

1. Report on draft res. on Europe

12:45-2:30 lunch break

2:30-6:00 discussion

2. Item

Report - Europe

- youth / ^{most} developed
- trade union

int'l context
- w/hrs states
- col. world

a. - nature of the crisis

not strictly economic

combined: - econ. / bus. soc. relations / political

(initially raised outside)

all social ds / - penetrate w.c. + w.c. orgs.

b.) nature of the period

are we in a recul w/ respect to 1968

- Spain, Port ↓

- France - udG defeat

(2)

view that $\exists \downarrow$ (contests, + w.c. orgs)

we enter into econ crisis prior to any big defects of w.c.

rocs must launch an offensive, from an unfavourable relationship of forces

- defeat in VN,
- int'l crisis of pol. leadership of r.c.

- in this context, can see role of reformist leaderships

we remain in the period opened up in 1968

- growth of f.u.'s

- strikes

r.c. hasn't been able to reorganize sectors like steel industry

For a sector of w.c. ^{that has} gained experience of response to r.c. offensive

- nature of the debate in w.c.

③

⇒ turn to industrial w.c.
in an organized, conscious way

crisis of Stalinism

- I not only in countries where I a big CP

At ~~the~~ moment of pre-rev. crisis there
was a tendency to outflank reformists
- - but for masses this was limited
in time

b) in absence of a mass rev. stry. the
reformists were able to recoup

but-hegemony of reformists ≠ total over all
strikes or partial struggles

∴ I a parallel development

- growth of # wks controlled by
reformists

- growth of advanced layers

The f.u. opposition that has grown up
does not only express itself on narrow
f.u. Q's, but on broader social Q's

(4)

the crisis raises to the fore the Q of
all political strategies

strategy

1) unif of key sectors of w.c.

draw behind it all oppressed

2) no. of tactic central
^{should not be}
- but ~~not~~ reduced to unity of
w.c. orgs.

EPI

- need to build real collective leaderships

- needs a conscious effort — as
much as for political elaboration

failure to do this has led to losses
of ches who went into industry

(5)

Nemo -

→ 3 differences

1) doc. on Europe

2) on Eurocommunism

1) document = limited to capitalist Europe

whereas 3 common Europe-wide tasks since '68

~~the~~ slogan - socialist u.s. of Europe raised only vs Europe of the trusts should be posed in whole continent

2) analysis of period eclectic formulas doc uses "recul" formula

(6)

3.) \neq precise characterizations of class collaborationist policies.

e.g. pop frontism

\neq class collab. like other forms of class collab

4) Stalinism

- \exists dual base of CP's - a la Trotsky
- but which is dominant? - ^{tests} Moscow

- doesn't characterize as Stalinist

- overstates the criticisms of Kremlin

5) tasks/balance sheet

- Portugal

- analysis of roles of SP, CP

constituent

MFA

- Spain

text = ambiguous

1) "disappearance" of dict = false

2) transition to bourg. dem.

regime remains dictatorial

(7)

- line re constituent
correct or no to propose amendments
to ~~the~~ r.c. proposed constitution

- Eurocommunism -

- CP's main objective = to prevent
a victory of w/ro ptier. -

This - can only be explained by int'l
factors

6.) new Vanguard

3 advances in the document

a) the word doesn't exist

b) break w/1973 doc that said

the radicaliz. was mainly
outside w.c.

But

a) no explanation of disappearance
of the "new Vanguard"

it actually does come up in
the document

descriptive formula doesn't clarify

⑧

The doc tends to put main opposition
between advanced wkrs + bureaucracy
rather than wkrs (mass) (objectively) + bureaucracy

electron policy - formally OK, but
avoids real problem
that has existed

7.) united front

attacks of on t.u. sts. ⇒ response

doc lumps together SPD (Ger) +
Labour Party (Britain)

wkrs govt.

- progress in doc
but still confusion

Matti -

doc = a break from past // positive

- nature of period
- role of SP's, CP's
- line re centrists
- u.f.

(9)

four Q's to raise
Secondary

→ nature of the period
same period since 1968

layer of advanced wkra. -

~~3 imp Q's~~

- role of accidents & Stals

- definition of alliances

- pop front

↳ French cc document is clearer

^{non-}characterization of CP's as Stalinist
= wrong

would ⇒ CP line flows exclusively from
nat'l considerations - This isn't so

Ernest -

2 secondary Q's

- we fight integration of f.u.'s in bay state

↳ say the "comites de enterprise" ~~of~~

= main means of integration = absurd

(10)

- Spain - to say I dictatorship in Spain
= an "aberrant" position

~~re~~ - constitution -

The aim of CCR was to
explain pedagogically why they
vote no to the constitution

~~Vanguard~~

never - neither in 10th w.c. doc
nor in 1976 document was
Vanguard identified with political
GPS.

- always used formula of
broad vanguard of more & more
w.c. in composition

Q ≠ betrayal of CP's
but how to convince workers

= what has changed
- not betrayal, but -

→ ^{6.3}
I opposition states in votes for
comités d'enquête in Germany

(11)

Eurocommunism

There does E a process of "social-democratization" -

Contra in pop front argument

- pro-pref.

- is winning election

Trade USA: west = no longer

& mainly through CP companies

"Stalinist" = wrong term -

doesn't take account of

changes

in a new "cold war" the none of the Eurocommunists would say, as in

~~the~~ past / ~~part~~ - "we would welcome

Soviet armies as liberators"

Dutch Comrade:

the USB text is what we need, which is a balance sheet

agree w/ 1st 60-70 pages

(12)

- document is too long -
 - incorporates most of pts that the Dutch section had raised
 - w-l not adequate in the doc
 - nuclear power -
to call for a moratorium is too weak
 - soldiers
 - need soldiers trade unions
(not just dem sts.)
-
-

Live in the dec.)
[a tendency to minimize ~~aspects~~ ^{negative} and
~~overplay~~ ^{positive} ~~aspects~~ phenomena

Feb 1976 IEC resolution on Portugal
was wrong in overevaluating the sit.
of 1975
docs on Spain were wrong likewise
vanguard - was not just a
w.c. vanguard, but in Dutch the
w.c. component became larger & larger

Alexander (Germany)

in Germany we underestimated
the vanguard phenomenon

growth of opposition states reflects
a broad radicalization -

lack of analysis on youth
radicalization

times are hard now for
recruitment to socialist, Marxist ideas

- we are in a period of numerical
stagnation or losses

Karl (Sweden)

--as some interpret it--

if we drop WML/ we should
say they it was wrong earlier. Not so
simple

(14)

To run our own candidates \Rightarrow we say
that wtfy (CP-50) is not top priority

In most countries of Europe, there
does not exist an electoral system - à la France

- u.f. concept = abstract, since we are small,
unless we point to concrete actions

Barry - What the document is not

- 1) no common balance sheet
- 2) CP's - we agree on what
to do/say even if I disagree
on term, "sober"
- 3) Portugal - not an overall balance
sheet
- 4) = agreement on what to do now

Anna (Fr.)

agree w/ ~~line~~ line of doc & nature of doc

John Strawn

Why was youth omitted?

in Britain + Italy there is a second wave of youth radicalization taking place
- through music, e.g.
- US racism,

youth orgs. -
should be put into section on party building

ambiguities

- vanguard
- united front
- stalinism

Alain Krüger

dominant aspect of current sit
= w.c. resistance to austerity plans
of r.e.

The specific distinguishing feature
of Stalinism as contrasted to
social Democracy = unconditional
subordination to Kremlin, even if losses
were to come about as a result
- This has changed
- altho ties to Moscow exist

Heppner (Germany)

- racism is left out
- has risen to a new level compared to the past
- immigrant wkr = a big part of some cities

(17)

re SPD

1) no confusion on class character
of —

2) call for a vote for mass workers
parties

(and this \Rightarrow gov't'l slogan)

Jones —

CP's are Stalinist —

but the important Q = to

discuss what's happening inside CP's
and what to do about it

— turn to industry will solve
many problems (mtgs on time, etc)

Adair

need to shift from white collar
unions to other unions

— leaders ~~must~~ ^{must} get into industry

Moyers (Denmark)

(18)

- agree w/ document, but don't like it
- no clear conception of the purpose
- ~~analysis~~ = verbose (1st 60-70 pp.)
- not so useful re tasks

Charles M.

we've got to be in the industrial
w. c. to challenge the CP & SP

Dave Windsor

- need to make org. of FI such that
workers will feel comfortable
- need to proletarianize the leaderships
- document is too long

part 18 p 30 special
should be a section on new role of
national ~~the~~ struggle in Europe

no mention of homosexuals

(19)

Steve - (Britain)

→ Europa doc = better than old political
on Portugal

Summary // C.A.U.

3 continuity old pol / Eur. doc.

European singularism / SK