy. Anyone wanting a fuller list can write to me for that.

Neal Smith.

