

DEC 2 1976

XIP
Sydney
November 25, 1976

Caroline Lund
New York

cc: J-M.A., Bar, Joe, Benny,
Gus, Ed

Dear Caroline,

Let me just fill you in on the details of developments here. At our plenum last weekend we fused with John McCarthy and two other leaders of the CL.

They had resigned from the CL about two or three weeks before. At the last conference of the CL John had got a majority for his document and perspectives which I gather went somehow against a new mass vanguard approach. Linda Boland led the opposition to him. Part of their perspectives were for a weekly paper. When they tried to carry this out given the fact that it was a big over projection they got hounded by the Boland group who went on a sit down strike. Tensions built up. The paper failed. One or two NCers changed sides. John, a little exhausted resigned.

When I heard I suggested a fusion. This process led him to do some re-thinking. We had been going into our annual round of fusion discussions and even before he resigned John had told us at these that the CL had been reckless in their relations with us in the past. After discussions it became clear that a new perspective was opening up for John and that his resignation from the CL could take on a real purpose with quick fusion and campaign to have others follow his course.

We confidently expect over the next few weeks to take a majority of their full NC if not a majority of their ranks.

We have with these initial three substantial agreement on Australian questions while they remain in the IMT. Of course they will eventually have to understand that IMT politics led to their difficulties but we will be letting this develop naturally. We also have real agreement with John on international democratic centralism and most of the related organisational disputes. Everything looks really good for making this fusion work. We are working very intimately together with John who is on our PC. Further details as they happen.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Yip Nin.

Our conference is late January. In the light of what has happened it may be worth reconsidering and send an SWP observer? We heard before the split that IMT was considering sending Pat Jordan?! Not for our conference but to lay the basis for a fusion! No letter was sent to us but John says it was a definite proposition. Have you heard anything?

Comradely,
Jim Percy

John Percy

Sydney
November 25, 1976

Yip Nin,
Hong Kong

Dear comrade,

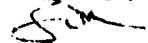
Thanks for your long letter. I have taken the liberty of myself sending a copy of it to Caroline in New York.

Two questions for the moment: Did a conference of the RCY get held? What is the exact date of RCP conference and would an observer(s) be welcome/useful?

We have just had a big development here as you can see from the enclosed letter to Caroline.

I will write a longer letter to you soon, especially after I get a chance to study some of the material you referred to in your letter.

Comradely,


Jim Percy

copy

copy

copy

received Dec.2, 1976

Jim Percy
Sydney

Hong Kong
11 Nov., 1976

Dear Jim,

We have received Direct Action by airmail. Thank you.

Since Alan can read Chinese, we will send him by air the October Review, Riva Gauche and Young Militant, so that you can know our idea about the recent development of political situation in China.

In the last two months, there were progress in regard with the PNC and the youth. First, we have succeeded getting all young comrades into the party. We also continue to push the PNC majority to seriously consider their course for the youth movement, the RCY and the YSG. They now agree in general that it is possible for the youth organisation to get out from underground and strive for a semi-legal existence. Because this has been a de facto since the May 16 demonstration. They also say that both the party and the youth should publish a regular paper, that the RCY should get out of the YSG, to be an independent organisation. But they still insist the maintenance of the YSG and the Riva Gauche. They still characterise the YSG as a 'mass' organisation. (You know, the question is not on the characterisation, the question is to build a YSG and a Riva Gauche as a strategy.)

I believe that we will gain concessions in the party conference. But it is not we strive for. We disagree with the political line of the PNC majority. Although this line is ambiguous, and the PNC majority did not clearly pose it or defend it, it exists practically. For two years, we strive to dig it out, to clarify it. We have to dump it as the party line.

Only a deep internal discussion, clarification, and if necessary struggle can lead the chinese party to rearm itself and goes forward. We do not know whether we can help some old comrades to overcome the conservatism they are plagued due to the inactivitism of the chinese party in the last twenty years up until recent.

Thus we should not be satisfied with the minor practical concessions by the PNC majority. We should not rush to make compromise with an ambiguous political line.

Secondly, we have succeeded to postpone the coming party conference till the end of this year. Two points will be added into the agenda. They have been accepted by the PNC. They are: (I) the

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political situation in China and the crisis of Maoism; (2) the political situation in Hong Kong and our immediate tasks. So far as we know, there is a general agreement on the first point. In the RML, we believe there are three tendencies. The first one is a very small minority, represented by Wang Lan-see. His position has appeared in the Red Weekly (see IP and the Red Weekly, articles by Shuang Shan and Gregor Benton). This position might be the same as the IMT. I think they are coming a step closer to us on some tactical question. The second tendency in the RML is also a small minority which is led by those two splitted with us in last year. They get a position to support politically Mao-Chiang Ch'ings' faction in the current interbureaucratic factional struggle of the CCP. In the recent event of the 'gang of the Four', they adopt a position to defend practically Chiang Ch'ing's faction against Hua-Tengs' faction. The third tendency is led by S.S. Wu. It is the majority. It's position is vague and contradictory. It characterises Mao's faction as centrist but Chou-Tengs' a right tendency. I logically, they do not call for defence Mao's faction against the purge. They simply get no position at all, seemingly indifferently to this crucial question.

Although on the Chinese question we are more homogeneous than the RML, I still worry there might be underlying difference on the role of Mao, Maoism and the CCP in the third Chinese Revolution. The question is on the nature of the Maoist variety of Stalinism. After Mao's death, Lee See wrote an article for the October Review on the assessment of Mao's career. You were with us then and we did tell you about this. We disagreed with many formulations in this article. I went to the PNC meeting asking for a discussion. At the same time, the editorial board of the Riva Gauche voted to reject a similar article also written by Lee See. Pressure from the youth got gains. Lee See did not debate for the articles. The others in the PNC agreed to change some formulations we charged for revising our traditional position ---- guerrilla warfare of Mao, Sino-Russian conflict, 'cultural revolution'. The article finally printed in the October Review and the English version has appeared in the IP, November 1. We still regard it contending ambiguous points which can lead to misunderstanding and wrong conclusion.

The sensation created after Mao's death (that he led the third Chinese revolution the building of the worker state), caused a massive social pressure which reflects into the party leadership. I understand that the root of the deviation is not without ground.

A profound education work has to be arranged. At the moment, we are pressing the PNC to publish Peng's major writings after 1949. Plans to translate articles on the relating question is also set, e.g. Tom Kerry's 'An Anatomy of Stalinism'.

The second point in the agenda is on the political situation in Hong Kong. The PNC majority have submitted a draft resolution which was adopted by four votes for, with myself against. The line of the document is the same line of the last five years but for the first time implicitly coded in a document. We grasp it at once and place it into

strong criticism. The document itself is a general and abstract one, without concrete proposal and setting not perspective and tasks. We have submitted a draft resolution on the youth radicalisation, together with the youth document adopted by the ninth world congress.

In light of our criticism, the PNC now try to take back the majority draft for revising and amending, we do not think that they will accept our idea, but will be forced to present more clearly their positions. This is what we want, but we have not to wait for the renewed document, just start to draft our own.

As we get the young comrades to approach the party rank, we are more understanding that our criticism on the PNC line is correct, the sources of the conservatism inside the party is not merely from the PNC majority, but the rank and file also. We try to find ways to discuss with the old comrades other than the PNC. But the PNC majority are nervous about the emergence of inter-party opposition. Surely, we should try to convince them practically that we do not want to split the party, but merely to exercise our rights as party members. That is the reason why they avoid to present their line clearly to the party rank. As we push hard, they concede somewhat, but continue to resist. Such tactics could only create confusion, practically placed the party in a profound crisis, making it without a stable, consistent political leadership. The existence of the youth organisation as an active organisation may help to lessen the danger. We are confident in that even if we will be the minority after the party conference, we will practically lead the most active part of the party. However, if a new political leadership shall not be forged, the crisis we face would not be overcome.

After last September, we have recruited more members from the YSG. Thus we are now the majority inside it. Even Hong Chi recognises that the YSG now is a real nutshell of the RCY. Our task is not to turn the RCY from the small YSG towards a broader milieu. We strive to win such a turn in the coming party conference.

In early September, the RML approached us for discussing a fusion between the RML and the RCP. I agree that the party is not strong or homogeneous enough to fight with them, but it will be necessary to discuss with them. Thus Hong Chi and I pushed very hard in the PNC for a rapid response to the RML, for the others got a somewhat sectarian stand on approaching the RML. Anyway, three representatives of the PNC met with the representatives of the RML four days after we received its letter. In the meeting, both sides stated their agreement in general for unity of all Chinese Trotskyist forces. Eventually, it was agreed that a communique should be drafted to outline the general approaches towards a principle fusion. Some concrete steps were also proposed by us but not formally accepted. We drafted the communique and gave it to them in mid-September. But till now the RML keeps silence giving us no reply. On the other hand, they started to attack us openly in the Combat Bulletin. S.S.Wu wrote an article on Mao's career (the English version has appeared in the Inprecor, but the attacks were eliminated), branding Peng as an opportunist. We wrote a letter to

them demanding to stop these attacks and reserve our right to reply them openly. The letter is being translating into English for the United Secretariat. I will send you a copy.

Two days ago, I receive a letter from Comrade Pinjin. This reminds me the MSR. We have not received the first issue. Please send us one copy by airmail, so that we can send it a greeting.

Comradely greetings,

/s/ Yip Nin

Socialist Workers Party

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November 26, 1976

United Secretariat
Brussels

Dear comrades,

This is to inform you of a fusion that has taken place between our party and three former leaders of the Communist League.

The ex-CL group was made up of IEC member John McCarthy, Peter Robb and Marcia Langton.

The resignation of these three from the CL may well be followed by other comrades with whom we will attempt similar fusions.

Enclosed is a copy of the fusion statement and an article by John McCarthy from our paper Direct Action.

Of course we will send you copies of the draft resolutions adopted unanimously at our plenum as soon as they are available.

Comradely,

Jim Percy
Jim Percy
National Secretary