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# Amendments to Section Five of the United Secretariat Draft Resolution "Theses on the International Situation"

By the Hoffmann-Heredia Tendency

(The "Theses on the International Situation" appeared in IIDB Vol. XIX, No. 4, December 1983)

The title of Section Five: To be changed from "The Imperialist War Drive and the Antiwar Movement" to "The Imperialist War Drive, the War Drive of the Bureaucratic States, and the Antiwar Movement."

## POINT 30

\*page 16, column 1, first paragraph of point 30\*

Take out everything from "The crisis of capitalism" to "several immediate objectives" and replace it with the text below, which would become a new paragraph 30, with the rest of the numbering adjusted accordingly:

30) The arms race begun at the close of World War II between imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy and pursued by both sides since then takes place in a specific framework of nuclear deterrent. This has two basic consequences. On the one hand, it has frozen the world relationship of forces arrived upon at Yalta, establishing a status quo which, while it has since periodically been readjusted, has been used by both camps to halt all revolutionary developments in their spheres of influence, at the same time as it has avoided the perspective of a third global conflict on several occasions. On the other hand, it has rendered the arms race absurd, insofar as all increases in this arsenal are added to an already colossal stock. The worldwide antiwar movement, which is fighting both imperialism and the bureaucracy at the same time, is developing in this framework. The Fourth International engages in these mobilizations in order to put forward an orientation to the masses of both East and West of class independence from the two blocs.

\*continue with what follows below, which would become the beginning of a new paragraph 31\*

At the very time when a major crisis of capitalism strengthens its tendency to militarism and increases the danger of war in the world, the new round of the arms race corresponds to several imperialist objectives:

\*Return to the original text of point 30, beginning with "To set up a mobile and effective strike force . . . ."\*

\*Page 16, column 1, paragraph 4\*

Replace "and reduce its possibilities of answering requests for help from governments brought to power by national liberation struggles," with, "reduce even more the cautious and self-seeking support it grants to certain governments brought to power by national liberation struggles."

\*Page 16, column 1, paragraph 5\*

After "'detente' policy," add "which has encouraged more autonomy of sub-imperialisms (France, West Germany, Japan)"

\*page 16, column 1, last paragraph of point 30\*

Replace the sentence: "In the longer term, the arms race aims

to prepare the reconquest of several workers states by imperialism, an objective realizable only through war," with "In the long term, the logic of the arms race is the reconquest of the bureaucratic states by imperialism. But this would necessitate a war with incalculable risks as well as the destruction of the workers movement in the advanced capitalist countries. For that reason, the immediate threat lies above all in localized counterrevolutionary wars . . ." Return to the original text.

\*Page 16, column 1, last paragraph of point 30\*

After "where Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe are on the firing line" add "and have already had to sign disadvantageous agreements with the imperialist-supported South African regime."

## POINT 31

\*Page 16, column 1, first paragraph of point 31\*

After the sentence ending "chemical weapons and research," add "In the same way, and simultaneously with its nuclear efforts, the Soviet Union has massively increased its conventional capabilities."

\*Page 16, column 1, last paragraph of that column\*

After "as a result of the continuing capitalist crisis and bourgeois leadership crisis in some of the main imperialist countries" add "imperialist countries; as a result of the impasse in the bureaucratically-dominated societies where, as much for the preservation of its internal rule as for its weakness vis-a-vis imperialism, the bureaucracy increasingly relies on its military apparatus for its survival."

## POINT 32

\*Replace this entire point with the text below\*

The American bourgeoisie has already used nuclear weapons twice against another imperialist power (Japan). It threatened to use them against the Chinese revolution during the Korean war, and later against the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions. These threats were not carried out, even during the Korean War when the Soviet arsenal was extremely limited, primarily because of the political price imperialism would have had to pay. The use of nuclear weapons would have triggered explosive growth of the peace movement of the 1950s or the anti-Vietnam war movement of the 1960s.

As well, the strategy of nuclear dissuasion adopted by the Soviet Union in the 1950s helped to prevent American imperialism from carrying out its threats in the cases of Cuba and Vietnam. Nevertheless, this deterrent strategy even more firmly fixed the relationship of forces that arose at Yalta. In particular, it has contributed to the acceptance by the working class in the imperialist countries of imperialism's "nuclear umbrella," which only the most recent antiwar mobilizations have begun to protest.

Humanity's survival cannot hang forever on the unstable

equilibrium of nuclear terror. Even if imperialism has put a hold on the political choice of direct confrontation, imperialist strategies do include the option of a limited nuclear war, for which the necessary weapons are in production.

All forces of the workers movement must take a clear stand and mobilize in favor of another way out: a total ban on nuclear weapons and the controlled destruction of all stocks of such weapons.

In this framework, the peace proclamations of the leaders of the bureaucratic regimes can be credible only if they take spectacular initiatives in arms reductions, toward unilateral disarmament of their strategic atomic arsenal. This would constitute a political challenge to imperialism's plans and the most vigorous encouragement for mass mobilizations against the war drive.

### POINT 33

\*Page 16, column 2, second paragraph of point 33\*

After the sentence: "We also reject the idea that world war can be prevented by permanent negotiations and a series of agreements between the "Two Big Powers." add, "Moreover, we are opposed to the fact that these negotiations are carried out in secret."

\*Page 16, column 2, last paragraph of point 33\*

In the sentence: "Only the extension and victory of the socialist revolution in the very strongholds of imperialism can disarm the warmongers," change "warmongers" to "imperialists."

### POINT 34

\*Page 16, final paragraph of the second column\*

Replace the first sentence of point 34 with the following:

The imperialist states, with U.S. imperialism coming first among them, remain the principal driving force of the arms race and thus are the main threat to peace, despite the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy's policy has steadily enabled imperialism to justify its aims to the masses of the West and has been complicit with perpetuation of arms escalation.

### POINT 35

\*Page 17, column 1, first paragraph\*

Take out the first paragraph of this point and replace it with the text below:

However, in face of the imperialist arms race, the Soviet bureaucracy did not limit itself to developing increased dissuasive capacity. On the contrary, it greatly contributed to perpetuating this race through its military and nuclear policy.

Imperialism seeks to restore the laws of the capitalist market in the bureaucratically-dominated countries. While this is not on the agenda in the immediate sense, it is a basic tendency.

In opposing this constant pressure, we make a careful distinction between:

— Unabashed and disgraceful support to the regimes of bureau-dictatorships in the name of "defending gains." This line inevitably leads to campism and, sooner or later, in one form or another, to lack of support for movements for emancipation of the peoples in bureaucratically-dominated countries.

— Support to the proletariat in its defense of a decisive achievement: the state appropriation of the means of production. In this struggle, we recognize the full right of the proletariat to any armaments necessary to deter imperialism.

\*Page 17, column 1, last paragraph of the column\*

Replace: "The victory of the antibureaucratic revolution would make it possible to defend and develop the remains of the conquests of October . . ." with "The victory of the antibureau-

cratic revolution would make it possible to once again link up with the conquests of October . . ."

\*Page 17, column 2, first paragraph\*

Replace the two sentences which read: "These choices are part of a defense policy which like the bureaucracy itself fulfills a dual role. On the one hand, it contributes to the defense of the workers state (as with Stalingrad, or with its military aid to North Vietnam during the war)." with the following sentence: "These choices are part of a defense policy conceived of entirely as a means of defending the bureaucracy's own interests against the workers of the other bureaucratic states and against the self-determination of peoples (Afghanistan)."

\*Page 17, column 2, paragraph 2\*

After this paragraph, which ends: "division of the world instituted in Yalta and periodically renegotiated since." add the following:

The deployment since the middle of the 1970s of medium-range, high-accuracy of the SS 20 type clearly illustrates the military policy of the bureaucracy.

On a strictly military level, these arms have no demonstrable advantage. Their range is too weak to reach the ICBM silos in the United States. They are useless against the strategic submarine fleet of NATO and have only a slight usefulness, given their relatively limited range, against similar Western missile targets, which are mobile and camouflaged. They are too powerful to be of use in a conventional war, which might indicate that their accuracy is less than what has been claimed. Finally, using the SS 20 preventatively against permanent installations in Europe could only unleash a generalized conflagration involving long-range missiles, which is the only conceivable response of one or another camp to an attack by mobile-site missiles.

Thus the SS 20s do not provide any additional protection in relation to the systems the USSR already has in place.

The deployment of the SS 20 is basically in keeping with the desire to politically and psychologically intimidate the European bourgeoisies, but in a way which inextricably engulfs the European proletariat in this threat.

Medium-range, high-accuracy missiles serve to evoke fear of a possible scaled and limited nuclear war which would not necessarily involve generalized, apocalyptic confrontation. Militarily, this possibility would be very improbable and would run the risk of unleashing a highly escalated, general conflagration.

The military contradiction is patent in view of the number of deployed missiles and their geographic dispersal, which is the only safeguard against a possible adversarial preventative strike with similar weapons, but is exactly what forces the enemy into a massive and sweeping strike-back in order to stop a possible "scaled" attack with this arms system.

While the military ambiguity is obvious, the psychological and political impact remains: nuclear war has become a more conscious probability because it appears that confrontation between the Soviet Union and imperialism would not necessarily have to be peace through terror or collective suicide. A calculated risk on the part of one or another camp is seen as possible. The criminal, counterrevolutionary character of the bureaucracy's policy is fully revealed: unable to convince the workers of the West of the superiority of its "socialism," it opted to secure the maintenance of the status quo by brandishing an atomic threat on a greater scale than before. The bureaucracy thus handed the Atlantic Alliance an unexpected chance to bolster itself politically through the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles. Moreover, a not insignificant number of the SS 20 warheads, probably more than a third,

are aimed at the peoples of the Middle East and Asia, who in no way constitute a military or nuclear threat to the Soviet Union.

\*Page 17, column 2, paragraph 4\*

Replace the sentence: "Thus, Andropov's threat to answer the deployment of the Pershings with the deployment of new missiles in Czechoslovakia and the GDR dealt a blow to the unilateral disarmament movements in Western Europe" with "Thus the deployment by the Moscow bureaucracy of new missiles in Czechoslovakia, the GDR and the Soviet Union dealt a blow to the antiwar movement in Western Europe (a movement which the bureaucrats support or tolerate only insofar as it serves their interests) and, as a result, to the counterpart of this movement in Eastern Europe."

\*Page 17, column 2, paragraph 5\*

Replace this entire paragraph with the text below:

That is why the struggle for destruction of imperialism's nuclear armaments cannot win broad support among the masses of the West unless it is continuously linked to the struggle for an identical, reciprocal destruction in the East.

The first step of this dual struggle is to demand the unconditional, immediate destruction by both sides of stocks of medium-range, precision-accuracy missiles (Cruise, Pershing, SS 20).

At the same time, we relentlessly fight for the destruction of both the bourgeois and bureaucratic armies and for their replacement by proletarian militia.

#### POINT 36

\*Page 17, column 2, first sentence of the last paragraph.\*

Replace: "they play a highly progressive role" with "they play a progressive role."

Following the end of the final sentence of this paragraph, after "unilateral disarmament of imperialism," add, "combined with denunciation of the nuclear missiles in the hands of the Soviet bureaucracy."

\*Page 17, column 2, first sentence of the last paragraph\*

Replace the phrase "should not be confused with pacifist ideologies" with "despite the limitations inherent in pacifist illusions."

\*Page 18, column 2, first complete sentence of this column\*

Remove the sentence: "We oppose any unification that involves dismantling the economic foundations of the workers state in the German Democratic Republic."

\*Page 18, beginning in column 1, rewrite three paragraphs, start-

ing from "Within this perspective, the question of the division of Germany" through to the paragraph which begins with "We support the demand for withdrawal of occupational troops from the German Federal Republic," where the text should resume as originally written\*

Rewritten text:

Within this perspective, the question of the division of Germany is once again posed. As the theses of the Eleventh World Congress stated, "The division of Germany is a major factor in maintaining the status quo. It is a brake on the most powerful proletariat in Europe. But, on the other hand, any upsurge in mass mobilizations in one part of Germany will have an impact on the other, and more generally on Europe as a whole."

The objective is the socialist unification of Germany based on the antibureaucratic revolution in the German Democratic Republic and the social revolution in the German Federal Republic. The demand for a unified, non-nuclear Germany independent of the two blocs (which presumes a simultaneous withdrawal of the Federal Republic from the Atlantic alliance and the Democratic Republic from the Warsaw Pact) has immediate relevancy.

#### POINT 37

\*Page 18, column 2, first sentence of point 37\*

Take out "for example" and add "Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania."

\*Page 18, column 2, second paragraph of point 37\*

Change "the rejection of the deployment of SS 20s in the GDR" to read: "the rejection of the deployment of SS 20s in these countries."

\*Page 18, column 2, second paragraph of point 37\*

Change "the demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops" to "the demand for withdrawal of Warsaw Pact troops."

\*Page 18, column 2, second paragraph of point 37\*

Add to the sentence ending "in these countries" the following phrase, "especially since these demands are combined with the denunciation of the installation in the West of the Pershing missiles."

\*Page 18, column 2, second paragraph of point 37\*

Replace "we also stand for the right of East European countries to leave the Warsaw Pact" with "We stand for the withdrawal of these countries from the Warsaw Pact."

#### POINT 38

\*Page 18, column 2, first paragraph of point 38\*

Take out the word "(Malvinas)."

# Proposed Amendments To The Resolution: "Socialist Democracy And The Dictatorship Of The Proletariat"

By Jaber, Revolutionary Communist Group, Lebanon

[References to page and line numbers refer to the version contained in 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International, Major Resolutions and Reports published by Intercontinental Press/Inprecor]

Page 211, first column, next to the last line:

Add:

Far from being a regression from the principles of bourgeois democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat carries through the democratic transformation of society right to the end, beyond the limits reached by the most advanced bourgeois societies. This is still more evident in the field of women's emancipation or the enfranchisement of oppressed races, nations and peoples. This text is not the place to go into the details of the program of the proletarian revolution in these fields. This program stands for the achievement of full equality, in law and in practice, of sexes, races, nations and peoples through their *self-determination*. However, a point that is often obscured has to be clearly stated: the achievement of this equality will require *an unequal practice that benefits the oppressed of the prerevolutionary society*. This is one of the main lessons of Lenin's Testament: "That is why internationalism on the part of oppressors . . . must consist not only in the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in an inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual practice. Anybody who does not understand this has not grasped the real proletarian attitude to the national question, he is still essentially petty bourgeois in his point of view and is, therefore, sure to descend to the bourgeois point of view." (*The Question of Nationalities*, 1922)

Page 213, Section 4, second column, line 11:

delete:

"recognized by the workers themselves as soviet parties through the election of their members to soviets"

same paragraph, line 20,

After "unrestrained by *ideological* restrictions" add: except for laws forbidding any defense of racial, national or ethnic oppression.

Page 214, third column, line 8:

Replace "of all those elected" by: of all those who stand for election

Page 216, col. 3 and 4:

Delete the last paragraph in col. 3 and first paragraph in col. 4 and replace with the following:

It is nonetheless evident that the healthy functioning of workers democracy presupposes the generalization of a minimum level of culture and industrialization of the society, given the fact that social conditions in which a majority of the toiling population is illiterate and/or composed of proprietors and those who aspire to own private property in the means of production (landless peasants and even agricultural wage-laborers) can only facilitate a bureaucratic degeneration of the forms of power. This is

what explains Lenin's insistence in his last writings on raising the cultural level of the masses, and the Left Opposition's insistence, following Lenin, on industrialization — an insistence that in every case flowed from the struggle against bureaucratic degeneration itself. The literacy campaign carried out in Cuba is in this sense a model to be followed, and has already been emulated in Nicaragua.

On the other hand, the proletarian dictatorship in the backward countries can dispense for an initial period with proportional representation of the various fractions of the population, just as bourgeois "democracy" dispensed at its birth with its own universal suffrage. Even today, in a number of bourgeois democracies where the electoral system is based on majority vote, quite different quantities of votes are required to elect deputies in different districts. The dictatorship of the proletariat will avoid the hypocrisy of electoral gerrymandering characteristic of the bourgeoisie; it will be able to openly choose to give priority to the representation of the toilers in general, and of the working class in particular, as opposed to the bourgeoisie's practice that often, without avowing it, gives priority to the representation of the most reactionary social classes. Bolshevik Russia already restricted the right to vote and eligibility for Soviet membership "to all those who draw their subsistence from productive and useful labor" and gave priority to the proletariat in representation at the soviet congresses, demanding five times more votes for the election of a deputy from the countryside than for a deputy from the city.

Page 217, col. 3:

Delete the second paragraph (line 5 to line 11) dealing with the "historic detour."

Page 217 column 3, paragraph 4, line 3:

Replace "extremely bureaucratized" with "bureaucratic."

Page 217, col. 3, paragraph 6, lines 1-3:

Delete "But this historical *detour* of world revolution by and large ended in the late sixties" and replace it with "The situation described above had begun to change by the late sixties."

Page 218, col. 3, line 36:

Add after "this party can be wrong": "Moreover, in our epoch of the crisis of leadership of the international proletariat, there often exists more than one revolutionary party in the same country."

Page 220, Point 10, col. 3, line 6:

Add after "direct preparation of them": "including explicit instigation to commit them."

Page 221, col. 1:

Add at the end of Point d: "for political ends."

Page 221, col. 2:

Bring the paragraph from lines 31 to 35 up to line 8. Delete the last sentence in the paragraph that begins "Obviously the last word. . . ."; and replace it with: "Nonetheless, as Lenin said, 'the fact that the proletariat will have accomplished the social revolution will not suffice to make it a saint nor make it immune to errors and weaknesses.' This is why the vigilance of revolutionary communists must not be relaxed in any way during the period of transition to communist society. Their role in awakening and

educating the toiling masses does not come to an end with the victory of the revolution; on the contrary, it takes on new scope. It is incumbent on the communist vanguard to root out the slightest manifestations of 'bureaucratism,' to denounce and combat all abuses of the proletarian state, to be vigilant as to respect for egalitarian and democratic principles, to defend the rights of women and racial, national, or ethnic minorities, and, in sum, to play their role as a communist vanguard vis-a-vis the proletarian state itself."

## Proposed Amendments To The "Draft Theses On The International Situation" Adopted By The United Secretariat Majority (IIDB Vol. XIX No. 4):

Point 1, paragraph 2:

"The current phase of the capitalist crisis is characterized by a combination of factors, making it *the most serious crisis* of its history." Add before "*the most serious crisis*": "potentially."

Point 15, paragraph 2, line 5:

Delete everything from "In a number of these countries . . ." to the end of the paragraph "dependence on credit or loans." In fact, this paragraph did not exist in the text adopted by the United Secretariat.

Point 22, paragraph 2, line 3:

Replace "the power of a bureaucratic caste to avail itself of these means of production in practice" with "the parasitic bureaucracy's control over these means of production."

Point 26, paragraph 3, line 14:

Replace "the destruction of a series of specific state apparatus" with "the destruction of the apparatus of the bureaucratic state."

Point 38, paragraph 6, line 2:

Add after "*the political independence of the exploited classes*": "*and the principle of proletarian internationalism, including, if necessary, the Bolshevik tradition of revolutionary defeatism. We demonstrate. . . .*"

Point 42, paragraph 10, last line:

Add after "general political-military tasks": "On the other hand, in certain countries where there is intense repression, the road of the revolution can pass through direct military activity by the revolutionary organization, developing into a mass revolutionary war against the established regime. There is no general 'recipe' for the revolution, but in each case a more or less original and specific road, flowing from the *concrete situation*. Revolutionary Marxists must, in each country, make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation and determine on the basis of that analysis the local strategy of the revolution, for which they will fight alongside other revolutionary forces that share their conclusions."

# Proposed Amendments to the "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" Resolution (part of the tendency platform)

By Hoffmann-Heredia Tendency

[The page references are to an early draft of the resolution that appeared in "Socialist Democracy" a pamphlet published by Vanguard Publications, Canada, 1978]

## Amendment #1

Page 4: Add underneath the subtitle "What is the dictatorship of the proletariat?":

In this sense, every State is a dictatorship, and bourgeois democracy is itself a class dictatorship; it can be nothing other than a mechanism for oppression" (Lenin, *Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, First Congress of the Communist International).

## Amendment #2

Page 5, third paragraph, after the Lenin citation, alter the commentary (the four last lines) with the following:

Such a State is only a State, in the traditional sense of the word, during the period in which it is necessary to "violently repress the resistance of the class which is losing its political rule." And it is to this period that Marxist tradition gives the name of dictatorship of the proletariat. "From its formation, the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat ceases to be a 'State' in the old sense of the word, that is to say, a mechanism created to maintain the obedience of the majority of the people. With arms, material force passes directly — immediately — to the workers' organizations such as the soviets." And that State, "the bureaucratic apparatus, begins to disappear from the first day of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such is the voice of the program which has not been changed to this day" writes Trotsky (*The Revolution Betrayed*, see the chapter entitled "Program and Reality").

That is to say that the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be anything other than proletarian socialist democracy in its founding form.

## Amendment #3

Page 6, Second Paragraph, replace the first three lines with:

It is clear that if such an evolution, the disappearance of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the growth of proletarian democracy, does not take place, but rather a process of bureaucratization develops, then the dictatorship of the proletariat is not being "strengthened," but is being sapped in the direction of bureaucratic State forms. This is especially true after the resistance of the bourgeois class has been broken inside the new workers' state.

The many Communist parties and centrist formations which, after having given either unconditional or moderate support to the Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR or in China, now reject the "excesses of those regimes and the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself. The former group, in practice, and the latter — as a theory from which they derive their practice, participate in a new revisionism which allows them to rid themselves of their past and of any authentic revolutionary correction. In contrast, the Fourth International holds to the fundamental positions of Marxism and defends them. The FI has the obligation to take into account the confusion and discredit which Stalinism has heaped upon the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it will not reject that which represents an undeni-

able aspect of revolutionary strategy. A socialist society . . .

## Amendment #4

Page 7, subheading "Single party or a plurality of parties?," Second paragraph, complete it with:

It has even become evident that the double movement of the growth of the proletariat and the proletarianization of layers of the old middle classes in the advanced countries diversifies and enlarges the range of the levels of consciousness of the proletarian class and, therefore, tends to make a more extended field of political organizations come into existence. That was demonstrated, for example, in Europe after 1968. Not only have we seen political organizations representing the stages of conjunctural rises in consciousness of sections of the working class, and/or the radicalized petit-bourgeoisie, but also representing the so-called "social movements" polarized by particular questions whose complex solution will entail a continuity of struggle (ecology, homosexuality . . .). These movements include, more specifically, the feminist movement (which soon after became divided) which, by its nature, will inevitably be one of the constant elements of the revolutionary movement.

## Amendment #5

Page 11, subheading "What do political parties represent?," paragraph beginning with "This argumentation is ahistoric . . .", sixth line, change the tense of the verb "rendered" (in French, "rendirent") to "has rendered" (in French "rendaient"). (Note: in English this forces the verb "remained" in the same sentence to be changed to "remains.")

## Amendment #6

Page 12, before the last paragraph of the same subheading, replace all of it with:

We cannot avoid posing the question of knowing in what measure certain concrete decisions taken by the Bolsheviks, even before the death of Lenin (such as the banning of all parties outside of the CP, the banning of tendencies and factions within the Communist Party, etc.) and systematizing the professionalization of a layer of militants — hardening them into an intangible hierarchy, de facto privileged both on the material level and on the level of authority — has objectively favored the process of Stalinization, the danger of which Lenin and Trotsky themselves fully understood only after some delay. Even though it is only a question in that case of secondary causes of bureaucratization, it is nevertheless obvious that there are lessons for revolutionaries to draw from it. Besides, it should be apparent that the infrastructural, objective, fundamental conditions of bureaucratization (economic and social) exist only to a far lesser degree in the advanced countries and that the cultural level of the proletariat in those countries should allow a broader application of proletarian democracy even before the revolution.

In any case, the risks implied by the formation of a vanguard party are less than those that flow from its absence — which are

nothing less than the probability of the worst defeat of the revolution.

Historic experience has therefore confirmed that . . .

**Amendment #7**

Subheading "Workers councils and the extension of democratic rights", page 15, last paragraph under that subtitle. In the sentence: "that is indispensable in order to integrate in the proletariat . . . conscious and active."

**Amendment #8**

Last paragraph under the subtitle "An essential condition for winning the masses to the socialist revolution", page 18, replace "basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat" with:

Basis of proletarian power.

**Amendment #9**

Subheading "In response to the Stalinists", point 4, add:

It should be noted that organizations other than the Stalinists, including certain groups calling themselves Trotskyist, develop the same conception and have the same practice in their ranks. It is therefore even more necessary to underscore that such a conception is absolutely contrary to all of the teachings of Trotsky and of our historic movement.

**Amendment #10**

Same subheading, page 20, paragraph following point 5. After "These conceptions continue to exist, at least partially, in the ideology of many leaders and cadres of the CP and even the SP, that is to say, of the bureaucracies of the workers' movement" add:

including sectarian left organizations whose functioning has given rise to mini-bureaucracies.

**Amendment #11**

Same subheading, page 21, before the paragraph beginning with "In second place" insert:

Even the possibility of several parties adhering to revolutionary Marxism and whose differences will not be resolved by fusion before the revolution cannot be excluded, which would involve the necessity of seeking the formation of a front, more or less closed, of these parties attempting to determine their political actions in common.

**Amendment #12**

Same subheading, page 24, before the paragraph beginning with

"As well, in the course of the transition period . . .", introduce this paragraph:

To protect itself from the professional dangers of power, the revolutionary party will have to reject having its members hold several offices each in the leadership of the party and in the State apparatus.

**Amendment #13**

Same page, after the paragraph mentioned above and ending with "to attain this end," integrate the following paragraph:

The independence, in this respect, of the trade unions as well as the parties from the proletarian regime is absolutely essential to proletarian democracy. In the same way as parties, it is desirable that the whole class be organized in a single democratic union, although the right to trade union pluralism will be respected.

The non-accumulation of posts in the central leadership of the party and in the trade unions is a condition for trade union independence.

**Amendment #14**

Same subheading, page 25, point 1 of the paragraph beginning with "The only efficient means of eliminating the influence of these ideologies", add to point 1:

That is to say not only the end of the realization of capitalist profit, but also the expropriation, as well, of all of the big means of production, the print shops, radios, television chains, businesses which distribute large amounts of capital.

**Amendment #15**

Subheading "The self-defense of the workers' state", page 27, third paragraph of the subheading, replace "The dictatorship of the proletariat" with:

The proletarian regime.

**Amendment #16**

Subheading "A fundamental aspect of the program of the socialist revolution", page 30, point 1, replace "Workers' states" with:

Bureaucratic states.

**Amendment #18**

Same subheading, page 21, paragraph beginning with "In the light of all these defeats . . .", correct the second line in the following way:

on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the direct power of the workers . . .



## **Correction**

**By Clelia, United Secretariat Bureau**

Through a confusion on our part the "Theses on the Workers' and Farmers' Government" [IIDB, Vol. XX, No. 11] by the FIT [Fourth Internationalist Tendency] were wrongly described as "by George Breitman."

## **Correction**

(When the translation of the "Draft Resolution on the Iranian Revolution" by Saber, HKS, Iran (IIDB, Vol. XX, No. 11) was sent for publication, the following introductory note was omitted.)

This draft resolution on Iran, which is based on the line adopted at the HKS Congress of March 1981, is going to be put to the vote of the 12th World Congress. I am going to request that the World Congress organize a separate discussion of this draft. If this request is not accepted it will be put to the vote as an amendment to the section of the resolution on the World Situation dealing with Iran.

# 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International: Major Resolutions and Reports

Intercontinental Press published a special 200-page bound supplement containing documents and reports from the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International.

The contents of this volume are:

Introduction

By Mary-Alice Waters

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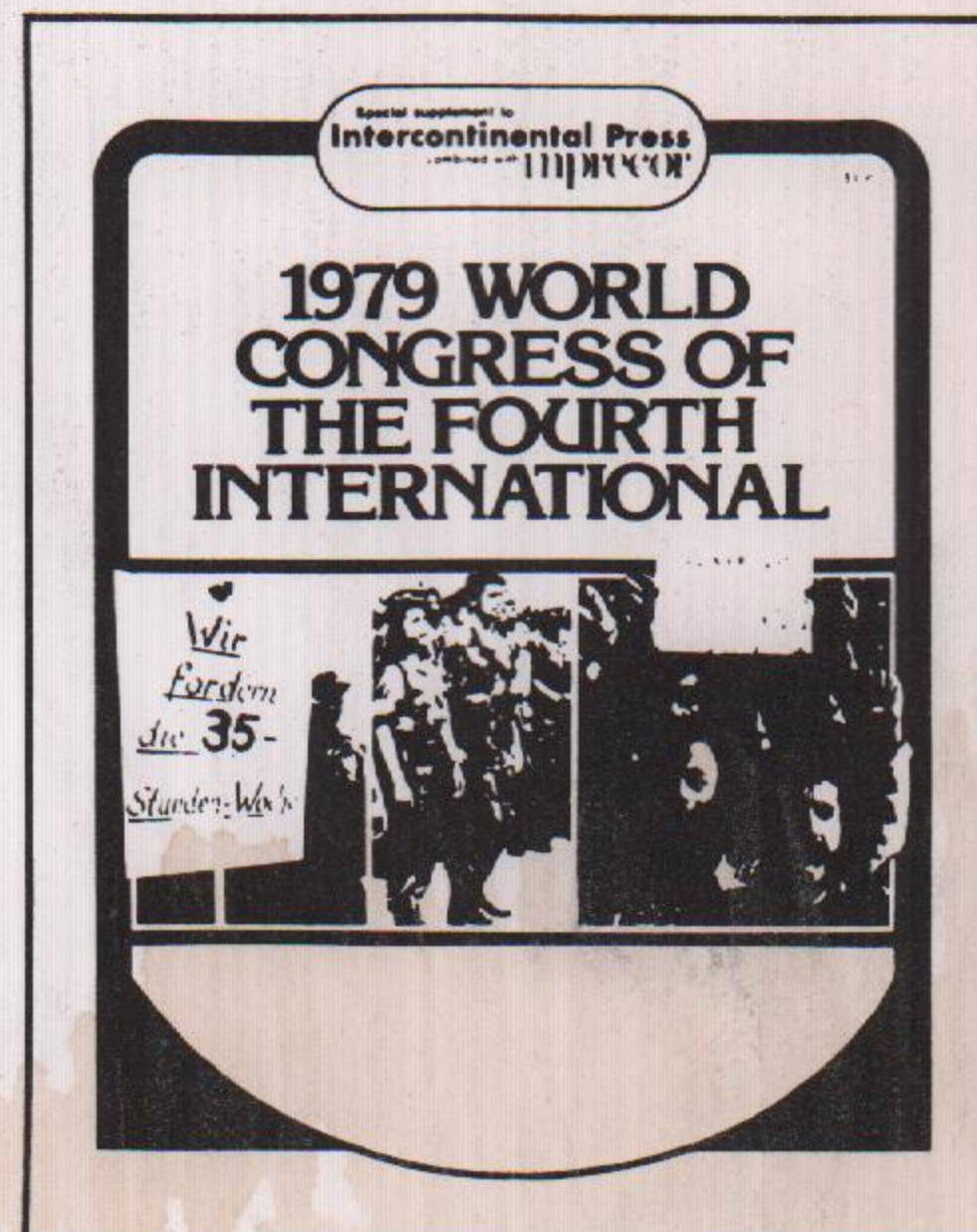
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