

# TROTSKY — ISM —

by NAT GOULD

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A TOOL TO SPLIT N.Z. REVOLUTION

## *Revolution is the Main Trend of Our Time*

**R**EVOLUTION is sweeping across the world. In N.Z. industrial workers and revolutionary youth (worker and student) are surging forward. The realisation that the old and decrepit system of wage slavery must be ousted by a higher form of society, is growing. Class struggle has spread to office workers, the Training Colleges, teachers. It is rising in Primary and Secondary schools.

The rotten system of Capitalist wage slavery and Colonial plunder and its brutality, is paraded nakedly before Mankind. This revolting spectacle is even bringing N.Z. Churchmen out against it. Thousands of working farmers, small producers and housewives now realise they are in the merciless grip of a few hundred foreign monopoly giants. The Government is its puppet. N.Z. blood and guts are being spilled in S.E. Asian jungles at their command.

The U.S. stands out as the No. 1 enemy of Mankind. Its power is exercised right in our homes.

Its main forms of power are:—

- **ECONOMIC** — over the worker on the job and, therefore, his wage packet.
- **IDEOLOGICAL** — controlling the minds and thinking of the people.
- **POLITICAL** — the use of State violence — police, prisons, finally armed forces.

### **DIVIDE AND RULE**

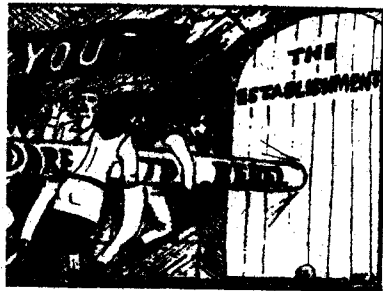
“Divide and rule” has enabled the few to keep the immense power of a united working class from sweeping the exploiters into oblivion. This tactic is of immense importance today. They know that Communism, based firmly on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, is the only real threat. They support and assist those organisations having an appearance of being “revolutionary”, but which are in fact traitors. For example Trotskyites are welcomed in the U.S.; permitted to hold Conferences. They are useful to the C.I.A.

In the present upsurge, a host of varying views and organisations have emerged. They include Socialist Forum, the Socialist Unity renegades from the Communist Party, the "reasonable" Trade Union and Labour Party misleaders, Anarchism and Trotskyism. All of these serve the enemy. The most dangerous enemies are, without question, the revisionist traitors to be found within the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties.

Capitalist "democracy" with its Parliamentary system is merely a facade for the dictatorship of U.S. Imperialism in N.Z. (see "Class Struggle in N.Z."). The yellow press has already foreseen the necessity of replacing it. They are preparing for open terror—Fascism. Older members of the Labour movement were forced to admit that the Labour Party was the "mid-wife of Fascism". This role is forecast in the words and actions of Kirk and his colleagues today.

In the upsurge, many younger people, in particular, are attracted by revolutionary-sounding slogans. Some claiming to be Anarchists, Trotskyites, etc. The overwhelming majority are expressing a genuine revolutionary striving for change. Many have not yet had the opportunity to understand the essence of the counter-revolutionary character of Anarchism, Trotskyism and revisionism in all its forms.

This pamphlet provides a brief outline of the content of Trotskyism. Originally, it was an article in the Communist Review, August 1970. Read it through to the end. It can do much to clear the debris from the path the working class and revolutionary youth will follow, to their victory over Imperialism and Capitalism in New Zealand.



# Trotskyism --- Tool of Imperialism

by NAT GOULD

**IMPERIALISM and the capitalist state use all possible means, methods and weapons to check or suppress revolutionary struggle.**

Although New Zealand is a bourgeois democracy (once described as a "paradise of the Second International"), use of violence is by no means unusual or exceptional in our history. (Recent examples were seen in the Ky and Agnew demonstrations). In fact, police violence is normal procedure in the most "democratic" of bourgeois (capitalist) democracies.

## FASCISM

It should be emphasised that the policy of violent suppression is still not fascism, brilliantly defined by Dimitrov as the open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital; the organisation of terroristic vengeance against the working class; and the substitution of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—of another form—open terrorist dictatorship.

Naturally, the bourgeoisie prefers the ideological weapons of deception (since violence breeds a violent reaction). It relies on social-democracy, the ideology of reformism, of class collaboration, to maintain its dictatorship. It is only when the workers show signs of shedding their social-democratic illusions during a rising revolutionary tide that the bourgeoisie may resort to fascist rule.

## TROTSKYISM

In its bag of ideological tricks to delude the workers — reformism, parliamentarism, racialism, anti-Communism etc. — the bourgeoisie still possesses one last card to divert the workers from the path of revolutionary struggle—Trotskyism.

Trotskyism is a dangerous counter-revolutionary force, particularly during periods of the upsurge of workers' struggles. For Trotskyists proclaim their creed under the banner of "the only true

Marxist-Leninists" and in our modern era they oppose both the discredited revisionists and the "Stalinists."

**Indeed, as will be seen, they have capitalised on the universal revulsion against revisionism, especially among the youth.**

Trotskyism today differs in form from classical Trotskyism, when Trotsky fought Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It remains basically the same in objectives and content as formerly—to undermine and demoralise the working class revolutionary movement, to divert it from the correct path towards social revolution. To understand the rôle of Trotskyism, it is necessary to give a brief review of its history.

### HISTORY

Leon Trotsky first became prominent in Russia about 1903, enjoying some popularity as a speaker and writer among middle-class intellectuals. It was at this time that the first division between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks (social-democrats) occurred. Trotsky sided with the Mensheviks and in one way or another, he opposed Lenin and the Bolsheviks (and later Stalin) on most major issues since that time.

In 1906, he formed an anti-Bolshevik centre in Vienna and in 1912 a coalition known as the Anti-Bolshevik August Bloc. He occupied a centrist position during the First World War, opposing the Social Democrats, but refusing to break with them, opposing the imperialist war, but also opposing Lenin and Lenin's revolutionary line (i.e. "Leninism"). After the February Revolution in Russia, 1917, he joined a Petrograd Social Democratic group known as the Interboroughites which wanted unity with everyone including the social-patriots (supporters of the war). The Interboroughites joined the Bolsheviks shortly before the October Revolution when Trotsky became chairman of the Petrograd Soviet.

After the Revolution, Trotsky, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, refused to sign the Brest Litovsk Treaty with Germany. At a time when a breathing space, a temporary respite, was absolutely vital for the survival of the new workers' state, Trotsky shouted: Neither peace nor war! He proceeded to order demobilisation of army units. Along with Trotsky, a group of "Left" Communists (Bukharin, Radek and others) also opposed the peace treaty and called for an all-out revolutionary war. All Lenin's tremendous will and indomitable fighting spirit were required to defeat this opposition. Trotsky was finally forced to sign the Treaty on terms considerably more onerous. But the Republic was saved.

### ESSENCE OF TROTSKYISM

During the civil war, Trotsky was a military commissar, but his main role was as an orator, not a military strategist. At

the close of the civil war, he opposed Lenin on policy towards the trade unions which he wanted converted into appendages of the State. In 1926, he was joined by Zinoviev and Kamanev, the latter once described by Lenin as strike-breakers of the revolution. The line of this group was, under Stalin's leadership, thoroughly discredited and the group expelled from the party for factionalism.

Trotsky, persisting in his errors and in his opposition to the Party, was eventually expelled from the Soviet Union. He continued his counter-revolutionary role in America, being a useful source of ideological ammunition for imperialism, against the young Soviet Socialist Republic. Trotsky maintained connections with an anti-Soviet Trotskyite bloc in the Soviet Union which was responsible for the assassination of a leading Bolshevik, Sergei Kirov.

The essence of Trotskyism may be summarised as follows:

- a) Denial of the possibility of socialism in one country.
- b) Denial of possibility of proletarian victory where there is no simultaneous revolution in several other countries.
- c) After a successful proletarian revolution, denial of the possibility of consolidating that revolution.
- d) Denial of the possibility of the proletariat to win a leading role in the struggle for political power and gain the allegiance and support in this struggle of other classes, and particularly its main reserve, the peasantry.
- e) After the revolution, denial of the possibility of drawing the masses of the peasantry into socialist construction in the countryside.
- f) Denial of the necessity of inner-party discipline and the basic principle of the Communist Party—democratic centralism, by permitting freedom for factional groups and alternative centres in the party.

### THE SOCIAL BASIS OF TROTSKYISM

Trotskyism reflects the influence in a Marxist-Leninist Party and in the revolutionary movement of non-proletarian (i.e., petit-bourgeois, middle class, small-owner) elements. Camouflaged in pseudo-Marxist-Leninist colours, Trotskyism represents an attempt by the capitalist class and imperialism to split the party and sidetrack the revolution, most particularly at critical stages in the revolutionary movement.

Referring to the middle class (the petit-bourgeoisie), Marx said that this was a "transitional class in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously blunted." Struggling to improve

its position, it is under relentless pressure from centralised capital (monopoly) which forces it back into the ranks of the working class. Politically it wavers from one extreme to the other and is inconsistent in its attitude to revolutionary forces. Stalin pointed out that the working class is surrounded on every side by petty capitalist, small-owner elements who bring with them the petit-bourgeois traits of individualism, vacillation, demoralisation and opportunism.

### THE "PERMANENT REVOLUTION"

Trotsky's "theory" of the "Permanent Revolution" is in reality no genuine Marxist theory at all but a gross perversion of what Marx and Lenin meant by the "permanent Revolution." The myth is fostered by pseudo-Marxists and Trotskyites that Trotsky was more "revolutionary" than Lenin whereas in fact, the exact opposite was the case.

It was Marx and Engels who originated the term "Permanent Revolution". In 1850, in an "Appeal of the Central Committee to the Communist League," a document which was addressed to one of the first revolutionary workers' organisations in Europe, they pointed out that the bourgeois-democratic revolution (for the establishment of a bourgeois-democracy and the abolition of feudalism) should not be terminated with the realisation of only those demands of the petty bourgeoisie, but made "permanent".

**"Until all more or less property-owning classes have been removed from power, until the proletariat have conquered State power . . ."**

In other words, it was in the interests of the proletariat to make the revolution "permanent," not stopping at the bourgeois-democratic stage but continuing the revolution to the next higher stage, the socialist revolution.

Lenin further developed the theory of "permanent revolution." "We stand for UNINTERRUPTED revolution," he said. In the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Europe in 1848, it was the new bourgeoisie or capitalist class which seized power and became the new ruling class. However, Lenin pointed out that in order to make possible the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution, power must not be allowed to pass into the hands of the bourgeoisie at all. (It may be recalled that, after the February 1917 revolution in Russia, power did fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie, but there also existed a situation of "dual power", wherein the Soviets shared power with the Provisional Government of landlords and capitalists).

**Mao has also shown that there could not be an intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship between the two revolutions for**

**today we are in the era of imperialism, the period of the world socialist revolution.**

The leading role (hegemony) of the working class is the foundation stone of the Marxian theory of revolution. Marx outlined a policy of the workers uniting with other exploited sections "the village proletariat" and the theory of the leading role of the proletariat was further clarified and developed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

Trotsky said that the peasant masses did not constitute a revolutionary reserve of the revolution and that the working class was sure to succumb to counter-revolutionary forces at home unless aided by victorious revolution in other countries. Disregarding the demands of the peasantry, he was for skipping the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution (overthrow of Czarist autocracy) and proceeding directly to the proletarian revolution.

Lenin, in opposition to Trotsky's line, further developed the theory of the "permanent revolution" by proving that in order to ensure that the democratic revolution should be carried through to the end and then carried on to the socialist stage, the proletariat, in a firm alliance with the peasantry, must seize the leadership of that revolution.

Thus, as Lenin showed, the two stages of the revolution consisted of—(a) the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and all the peasantry (against Czarism and landlordism and for democratism);—and (b) the dictatorship of the proletariat (based on a firm alliance with the semi-proletarian elements, the poorest strata of the peasantry).

Trotsky said that the revolution would inevitably be defeated because of "the counter-revolution behind their backs and world reaction in front of them."

Unless there was simultaneous revolution in a number of other countries, it was hopeless to expect a revolution in any one country. Trotsky's "theory" of "permanent revolution" meant, in reality, that it was impossible to have a revolution in any one country taken singly.

The history both of Russia and China has born out Lenin's thesis that because capitalism had evolved to its last dying stage, imperialism, and the law of the uneven development of capitalism, it was possible to break the imperialist chain at its weakest link. Therefore, a socialist revolution was possible in one country, taken singly.

It has been shown that simultaneous revolutions in other countries were not a prerequisite to the success of the Russian revolution although undoubtedly, revolutionary situations together with mass sympathy and support by workers in other countries greatly aided the Russian workers to consolidate their newly-born Soviet, Socialist republic.

In the early years of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse-tung also fought and defeated various Trotskyist trends such as those of Wang Ming and Li Li-san (who proposed that both revolutions should be accomplished at one stroke) and propositions which virtually denied both the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist nature of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese Trotskyites, following Trotsky, disregarded the peasantry as a powerful reserve of the revolution and failed to see the decisive significance of the agrarian revolution.

Mao Tse-tung creatively applied in his own country the theory of "permanent revolution" as developed by Lenin, quickly passing from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party and proletariat.

### THE CONTINUING REVOLUTION

Mao has also pointed out "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." Hence the need for further revolutions to constantly strengthen the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In China, after the socialist revolution, it became necessary to carry out a further revolution, a cultural revolution, to safeguard the ideological positions of the proletarian dictatorship. After the enemy with guns, there was the enemy without guns, who tried to sow complacency and defeat, demoralise and corrupt, and undermine the prestige and influence of the workers' and peasants' vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party—the ultimate aim being to restore capitalism and without doubt, at an appropriate time—with guns once more.

China's experience shows that following the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, further revolutions and revolutionary struggle have not come to an end but must be continued, firstly into the realm of ideology, the traditional strongholds of the bourgeoisie such as education, the press, films and the theatre, etc., and secondly, in the State and industry where "capitalist-roaders" sneaked into positions of authority.

This was also a revolution inside the Communist Party itself. For the Party, in the process of fulfilling its role as the vanguard of the workers and peasants, also changes itself, overcoming any tendencies to complacency or self-satisfaction and infusing new life into its ranks.

**China is a true manifestation of "the uninterrupted revolution" mentioned by Lenin.**

### TROTSKYISM & CAPITALISM IN SOVIET UNION

Trotsky's line of capitulation to right-wing Menshevism (Social-democracy) which would have meant an end to revolutionary struggle in the Soviet Union, was defeated by Stalin. **But Trotsky's ideological heirs succeeded in diverting the great Socialist Republic of Lenin off course into the camp of revisionism.**

The Chinese Cultural Revolution is an illuminating example of the leading role of a revolutionary party which led the workers, peasants and students in their fight to wrest control of the state and industry from the capitalist roaders, grafters and enemy agents. The Russian workers and peasants had no similar cultural revolution. The heirs of Trotsky lay concealed within the Party. After Stalin's death, they gained control. Revisionism took over.

Basic is the Trotskyite depreciation of the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat expressed in the Khrushchov theory that, as there are no longer antagonistic classes and class struggle in the Soviet Union, there is no need any longer for a dictatorship of the proletariat. What we have (says Khrushchov) is a "party of the whole people" and a "state of the whole people." How Trotsky would have hailed this fake theory! This road led, as is seen today, in the degeneration of the party and the workers' state.

It opened to the door to capitalist-road elements and permitted them to usurp control. The revisionist clique replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat with a dictatorship of the new Russian bourgeoisie. The historical experience of the Soviet Union teaches that without a continuing revolution in both society and in thought, there is degeneration and reversion to capitalism.

Trotsky's contempt for the peasantry as a revolutionary force showed that he had no faith in the dictatorship of the proletariat which was essentially a revolutionary alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry under the leadership of the former. In his description of an American Soviet in 1935, Trotsky envisaged a multi-party system with equal rights to capitalist-reactionary elements, no class struggle, the disarming of the party and the proletariat and therefore, no dictatorship of the proletariat.

But Lenin said:

**"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most stubborn, the most acute, the most merciless struggle of the new class against THE MORE POWERFUL enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance has grown tenfold after it has been overthrown. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative, against the powers and traditions of the old society."**

## TROTSKYISM TODAY

What of Trotskyism today? Trotskyist trends, small groups and parties, Fourth Internationalists, exist in a number of countries. They are known to have some following in England and France. In England, there is the Socialist Labour League which publishes a twice-weekly "Newsletter" and is affiliated to the Fourth International. Last year they held a conference of Young Socialists at Morecambe attended by 1300. In France, there are at least two groups, the PCI, Parti Communiste Internationaliste (French Branch of the Fourth International) and the OCI, Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (a rival faction, not affiliated to the Fourth International).

In New Zealand only one avowedly Trotskyist group is known but Trotskyist views are expressed in contributions to a Wellington student magazine.

**There is little doubt that a major cause of the rise of the Trotskyist movement in Britain and France among the student youth and young workers was the revisionist degeneration in the long-established Communist Parties.**

In Paris during the 1968 student revolt, the role of the French Communist Party was thrown into bold relief—it emerged as the main brake on the rising revolutionary upsurge among the students and a major obstacle to unity between the students and the workers in the factories. The reaction against the "ossified sterile bureaucracy" of the CPF, its revisionism and reformism, was an inevitable outcome and was reflected in support for the superficially more militant Trotskyist groups.

Incidentally it appears that it was not the Trotskyist parties or other student groups which made the break-through to the workers but the pro-Chinese militants, UJC(M-L) (Union des jeunes communistes-marxistes leninistes). The Penguin Special "French Revolution, 1968," states:

**"But while others talked of the working class and of the need to bridge the gap between intellectual and manual workers, the UJC(M-L), with their quiet single-mindedness, were already inside the factory gates."**

Not all those supporting Trotskyist trends or groups do so with a full knowledge of its counter-revolutionary diversionary role. Many, unaware of the laws of revolutionary change think it is enough if you oppose capitalism, imperialism and revisionism. Ideology is unimportant—all that is required is to unite everyone in the same trench against U.S. imperialism. Ignored is the ideology of Mao Tse-tung, the Lenin of our era, the tremendous and historic contributions of the Chinese C.P. and People's China. But even the struggle to create a broad front against U.S. imperialism, involves, if we are serious about this task, innumerable factors,

aspects and tactics not least of which is the problem of Trotskyist influence in the working class movement. **The theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung must be recognised as an indispensable guide to action in this struggle.**

## THE "NEW LEFT"

Much of the so-called "New Left" theories contain variations of the views advocated by Trotsky at some time in his career. For example, there is the idea that students and intellectuals are more important to the revolution than the working class. Similar to Trotsky's "Workers' Councils" are the "Self-management" theories which obscure the role of the State and class struggle. Associated with "Self-management" schemes are the ideas of student leaders, such as Cohen Bendit, who exaggerates the role of the spontaneous movement. In his view, the workers and the student youth will create their own leadership and vanguard in the course of the spontaneous struggle. We do not need a highly disciplined political party armed with Marxism-Leninism since such a party is bound to become highly bureaucratic and revisionist as born out by French experience.

**He forgets or overlooks the fact that socialist consciousness does not arise automatically with the growth of the spontaneous movement. It has to be fought for, as Lenin did, against social-democratic and other anti-working class, anti-socialist trends.**

Only a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vanguard is capable of doing this. It must be self-evident that there would have been no revolution in Russia and China without such a revolutionary party.

In some cases, the activities of Trotskyite groups or parties are characterised by extreme provocation, adventurism and anti-Communism. **Direct links have been established between them and the notorious C.I.A. which furnished both funds and advice.** The degree of degeneration of such Trotskyite groups is shown by the fact that they may even not stop short of physical violence and assassination of leading Communists and working class militants.

## REVISIONISM AND TROTSKYISM

In some circumstances revisionism and Trotskyism speak with identical voices. This is not surprising if we see that **Trotskyism is basically right-opportunist in content although having a "left" form.** It has been shown that Trotskyism, though garbed in "revolutionary" terms, veers to the Right in action and towards collaboration with social-democracy.

It is significant that the New Zealand Party's theory and practice on democratic-centralism is attacked by both the revisionist S.U.P. and the Taylor group, one from a right and the other from

a "Left" standpoint. Both boil down to freedom for factions and groups to carry on disruptive work in the party. How similar to Trotsky who attacked the so-called "barracks regime" and wanted "freedom groupings" in the Communist Party.

Trotskyism provides fertile soil for the putchist, individual terrorist outlook. Revolution can be brought about by a small elite band of intellectuals, avoiding the tedious, humdrum, day-to-day work among the masses, along the lines of the Cuban revolution. (But would Castro's small band have succeeded without the patient self-sacrificing work among the workers and peasants by Cuban communists and revolutionaries which preceded the stage of armed struggle?) Personally courageous, Che Guevarra failed in Bolivia because it was an attempt to implant a revolution from outside, before a revolutionary situation had matured.

Individual heroism when it is isolated from mass struggle and the people's movement is a manifestation of bourgeois individualism and negates the role of the masses and the revolutionary party that leads them in struggle. While leaders who arise out of revolutionary mass action are an essential part of any movement, nevertheless it is the people who make history (and determine their own future) not great men. "Che", history will recognise, was a heroic revolutionary, devoted to the cause of the revolution and the interests of the exploited masses; but his method is not the road to victory for the exploited masses.

Revisionism and Trotskyism are blood brothers, both serving a useful purpose, though playing different roles, to the bourgeoisie. Similar ideas will therefore be found in both movements.

### THE PARTY AND THE STATE

Trotsky abhorred centralism and as mentioned earlier, he attacked the party of a new type founded by Lenin, calling it a "barracks regime run by a dictator." Later, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he fought for freedom for independent groups in the name of inner-party democracy. However, when Trotsky was Military Commissar during the civil war, he tolerated no opposition and ruled with an iron hand. Following the civil war he pursued a policy of coercion and sought to convert the trades unions into purely state appendages.

Abroad, Trotsky launched a virulent campaign against the Soviet Union, still fighting for survival in a hostile capitalist environment. He harped at length about bureaucracy and the denial of rights under the "Stalinist regime." What he feared, however, was the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotskyists today lump Russia and China together and condemn both as "bureaucracies". They also make no distinction between genuine Marxist-Leninist and revisionist Communist Parties which are equally "Stalinist."

But while expressing abhorrence at genuine proletarian dic-

tatorship, our new Trotskyists choose to ignore the modern capitalist state, the organ of the giant monopolies, and its major arm, the military forces. The French students with revolutionary heroism, challenged many State institutions, but not the main centres of State power.

**Had they done so, undoubtedly, the chief arm of the State, the military forces, would have been brought into play to suppress the revolt.**

Students and workers were permitted to "play at revolution". Why bring in the army? The revisionist Communist Party could be relied upon to keep the situation under control as, indeed, it did.

A similar underestimation of the capitalist state is to be noted in a contribution to a Wellington students' magazine: "There is no difference between local and foreign capitalists—both are enemies of the working class. Foreign investment in N.Z. is still only on a small scale. Struggle against imperialism is important but to make it out as the main enemy is to cultivate nationalism.

**"Seeing only the bourgeoisie" and not imperialism as the main enemy is a Trotskyist and opportunist line. Who would consider it necessary to enquire of the Vietnamese workers and peasants who was THEIR main enemy?**

Even if Canada, for example, has not got troops in Vietnam, subservience to U.S. capital (imperialism) still remains a question of degree. There should be no doubt or illusions about the fate of Canada, N.Z., Australia or any other country subject to U.S. penetration, if an internal situation threatened the security of American investments. Intervention, possibly on the Vietnam pattern, would be a definite possibility. "Comprador capitalists" as well as the direct agents and branches of U.S. imperialism itself, would see to that.

As Stalin pointed out, quoting Lenin, the strength of an overthrown bourgeoisie lies firstly "in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisies."

### TWO MAIN TRENDS

**Lenin pointed out long ago that there were two main trends in the working class movement: the anarcho-syndicalist and the revisionist. These two main divisions still exist today.**

Syndicalism means, as Lenin pointed out in 1921, "the transfer to the masses of non party workers . . . the management of branches of industry (the "Chief Committees and Central Boards") thus destroying the need for the party . . ."

It must be the Party's objective to concentrate in the workers' hands the entire management of the national economy, but to



accomplish this: there must be centralised control and the Party must lead, educate and train the non-party masses; politics and the Party must be in command at all times in this process.

Trotsky's proposals to fuse the State with the trade unions would have afforded a basis for Menshevism (social-democracy) and undermined the workers' dictatorship.

In this connection, it is of value to refer to the example of Yugoslav revisionism where anarcho-syndicalist policies in the name of "self-management" and decentralisation" were carried out leading to the disintegration of the Party and the proletarian state. The result: the revival of capitalism in that country.

The theories of "self-management" previously referred to, likewise avoid the problem of political and state power, the role of the party and the proletariat and class struggle. They are closely associated with "structural reform" propositions of "socialism evolving into capitalism" and a super-class state, advanced by revisionists throughout the world including the Yugoslav "theorists."

### CONCLUSION

The older generation of Communists, revolutionaries and militant workers gladly welcome and hail the rising tide of the youth movement and their fight against a corrupt and dying system, against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. It is certainly their hope and duty to pass on, insofar as they can, the torch of knowledge and theory to the younger generation of revolutionaries, and at the same time also learn from the youth.

**When the ruling class through its state forces wields the club many questions are clarified, the role of the state, who are our friends, who are our false friends, who are our enemies.**

The more subtle ideological weapons of the bourgeoisie can be more dangerous because they are not so easily perceived and understood. One of the more pernicious of these weapons is Trotskyism, false Marxism-Leninism.

Only the theory of true Marxism-Leninism and its further development by Mao Tse-tung, is capable of countering such anti-working class trends as Trotskyism. Let us all, young or old, student youth and youth workers; unite and fight under this banner.

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