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Dear Jack,

Enclosed you'll find the draft outline for the projected theses on the world political situation for the next congress. I'm awaiting your comments.

Fraternally yours,

E. L. Q.

I The crisis of capitalism and the prospects of socialist revolution

1.- The end of the postwar boom, a quantitative aggravation of crisis of capitalism - resources and reserves for stop-gap solutions of social and political crises are reduced - class struggle and international ~~xxx~~ competition accentuate - Ideological illusions and myths supported by boom, esp. in Western working class and lower middle classes loose ~~ground~~ credibility

2.- Nature of 1974-75 recession and subsequent upturn - long-term depressive trend - Reasons of economic and social nature - No overall solution at short and medium-term for international capitalism: the dilemma: inflation, depression, stagflation.- The partial reactions tried: assault on workers standard of living and social rights; intensified international competition (export of unemployment); transfer of capital to areas with lower wages; currency manipulations; restructuration of world market; cartellisation; protectionism. The potential danger: stagnation and contraction of world trade; ~~new~~ intensification of class struggle.

3.- The biggest danger for capitalism: coincidence of downward trend of economy and of increased strength of working class and labor movement - Fundamental difference with 1929-33 period, especially in W. Europe - More nuanced for USA and Japan - Nevertheless, generally working class undefeated and in process of slower or more rapid radicalization, in function of specific conditions in each area - Under these circumstances, first balance sheet of 1974-77 employers' offensive against labor: nowhere succeeded in inflicting decisive defeat on working class - Degree of successful resistance (and counter-attack) depends upon combination of level of organization and consciousness, ~~xxx~~ ~~weight of workers~~ degree of control of traditional bureaucratic apparatus, weight of workers vanguard and capacity for mass spontaneous response.

4.- Political leadership crisis of international capitalism function of international factors (see chapter II) and of unfavorable capital/labor socio-political relationship of forces in most countries make it very hard ~~to~~ if not

impossible to opt for "radical" solutions, either in "reformist" popular front sense (New Deal), or in dictatorship & authoritarian sense (weakness ~~for~~ fascist mass base at this stage, vigorous reactions of masses in function of memory etc.) Political hesitations of bourgeoisie between ^{(radical} "showdown" ~~and~~ confrontation line towards labor and line of relying essentially on reformists to solve crisis especially clear in countries like Italy, France, ^{(Spain,} Britain, Germany, but also present

in Japan, USA, Canada. Objective explanations for these hesitations. *prolonged instability which keeps open the possibility of a double revolutionary or fascist solution by explosion in various S.W. European countries less likely perspective.*

5.- Crisis of capitalism not "purely" economic and ~~unstable~~ predates end of postwar boom. Long-term effects of radicalisation of the sixties. May 68 turning point in capitalist Europe. New relationship of social forces. Growing overall challenge of all bourgeois social relations and ideological values, not only in radicalized sectors of working class, but also ~~in~~ women lib movement, ecological movement, *scientific*, cultural, ^{technological,} and artistic contestation, etc. Weakness of bourgeois counter-offensive (anti-marxism, new philosophers, "human rights") in light of economic crisis. Disastrous role of reformism and stalinism in helping that counter-offensive cannot offset for the time being objective results of deep all-sided ^{growing} social crisis.

II The crisis of the international imperialist system and the prospect of the colonial revolution

6.- Defeat of US imperialism in Indochina new qualitatively aggravated stage in crisis of international imperialist system, both through ^{relative} decline of capacity of US imperialism to play rôle of world gendarme of imperialism, and through change in international relationship of forces which stimulates liberation movements in other parts of the world (in the first stage esp. Africa - Portuguese colonies - Southern Africa; in longer term also ^{Arab world,} Latin-America, and South-East Asia).

7.- Causes and nature of US withdrawal and relative "disengagement" - Difficulties for substituting new "collective" gendarmes for former role of US imperialism: difficulties for Japanese and W. German (European imperialism) to associate itself directly in large-scale military counter-revolutionary operations - Nevertheless first attempts

creates possibility for subjective conquest of organizational and political independence of working class from inter-class populist politics - New stage of upsurge of colonial revolution unavoidable.

III The crisis of the bureaucracy and the prospects of the political revolution.

11.- The nature of the bureaucracy and state in USSR, China, Eastern Europe in the light of the 20 years since XXth Congress of CPSU and 15 years since Cultural Revolution strikingly confirms correctness of traditional trotskyist approach. On the one hand non-capitalist nature: no confirmation of restoration of capitalism ~~etc~~, incapacity of "state capitalism" ^{theoreticians} to foresee events and dangerous political consequences of opting in favor of such characterisations (~~stalinist~~ maoist theories!). On the other hand total incapacity of self-reform of bureaucracy.

12.- Nevertheless, duration of bureaucratic regimes poses problem. Combination of instability, ^{crisis} and relative continuity. Explanation: combination of relative superiority compared to capitalism (especially in light of capitalist crisis), and subjective difficulty for proletariat to massively rise on political field and with political programme. Long-term disastrous effects of stalinism: ^{admiration and} relative depoliticisation of working class and lack of alternative programme - Continuity ^{by} of marxist cadre and marxist thought broken, difficulty for working class to reconstruct marxist cadre on its own - Characteristics and contradictions of intellectual opposition ("dissidents").

13.- Objectively, ^{contacts} ~~contacts~~ of future political revolution become more clear. Experiences of E. Germany 1953, Hungary 1956, CSSR 1968 and since, Poland 1956-1970 and since, China since 1964 make possible more precise programme of political revolution. Universal application of such a programme for all countries where bureaucracy rules and cannot be removed by reforms ^{Concrete} & Contents of that programme.

14.- The concrete ~~mechanisms~~ process of transformation of present autonomous protest movements by intellectuals, oppressed nationalities, ~~workers of tomorrow~~ youth, workers (to-morrow undoubtedly also

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14.- The concrete ~~revolutionary~~ process of transformation of present autonomous protest movements by intellectuals, oppressed nationalities, ~~revolutionary~~ youth, workers (to-morrow undoubtedly also

women) into a unified movement for overthrow of bureaucratic rule yet be foreseen in detail. But series of trends are significant: importance of politicization of working class protest movements; importance of marxist (communist) trends among intellectual ^{and youth} dissidents; ~~xxx~~ importance of self-administrative and self-management demands among oppressed nationalities and women etc. Key importance of socialist democracy and function of ~~xxx~~ democratic slogans at present stage.

15.- Intertwining of crisis of capitalism and crisis of the bureaucracy; Counter-revolutionary role of the bureaucracy on a world scale - Function of peaceful coexistence and "détente" politics - Objective basis of these policies and ~~xxx~~ their limitation - Bureaucracy fears impact of mounting socialist revolution in West - Intertwining of that revolution and of political revolution in bureaucratized workers states Attitude towards war danger as a brake upon social revolutionary developments (myth of "superpowers") and as a real threat after defeats of international proletariat - Real contents of defence of Soviet Union against imperialism (in front of war, danger of restoration of capitalism, ^{but} not "ideological united front" with bureaucracy against human rights).

IV The crisis of the traditional labor movement

Traditional labor movement taken by surprise by ~~the~~ gravity of crisis of capitalism, imperialism and the bureaucracy. Programmatically unprepared to come up with real solutions, bogged down in traditional class collaborationist routines. But very gravity of crisis submits it to dual contradictory pressure: masses look for a radical way out of the crisis through a political breakthrough of traditional workers parties; bourgeoisie wants to use these parties as last-stand trench for saving its system under conditions of mass onslaught ~~of~~ upon it. Blind alley of reformism under conditions of economic stagnation and decline with need ^{for bourgeoisie} for cutting down standard of living of proletariat instead of ^{possibilities of} adding even mild reforms makes this contradiction all the more explosive (exemplified in the crisis of the French Union of the Left). One basic alternative: *Struggle for transitional programme through independent mass mobilization culminating in struggle for a workers government and a socialist solution to the crisis.*

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A historical opportunity for the F.I., for building mass revolutionary parties.

18.- The crisis of maoism in the light of the downfall of the "gang of four" and of the "three worlds theory" - The crisis of maoism in China - the crisis of the maoist parties in the capitalist countries the counter-revolutionary balance-sheet of maoism in Africa, Portugal Latin-America - Desintegrative trends in maoist organizations - The "counter-model" for victorious socialist revolutions and building of real workers states which the F.I. upholds against maoist theories and myths.

19.- The crisis of traditional trade-unionism, especially in the light of the changed economic situation. Trade-union bureaucracy disarmed before ideological employers' offensive (High wages responsible for inflation and for low profits which lead to unemployment) - Trade-union bureaucracy unable to organize serious consistent resistance against practical employers' offensive.- But strength of working class determines strong pressure towards such resistance, in spite of lack of consistent response of bureaucrats - Differentiation of bureaucracy under mass pressure - As long as absence of revolutionary mass parties does not allow for overall political alternative credible for broad masses, trade-unions tend to substitute themselves nilly-willy to workers parties as main avenues for resistance against employers economic and political offensive - Italian and British balance-sheet, probably also Spain - Similar, although slower trends in W. Germany and USA.- Our policy towards building of class struggle tendencies inside T.U.

20.- The crisis of new centrism - new centrism born out of mass radicalization of sixties and relative weakness of revolutionary marxist organizations. New centrism wavers between sectarianism and opportunistic adaptation to traditional apparatuses. The Portuguese balance-sheet. The Italian balance-sheet. The collapse of the "new left" in the USA. The collapse of the autonomous fidelista current in Latin-America. His

tical lessons to be drawn from the crisis of new centrism.

V The building of the F.I.

21.- The historical goal of the F.I. - Mass revolutionary parties and self-organization of the working class - Soviets and vanguard party - The overall social crisis and the multidimensional trends both of self-organization (not only in factories!) and of the revolutionary party (not only workers) - The struggle for a proletarian revolutionary party capable of leading the toiling masses by political and democratic means (political hegemony inside the class and ~~masses~~^{enough} its allies) - The world historic function of the F.I. and the audacity of our project explains in part the relative slowness of our success: The key function of a qualitative leap forward of working class consciousness in correlation ^{and interaction} with the growth of the revolutionary party.

22.- Since May 68 steady growth of the F.I. which, without having taken spectacular forms, means a qualitative change from the pre-1968 situation: intermediary stage between pure propaganda groups and revolutionary mass parties - capacity of initiative in the mass struggle - Examples - Subjective difficulties for understanding both opportunities and limitations of new stage have created many difficulties, both internal and external, for ~~getting~~^{coming} to ~~grasp~~^{peils} with tasks of new period. F.I. has successfully overcome these difficulties, in spite of serious mistakes and shortcomings.

23.- Key question: steady build-up of cadre and of politically trained militants with growing intervention in mass struggles, especially in working class (trade-unions and factories) - dialectics of cadre building and implantation in the proletarian masses - T.U. influence and political influence - problem of central political apparition of party (election campaigns, press, propaganda material, ideological debate inside the labor movement, conquest of intellectual weight etc.) and of credibility in function of leading role in partial struggles - How are the main F.I. parties to-day seen by the broad working class vanguard? - How should they be seen in the process towards building of

revolutionary mass parties?

24.- Nowhere is the revolutionary party already "definite" in its organizational contour: what exist is the programme, the cadre built upon the programme, and initial records (successes, partial successes and ~~fixit~~ partial failures) of mass interventions by that cadre on the basis of that record. Historical significance of regroupment: the definite contour of the party will result from the combination of three processes: the organic growth of the present sections; fusions with other organisations claiming to be revolutionary (esp. claiming to be trotskyist) which might or might not be accompanied by selective splits; fusions with ~~splets~~ splots from the mass parties. Conditions for a principled attitude towards these processes.

25.- National and international organization of the proletarian vanguard. The theoretical and practical roots of the need of a world party. The internationalist essence of trotskyism and of the F.I. What an international organization has to be and can be under the present relationship of forces inside the labor movement - What we ~~have~~ have achieved, what we can achieve, and what we will achieve in the future in that respect - International democratic centralism is not Kominternism, neither in its Zinovievist nor in its Stalinist (degenerated) version - But ~~neither~~ neither is it a loose federation of national ~~parties~~ parties - No room for "national-trotskyism" in the present world - Building of the F.I. is not the building of an international faction, but the building of an international party - The world historical importance for a successful building of the F.I. as a world party.