

MINUTES OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

May 11, 12, 13, 14, 1972

Thursday, May 11, 1972

Convened by Barnes: 10:05 AM

Motion by Barnes: That L. Henderson chair the first day.

Carried.

Attendance:

Regular: Barnes, Breitman, Britton, P. Camejo, Chertov, Coover, DeBerry, Dobbs, Garza, Halstead, A. Hansen, J. Hansen, Horowitz, Jenness, Johnson, Jones, F. Lovell, Novack, Ring, Shaw, Sheppard, Stone, Tussey, Waters, Weinstein, Weissman

Alternates: Bolduc, Morrison, Seigle, White, Wulp, Styron, Benson, Lipman, L. Henderson, C. Scheer, Thomas, Montauk, S. Lovell, Scott, Evans, Leonard, Sell, Kirsch, A. Camejo, Edwards, Roberts, Pulley

Advisory: Alvin, R. Chester, Kerry, Reed, Trainor

Control Commission: R. Hansen, H. Scheer

1. ORGANIZATION OF PLENUM

Shaw reported recommendations of the Political Committee on procedure:

Motion: To approve the following procedural recommendations:

1. That in cases of procedural disputes, discussion be limited to two speakers, one for and one against, and that each speaker be limited to two minutes.
2. That general discussion be limited to ten minutes per speaker and that no one speak twice until all who wish to speak have already done so.
3. That the Presiding Committee consist of the Administrative Committee (Jones, Scott, Shaw, Sheppard, Stone) plus Barnes, Dobbs and Waters.
4. To designate Feigenberg and Lesnik as Plenum secretaries.
5. To invite as observers: Control Commission members, co-thinkers, heads of national departments, members of the youth NEC, branch organizers and special guests.
6. To invite the following individuals as observers: Linda Jenness for the entire plenum; Rosenshine and Foley for the World Movement Reports.
7. To give voice to organizers and department heads who are not members of the National Committee during discussion of the Organization Reports.

Carried.

Motion: To approve the following agenda:

1. Organization of Plenum
2. World Movement Reports
3. Political Report
4. Election Campaign Report
5. Youth Report
6. Organization Reports
7. Election of National Officers
8. National Committee Membership
9. Election of Political Committee

Carried.

Motion: To approve the following schedule (see attached):

Carried.

2. WORLD MOVEMENT REPORTS

A. Latin American Informational Report

P. Camejo reported.

Recess -- 12:30 PM

Reconvene -- 2:00 PM

Discussion: White, Breitman, Morrison, Thomas, Garza, Kerry, Roberts,
P. Camejo, Britton

B. Political Committee World Movement Report

Waters reported for Political Committee.

Motion by Presiding Committee: To hear second part of Political
Committee World Movement Report and then proceed to discussion of
report as a whole.

Carried.

Barnes reported for Political Committee.

Recess -- 6:10 PM

Reconvene -- 8:45 PM

Discussion: Roberts, L. Henderson, Garza, Kerry

Motion: To grant Kerry a 10-minute extension.

Carried.

Summary: Waters

Summary: Barnes

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Motion: To approve the general line of the World Movement Report.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

Motion: To adopt the Political Committee draft on the Sallustro kidnapping and stand taken by the United Secretariat (see attached).

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

Recess -- 8:55 PM

Friday, May 12, 1972

Reconvene -- 10:05 AM

Motion by Presiding Committee: That DeBerry chair Friday session.

Carried.

3. POLITICAL REPORT

Sheppard reported.

Discussion: Roberts

Motion: To grant Roberts a 2-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Ring, Alvin, Tussey, Lipman, Thomas, P. Camejo, R. Chester, Edwards

Motion by Presiding Committee: To have two more speakers, break for lunch and continue the discussion after lunch.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Stone, Breitman

Recess -- 1:15 PM

Reconvene -- 2:45 PM

Further Discussion: DeBerry, L. Henderson

Motion: To grant L. Henderson a 1-minute extension.

Carried.

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Further Discussion: Garza, Johnson, A. Camejo

Motion: To grant A. Camejo a 5-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Jones

Motion: To grant Jones a 2-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Sell, Montauk, Kerry

Summary: Sheppard

Motion: To approve the general line of the Political Report.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

4. ELECTION CAMPAIGN REPORT

Seigle reported.

Motion by Presiding Committee: To give voice to L. Jenness for the discussion of the Election Campaign Report.

Carried.

Discussion: Thomas, Tussey

Motion by Presiding Committee: To recess now and continue discussion Saturday morning at 10:00 AM.

Carried.

Recess -- 6:05 PM

Saturday, May 13, 1972

Reconvene -- 10:05 AM

Motion by Presiding Committee: That Chertov chair Saturday session.

Carried.

Further Discussion: DeBerry, Alvin, A. Camejo, L. Jenness, Sell,
Weinstein, Garza, Evans

Summary: Seigle

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Motion: To approve the general line of the Election Campaign Report.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

Motion by Presiding Committee: To allow 1 hour and 15 minutes for the Youth Report and to shorten the summary to 15 minutes.

Carried.

5. YOUTH REPORT

Rose reported.

Recess -- 12:55 PM

Reconvene -- 2:30 PM

Discussion: Evans, Thomas, Ring, P. Camejo, Montauk, Styron

Motion: To grant Styron a 3-minute extension.

Carried.

Motion by Presiding Committee: To close the speakers' list and cut the speaking time to 6 minutes.

Carried.

Further Discussion: L. Henderson, A. Camejo, Wulp, Britton, Waters

Summary: Rose

Motion: To approve the general line of the Youth Report.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

6. ORGANIZATION REPORTS

Stone reported.

Supplementary Report on Finances by Jones.

Recess -- 6:15 PM

Sunday, May 14, 1972

Motion by Presiding Committee: That Styron chair Sunday session.

Carried.

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Discussion: M. Henderson, White

Motion: To grant White a 3-minute extension.

Carried.

Motion: To grant White a ½-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Alvin, Sell, Horowitz

Motion: To grant Horowitz a 1-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Roberts, Stanton, L. Henderson

Motion: To grant L. Henderson a 2-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Savage

Motion: To grant Savage a ½-minute extension.

Carried.

Motion by Presiding Committee: To close the speakers' list and limit speakers to 7 minutes.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Dabaniss, Morrison, Garza, DeBerry, Weinstein

Motion: To grant Weinstein a 2-minute extension.

Carried.

Further Discussion: Singler, Novack, Thomas, Kerry, Pulley, Britton

Recess -- 1:10 PM

Reconvene -- 2:35 PM

Summary: Stone

Motion: To approve the general line of the Organization Reports.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

- Motion: (a) To open immediately following the plenum an internal party literary discussion, for a three-month period, of the gay liberation movement and the party's orientation to it, leading to a decision by the subsequent plenum of the National Committee;
- (b) To authorize the incoming Political Committee to allow a limited extension of the discussion period if practical circumstances require.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

7. ELECTION OF NATIONAL OFFICERS

Dobbs nominated Barnes National Secretary.

No further nominations.

Motion: To elect Barnes National Secretary.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

Barnes nominated Cannon National Chairman Emeritus, and Sheppard National Organization Secretary.

No further nominations.

Motion: To elect Cannon National Chairman Emeritus.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

Motion: To elect Sheppard National Organization Secretary.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

8. NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

Dobbs requested that his status be changed from regular member of the National Committee to that of advisory member.

Novack requested that his status be changed from regular member of the National Committee to that of advisory member.

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Motion: To approve the change of status from regular membership on the National Committee to advisory membership on the National Committee for Dobbs and Novack pending the ratification of the next national convention.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

9. ELECTION OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Barnes reported that Bolduc and Morrison, elected first and second alternate members of the National Committee by the last convention, are now regular members of the National Committee.

Motion: To elect a Political Committee of 16 members.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

Barnes nominated: Barnes, Breitman, Britton, P. Camejo, A. Hansen, J. Hansen, Horowitz, Jenness, Jones, Lovell, Morrison, Shaw, Sheppard, Stone, Waters and a representative to be designated by the youth NEC.

No further nominations.

Motion: To elect the 16 nominees.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

Motion: To establish a category of consultative membership on the Political Committee with voice and consultative vote.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

Motion: To designate Dobbs, Kerry and Novack as consultative members of the Political Committee.

Regular: for, unanimous
Consultative: for, unanimous

Carried.

Singing of "The Internationale."

Plenum adjourned -- 4:45 PM

PLENUM SCHEDULE

Thursday, May 11. Convene 10:00 AM

10:00 - 10:30 Organization of Plenum (30 minutes)
10:30 - 12:30 Latin American Report (2 hours)
12:30 - 1:30 Lunch (1 hour)
1:30 - 2:30 Discussion (1 hour)
2:30 - 4:00 World Movement Report (1 hour, 30 minutes)
4:00 - 5:30 Discussion (1 hour, 30 minutes)
5:30 - 7:00 Dinner (1 hour, 30 minutes)
7:00 - 7:30 Summary (30 minutes)
7:30 - 9:00 World Movement Report (1 hour, 30 minutes)
9:00 Recess

Friday, May 12. Convene 9:30 AM

9:30 - 11:00 Discussion (1 hour, 30 minutes)
11:00 - 11:30 Summary (30 minutes)
11:30 - 12:45 Political Report (1 hour, 15 minutes)
12:45 - 1:45 Lunch (1 hour)
1:45 - 4:45 Discussion (3 hours)
4:45 - 5:15 Summary (30 minutes)
5:15 - 6:15 Election Campaign Report (1 hour)
6:15 Recess

8:00 - 10:30 Lovell Fact-Finding Tour: Informational Report
and Discussion

Saturday, May 13. Convene 9:30 AM

9:30 - 11:30 Discussion (2 hours)
11:30 - 12:00 Summary (30 minutes)
12:00 - 1:00 Youth Report (1 hour)
1:00 - 2:00 Lunch (1 hour)
2:00 - 4:00 Discussion (2 hours)
4:00 - 4:30 Summary (30 minutes)
4:30 - 5:45 Organization Report (1 hour, 15 minutes)
5:45 - 6:15 Financial Report (30 minutes)
6:15 Recess

Sunday, May 14. Convene 10:00 AM

10:00 - 12:30 Discussion (2 hours, 30 minutes)
12:30 - 1:00 Summary (30 minutes)
1:00 - 2:00 Lunch (1 hour)
2:00 - 3:00 Election of National Officers (1 hour)
3:00 - 4:00 National Committee Membership (1 hour)
4:00 - 5:00 Election of Political Committee (1 hour)
5:00 Adjourn Plenum

PLENUM AGENDA

May ~~12~~
11-14, 1972

1. Organization of Plenum
2. World Movement Reports
3. Political Report
4. Election Campaign Report
5. Youth Report
6. Organization Reports
7. Election of National Officers
8. National Committee Membership
9. Election of Political Committee

STATEMENT ADOPTED BY THE SWP NATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON THE SALLUSTRO KIDNAPPING AND STAND TAKEN
BY THE UNITED SECRETARIAT

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, having considered the motion passed by a majority of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International at its April 15-16 meeting disapproving the publication in The Militant and Labor Challenge of statements adopted by the political committees of the Socialist Workers Party and the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière concerning the kidnapping of Sallustro, takes the following position:

1) The motion passed by the majority of the United Secretariat is factually in error in ascribing to these statements a failure to express solidarity with members of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) and the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT-Combatiente) in face of the repressive campaign opened against them by the Lanusse regime. The statements of both the SWP and the ISA/LSO clearly outlined the background to the kidnapping, pinned responsibility for the violence on the Argentinian ruling class and the dictatorial Lanusse regime, and expressed full solidarity with the worldwide campaign for the release of all political prisoners in Argentina and an end to the repression.

The record shows that the Canadian and American Trotskyists have been in the forefront in organizing material help for the political prisoners in Argentina and Latin America as a whole. To suggest otherwise, as the motion of the majority does, can only serve to prejudice the minds of uninformed members of the Fourth International against the SWP and the ISA/LSO.

2) Likewise in error factually is the assertion of the motion passed by the majority of the United Secretariat that publication of the statements made by the SWP and the ISA/LSO constituted a public "attack" against a section of the Fourth International. In actuality both statements did no more than to differentiate politically from a very bad error committed by the ERP-PRT, an error that was damaging on a world scale to the Fourth International and to all sectors of the world Trotskyist movement. This error consisted of substituting the action of a small, isolated group for action by the masses.

3) The statements of both the SWP and the ISA/LSO were in consonance with the principled position of Trotskyism in explaining how the error committed by the ERP-PRT could be avoided.

The statement made by the Political Committee of the SWP said the following on this: "In place of powerful actions by the masses themselves, the ERP is attempting to substitute small actions by a tiny group. Their hopes are placed on these actions serving as examples to the people living in the slums. They hope that the dramatic nature of the 'exemplary actions' will inspire the masses to begin moving toward toppling the old regime and establishing a government of their own.

"In reality, the work of bringing the masses into the political arena in all their invincible power differs qualitatively from such notions. It requires deep involvement in the daily life of the masses.

Sallustro/2

It requires patient struggling, under the guidance of a revolutionary-socialist party, to project demands directly linked to the economic, social, and political needs of the masses, and to organize support for these demands in such a way as to raise the self-confidence of the masses and take them through transitional steps onto the road of a socialist revolution."

4) The United Secretariat did not issue a statement at the time of the Sallustro kidnapping specifying its stand. In face of the worldwide repercussions to the kidnapping, the various sectors of the world Trotskyist movement had little choice but to issue statements of their own. Besides The Militant and Labor Challenge such publications as La Gauche, Rouge, and The Red Mole also felt compelled to indicate their stands, although the latter were completely uncritical of the ERP-PRT.

5) The Political Committee of the SWP made its statement on April 3 in full expectation that the United Secretariat would, when it met, issue a statement of similar nature, expressing moral solidarity with the guerrilla fighters who had conducted the kidnapping while indicating that it differed with them as to the correctness of the action politically. Such a statement by the United Secretariat was all the more called for in view of the fact that none of the resolutions passed by the last world congress of the Fourth International sanctioned substituting the actions of a small, isolated group for actions by the masses.

6) It is true that the minority at the last world congress held that the positions taken by the majority in favor of rural guerrilla warfare for a prolonged period on a continental scale in Latin America, if taken to their logical conclusions would end up in diverting the Trotskyist cadres from accomplishing the necessary party-building tasks and in sanctioning the substitution of actions by small, isolated groups for actions by the masses. But the majority denied that this was the logic of their position. Thus it remained to be seen how they would react when an action occurred of the kind initiated by the ERP-PRT. It could be hoped that they would back away from the logic of the position they took at the last world congress and would reaffirm the principled position of Trotskyism against adventurism.

7) Instead of doing this the majority of the United Secretariat equivocated at the April 15-16 meeting. They neither approved nor disapproved the kidnapping and execution of Sallustro. They abstained from taking either a public or internal stand, rejecting a proposal by a minority of the United Secretariat to issue a public statement similar to those issued by the SWP and the ISA/ISO.

8) In all consistency this meant that the majority of the United Secretariat left it open to the various sectors of the world Trotskyist movement to take whatever positions seemed correct to them. Nevertheless the majority of the United Secretariat passed a motion disapproving the publication of the statements already made by the SWP and the ISA/ISO. These two acts together amounted to shame-faced condemnation of any political differentiation from the ERP-PRT error, such as that expressed by the SWP and the ISA/ISO. It amounted to just as shame-faced approval of an "all hail" attitude toward the kidnapping and execution of Sallustro, such as that voiced by Rouge, La Gauche, and The Red Mole.

Sallustro/3

9) The National Committee of the SWP notes with special concern the specific instructions "not to publish" the two resolutions of the SWP and the ISA/ISO "in the International's organs, or in organs expressing its positions." This is the first time since the Reunification Congress of 1963 that such instructions have been issued. The effect of these instructions is to gag those who are critical of the error committed by the ERP-PRT and to encourage those who approve the error, since no instructions were issued not to publish expressions of political solidarity with the ERP-PRT error.

More ominously, the clear implication is that the ERP-PRT, in kidnapping and executing Sallustro was acting in accordance with the line of the majority of the United Secretariat, that this line holds on an international scale, that it should be promulgated by all the sections and organs of the Fourth International, and that the majority of the United Secretariat will brook no public criticism, however mild, of applying it. In this way a line is being foisted onto the Fourth International that was not explicitly formulated or adopted at the last world congress and that constitutes a departure from the traditions and program of Trotskyism.

10) In view of these considerations, the National Committee of the SWP approves the action of the Political Committee in publishing the April 3 statement which expressed moral solidarity with the guerrilla fighters of the ERP-PRT while criticizing the kidnapping of Sallustro as a political error. In addition, the National Committee of the SWP condemns the procedure followed by a majority of the United Secretariat and rejects its disapproval of the publication of the statements of the political committees of the SWP and the ISA/ISO.

May 11, 1972

Excerpts from Minutes of the United Secretariat
April 15-16, 1972

Motion by Pierre:

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International disapproves of the publication in the Militant and in Labor Challenge of resolutions adopted by the leaderships of the Socialist Workers Party and the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière concerning the kidnapping of Sallustro by the Argentine ERP, the armed organization led by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT), Argentine section of the Fourth International.

Such public declarations could well encourage sections to follow this example of public attacks against other sections, which would be highly damaging to the whole International.

In addition, these resolutions do not express any solidarity towards these comrades, at the moment when a fierce campaign is underway against them.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International resolves not to publish these two resolutions in the International's organs, or in organs expressing its positions.

This resolution is not for public circulation.

Vote: For: 6 (Petersen, Walter, Livio, Kurt, Pierre, Delfin)
Against: 5 (Adair, Pedro, Juan, Hans, Thérèse)
Consultative For: 1 (Riel)
Consultative Against: 1 (Crandall)

Carried.

Motion by Juan:

That the United Secretariat issue a public statement on the kidnapping of Sallustro making the following points:

- 1) Indicate the economic, social, political crisis racking Argentina, citing some examples, such as the massive strikes, demonstrations and uprisings in various cities, the latest one being Mendoza.
- 2) Indicate the origin and purpose of the military dictatorship, that it constitutes an illegal regime, ruling in violation of the constitution.
- 3) Outline the brutal methods used by the military dictatorship such as suppression of student and workers demonstrations, suppression of strikes, arbitrary imprisonment of union leaders and union militants, the use of kidnapping, torture, and murder of political opponents. Name some of the political prisoners held by the hundreds in the jails of Argentina.
- 4) Give some facts on the frustration, anger, and instinctive elemental reaction, particularly among the youth, who want immediate direct action against the dictatorship.
- 5) Describe briefly the historical political crisis facing the Argentine working class, above all the absence of a mass revolutionary Marxist party of the kind the Fourth International is seeking to build in all countries, that could guide the struggle effectively toward an early revolutionary victory.

Excerpts/2

6) Stress the influence of guerrilla struggles in Latin America and elsewhere in which the action of a small group has been substituted for action by the masses, leading to adventurism, and away from construction of a mass revolutionary Marxist party regardless of the intentions of the guerrilla fighters.

7) Specify in a few sentences that we consider the PRT-ERP to have fallen into errors of this kind, the most spectacular being the kidnapping and execution of Sallustro. Include a brief explanation of how acts like the kidnapping and execution of Sallustro injure the work of building the mass revolutionary party required to overturn Argentine capitalism, and how the world press has taken advantage of the Sallustro affair to attempt to discredit Trotskyism by identifying it with terrorism.

8) Affirm that the Fourth International expresses its solidarity with the courageous militants of the PRT-ERP regardless of their mistaken course and pledges to step up its campaign in their defense and in defense of all the political prisoners held in the jails of Argentina.

Vote: For: 5 (Adair, Pedro, Juan Thérèse, Hans)
Against: 6 (Petersen, Walter, Kurt, Pierre, Delfin, Livio)
Consultative For: 1 (Crandall)
Consultative Against: 1 (Riel)

Defeated.

(1)

The plenum international discussion centered on ~~an~~ assessment of the
 It was the political report that took up an
 situation in the world Trotskyist movement, ~~an~~ analysis of the
 present international political ~~situation~~ situation and the meaning of
 the new developments in Indochina. ~~This~~ This report will only go
 into the world movement.

TIME

Begin --- ~~brief~~ brief summary of ~~the~~ ^{last} report to ~~the~~ ^{last year's} SWP
 convention by Mary-Alice Waters (reprinted in IIB no. 1 for 1972)

In 1969, at the world congress of the ~~the~~ FI, within the framework
 of fundamental agreement on the most basic issues, there did emerge
 three serious differences---

- Latin America*
- Chinese Cultural Rev.
- Worldwide Radicalization of Youth

The ~~the~~ lineup of support on these issues cut across each other, that
 is, the supporters ~~in~~ one position ~~on~~ the youth resolution, for example,
 were not identical to the supporters of the Latin America ~~document~~ document

The ~~the~~ deepest differences were on Latin America....and this was a very
 important difference ⁵⁰ especially ~~because~~ because there are ~~several~~ ^{many} ~~parties~~ ^{parties}
 in Latin America, whose future would be directly dependent
 on the line adopted and carried out.

2....

delegates at
The majority of the world congress took the position that there should
of rural guerrilla
be a basic strategy ~~warfare~~ warfare on a continental scale,
and that preparations should be made immediately for this. They held
the position that the repression precluded the possibility of building
mass revolutionary parties in the classical manner. ~~There~~ There was also
a widespread opinion ~~that~~ that there was a real chance that in the near
future it would be possible in Bolivia to make a big ~~breakthrough~~ breakthrough by
far surpassing any accomplishment to date of the
adopting this strategy. ~~the~~
world Trotskyist movement.

We agreed with these in the minority who took the position that
guerrilla warfare was ~~a~~ only one of many tactics to be fitted into the broader
strategy of party building along the Bolshevik model.

In our opinion
~~the logic of the majority position was towards ultra-leftism and away from party-~~
~~building in the Leninist manner. The majority denied that this was the case.~~

The discussion on this point was not ~~adequate~~ adequate enough prior
to the world congress, so the international discussion was opened
up again by the next IEC. Comrades, I hope, are familiar with this
written
material on Latin America.

's report international
Mary Alice pointed out several new developments in the discussion
since then .

3...

On the Latin American discussion there was a tendency on the part of some comrades ~~was~~ of the majority to back off from the position on rural guerrilla warfare ~~was~~ and move to urban guerrilla warfare. ~~was~~

(this line)
We reject just as much. Some comrades have also tried to shift the argument to one of being for or against armed struggle. We reject

~~was~~ the ~~was~~ implication that this is ~~was~~ what the discussion is about.

Allerists are for armed struggle, but in this case,
The term 'armed struggle', in our opinion, was just being used as a *code word* ~~expression~~ for guerilla actions.

~~was~~ implied differences became clearer
New differences also emerged ~~was~~

in the period since the world congress.

--Great Britain -- IMG line on labour party

also a minority tendency developed in IMG. comrades have the documents ~~was~~ from their 1970 convention, which were printed in an IIB

*VN
W-L
Labour
Party
tendency tends to agree w/line*

-- women's liberation --IMG line different than ours

an important issue internationally, and will be on agenda at next world congress

-- Mideast --possibly ...needs clarification through discussion

-- methods of ~~a~~ leadership functioning ~~in~~ FI

Domingo letter affair: *insert* maneuvering behind backs of

international minority...could tend to foster factional atmosphere, cliques

--- serious default of leadership by United Secretariat ~~was~~ in concurring with method of Domingo letter; ; ; ; ; we therefore took ~~was~~ the

Insert (p3)

Domingo letter
a letter circulated in Latin America

Factional attack on ~~the~~,
international minority +
La Verdad group

signed Domingo
but later admitted to
be written by Livio Martín

NOT COLLABORATIVE

We have not been functioning
as a tendency or faction
Do not want to ~~change~~ the atmosphere

4...

(at that time)

position that the Domingo letter affair showed the need for the leaderships of sections and sympathizing organizations to begin consulting directly with each other....

---nature of FI organizationally

Krivine-Frank article in international discussion and Pierre Frank's letter to SWP convention

charging SWP with not having democratic centralist concept.

We reject that ^{charge} But we do maintain that the precondition

for the construction on an international is genuine international collaboration.....especially key at present stage of constructing FI (organization not an abstraction, but must take account of specific situation that exists)

Our goals: 1. maximize full discussion

(get documents out in advance;;;get translations)

we have no illusions that the political questions can be settled by organizational means either by reprisals or by maneuvers

2. reverse line of last world congress

3. educate on our concept of party building

we also wanted to increase personal exchanges, contact, communication and collaboration.

5....

Now, what has ~~happend~~ happen since then?

Key: long factual reports, recently obtained, primarily on Bolivia and

Argentina....The importance of these factual reports is that they

tend to take the discussion ~~further than~~ further than just the realm of theoretical

proposals ~~of~~ ~~theoretical~~ over what ~~should be done,~~ should be done, and into the realm of experience

--- of what was actual the result of following the line adopted by the last

world congress.

~~Bolivia:~~

(majority) line tended to although 9th world congress/exclude possibility of 'reformist'

regimes, we saw the Barrientos military dictatorship and replaced, overthrown/first

by Ovando ~~regime~~ regime and then by the military-reformist bourgeois Torres/regime, which in turn

in August, 1971 ~~was~~ was overthrown by the right-wing ~~Banzer~~ Banzer military

coup, which rules today. Big REPRESSION - ALL RADICAL GPs. IN EXILE

During Torres ~~regime~~ regime, very significant development -- people's

assembly...no ~~real~~ real power, (but was key area) possibility to transform into same type of direct power procc for mass work..

provide leadership Key: need to expose allusions in Torres regime and work towards independent mass action aimed

at seizure of power (against army capitalist state, maintained by Torres)

That was only way to prevent rd. wing reaction in this

~~unstable situation.~~

unstable situation.

6....

From the factual report presented to the plenum, based on the assessments of the Bolivian comrades,

-- did not use the popular assembly in the way they could have to expose Torres, explain limitations of the assembly the way it was, etc.

-- did not carry out organized trade union work...individual party leaders had a following, but not the party as such

-- the organization stressed the danger of a rightist coup, but did

nothing organizationally to prepare for it... *(concentrated on)* ~~talked~~ *about*
need for guerrilla war

On Nov. 14 there was a statement released by ~~the~~ *what was called the* Bolivian Revolutionary

Anti-Imperialist Front... (in exile) printed in IP... signed by POR *(Moscoso)* *Section 7 FI*

Banzer said---/coup was directed against national independence and

sovereignty and to eliminate "progressive sectors" of armed ~~the~~ forces

said that there was now a need to build a "fighting unity of all the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces so that the great battle can be begun in conditions offering a real perspective for a popular and national government."...."the is not a battle that

concerns ~~only~~ only one sector of the exploited people, or one class, insitution or party. *signers included* CP, POR (LOra) , POR (Moscoso),

Castro ELN, and TORRES --- the very one ~~whose~~ whose policy led to the defeat in the first place.....

8....

POR had been weakened over a whole 4-5 year period

--1965-66-67 decided to adopt the g-war line

there were big debates over this...although the issues are not clear because there are no written documents...

--- most of the comrades who opposed the g-war line left the organization (this includes a majority of the central committee)...most of these ex-members are now in the SP of Bolivia

--- Bolivian section hasn't held a convention since the G-war line was adopted....

--g-war was supposed to be carried out in a joint front with the

Castroist
ELN.....and there was no clarity on role of party and on focismo

--- , there was a continual process of "bleeding" from the POR to the ELN ---- explain

--- These problems still seem to exist.....

After the Banzer coup, all the organizations of the left were repressed severely..

the key cadres were driven into exile.....the ^{(groups are all} ~~groups are~~ small

~~internally~~ divided.....little contact inside Bolivia.....This includes POR

Worst of all, it is evident that the POR HASN'T LEARNED FROM ALL THIS.....

~~As~~ a result of this one-sided elevation of guerrilla warfare into a strategy at the expense of program and Leninist concepts of party building it seems as if ~~the~~ the Bolivian section has virtually been destroyed.....

..

can be marked ~~down~~ down to the ^{(logical} ~~consequences~~ consequences of the line of the ninth world congress....

7...

So this statement, which called for gueñillâ warfare...did so politically at the expense of political clarity....and the forming of a popular front group..... *sacrifice political principle for tactic of g-war*

~~RE: question about POR???~~

So, United Secretariat of FI printed a statement disagreeing with POR's signing of such a statement....printed in IP Feb. 21, 1972

Since then, the POR in Bolivia has said ^{*Under impact of the criticism they*} it ~~disagrees~~ disagrees with some of the ~~formulations~~ formulations in the statement, ^{*the key thing is that it said*} but ~~that~~ it was remaining in the FRA...as a means of furthering its strategy of armed struggle.... *ie. - its fundamental line remains the same toward F.R.A.*

favours line
-----thus armed struggle (guerrilla warfare line) at expense of political clarity -----

[note: even through never really engaged in guerrilla warfare]

What has this line meant ~~for~~ for the Bolivian section?

~~A great disaster...it appears as if the party has been~~

~~virtually destroyed.~~

9....

~~In Argentina~~ there is both an official section of the FI and a sympathizing group. Both have the name PRT and are distinguished by their papers --thus, PRT-Combatiente and PRT-Verdad. PRT-Combatiente is the official section....it is the motor force behind the ERP (peoples' revolutionary army) which recently carried out the kidnapping of Oberdan Sallustro, the general director of FIAT. *Supports int'l majority.*

PRT-Verdad is also known as the Moreno group...from the name of its main leader.... *supporter international minority on Latin America*

PRT-Combatiente arose out of a split in the old PRT. At the world congress ~~it~~ it was declared the official section on the basis of being numerically ~~larger~~ *larger*

~~PRT~~'Combatiente's political line ~~for~~ for Argentina can be clearly seen in looking at the actions taken by the ERP....such as the ~~various~~ bank robberies, the holding up of milk-delivery trucks and the distribution of the milk to people in the neighborhood, ~~the~~ *last year's* kidnapping of Sylvester, *Swift - meat packing, 90 British official* and the recent Sallustro kidnapping. These flow from the PRT-Combatiente's conception that the war is on, and that these acts of "armed propaganda" ~~as~~ as they call them, are the main thing needed. *They say that these are linked to masses. BUT no evidence*

QUOTE FROM NEW LEFT REVIEW INTERVIEW..... QUOTE FROM IP *of that*

10...

*Note: political content of terrorism -
Find evidence of mass involvement or support*

of what need are masses? only for state

The PRT-Combatiente accepts the idea that elections are going to be held ~~in~~ in Argentina,but the line they project is to denounce the electoral farce and ^{concentration} carry out what they call their popular war or revolutionary war. (Sallustro kidnapping occurred in this context)

=====

~~.....~~

PRT Combatiente seems to have grown stronger in the past year, both numerically and organizationally...But there is a big turnover....

80% of present membership were not members one year ago....many of the more experienced cadres ^{whose political origins were} in a genuine school of Trotskyism

have been jailed.... 500 members, 160-180 in jail

=====

International position of PRT Combatiente

--'Chinese CP has a revolutionary leadership (even in context of recent international events) --e.g. Ceylon, Bengal were mistakes

~~.....~~

They are against the construction of a Chinese section of the FI

~~.....~~

They are against political revolution for China

~~.....~~

N Korea, Albania also have revolutionary leadership

11...

2/28/72

Quote from IP

They are ~~is~~ fundamentally uncritical of Cuban CP.... QUOTE FROM IP

It becomes more and more clear that the influence of the Cuban line on the PRT-Combatiente is growing....~~the~~

Czechoslovakia -- there is general agreement in political bureau of PRT-Combatiente ~~to~~ to support the invasion of Czechoslovakia...in agreement with Cuban line...

Have a tendency to be non-critical of all organizations in Latin America which have the support of Cuba...e.g. Tupamaros... and oppose the formation of a Trotskyist gp in Uruguay (the popular front) They also gave support to the Frente Amplio in Uruguay They consider the Allende electoral victory as a ~~victory~~ victory for the working class (they consider SWP "ultra-left" on this)

The basic political position of the PRT-Combatiente, ~~was~~ was known ^{only} by some of major written up in what they call their red book and ~~was~~ was ~~at~~ at the PRT-Combatiente time of the last world congress ~~still~~ still upholds ~~is~~ This will be translated and made available.

12...

PRT-Combatiente also takes the line that PRT-Verdad, the Moreno group, ~~it~~ should be ~~the~~ expelled from the FI ~~as~~ as well as the ~~the~~ other Latin American sections in agreement with the international minority and as well as those organizations in Latin America which voted for the 9th world congress line but didn't carry it out.

===== THUS - with PRT Combatiente -

} terrorism // anarchism
Castroism / guerrillas
Trotzkist program
becomes secondary

Now, on PRT-Verdad, briefly

Has experienced rapid growth....

Have an important working class base....do important trade union work and also strong student work ...(also some w-l work)

~~Is~~ ^{now} somewhat larger than PET : 650 or 700- vs. 500

Have perspective of building a class-struggle ~~the~~ left wing in the trade unions....

Opposes guerrilla warfare line ... support international minority ^{in Latin America}

Elections will occur, will resolve nothing,...but this poses big opportunities for the revolutionary left...

Have entered into an entryist tactic in relation to a left-centrist

(well-known figure in Argentinean left)

Socialist Party ~~is~~ led by a ~~man~~ named Corale--- publish paper

Avanzada Socialista...The Militant reprinted an article from this

paper on May 19, against Sallustro kidnapping...in ~~the~~ framework of

Argentinian politics....

13...

There is agreement from observers of the situation ~~both~~ both supporters of the international majority and international minority that the entryist tactic is being carried out on a principled basis and that big opportunities are opened up.

to the official sections

although showing great ~~setbacks~~ setbacks

Both of these ~~reports~~ reports on Bolivia and Argentina are

very important as far as the international discussion is concerned....

for now ~~comrades~~ comrades ~~throughout~~ throughout the world, in evaluating positions

and making up their minds, ~~can~~ can proceed, not only on the basis of

perspectives that are outlined for ~~the~~ ^{action} future, but on evaluating real experiences - in seeing the

logical set in motion by the line adopted consequences ~~at the last world~~ at the last world

Congress.....thus the debate should be proceeding on a much higher

level.....this will also be a big test for the supporters of the

international majority whether ~~to~~ to retreat from the previous

position on the basis of the facts that have become clear about the

nature of things in Bolivia and Argentina....or whether to grasp at

The logic of straws ~~trying~~ trying to defend ~~the~~ the policy of the PRT-ERP and the

Bolivian POR is to move further and further away from orthodox Trotskyism....

1969 - They majority would never have sanctioned ERP terrorism.

14...

Another key area in which the logical evolution of ^{what was implicit in} the line of

the last world congress has been in the evolution of the IMG....I won't spend so much time on this, because I think that comrades are probably more familiar with ^{this} ~~the~~ situation as a result of reading the Red Mole and the documents of the 1970 convention of the IMG ~~that~~ that were printed in an information bulletin.....

The IMG, it became clear..., moved ~~over~~ ~~over~~ very much towards an ultra-leftist line, paralleling to some extent the ultra-left line that we have seen in the U.S.

e.g. Vietnam -- abandoned mass action line ^{+ moved} towards

~~trashing type~~ ^{tactics} and victory to NLF ^{political} line

Irish work -- victory to IRA line... especially liking the pick-up-the-gun approach at the expense of political line

Women's liberation -- backing away from feminism towards only women workers line

Labour party -- opposed to it

Since then, this has taken on a "workerist" bent

In reaction to this, an oppositionist tendency has developed in the

IMG, with political positions that parallel the type of political line that

^{international minority} the ~~has~~ has.... Under the impact of the criticisms raised by this

tendency, the IMG ^{majority} has moved towards a more theoretical codification of

15...

its line....

presented for the upcoming IMG convention

This has been written up in a document by John Ross and Tariq Ali,

two of the central leaders of the IMG,

This document is also being presented as a contribution to the international discussion. *So comrades will be able to read it.*

In this document, Ross and Ali state that "A process of breaking ~~the~~ the organization from its whole past political method has begun."

(explicitly)
They identify this method....as ~~the~~ the method of the SWP

Oppose ~~the~~ long-standing ~~the~~ Trotskyist concepts of transitional program, as we understand it...

Explicitly reject tr. prog. for youth, black, women, Chinano

QUOTE::: p. 11 (then page 10)

and says(p. 20) "reformist variants of 'transitional programs must be rejected)"

Says must break with method of SWP

projects a T.P. which omits sliding scale of wages and hours.... which pins *workers* "workers control as its central concept--- including "the extension of trades councils to include representatives of soldiers, the police, the unemployed, and tenants councils..."

rejects the previous VSC mass antiwar cpngs as result of previous period when "IMG had been greatly influenced by the ideas being developed by ~~the~~ the SWP on mass movements."

"...the Labour Party can now be characterized as a popular front within one party." (p. 8) and later...

16....

as far as a labor party policy is concerned,

after outlining what they consider a TP,

IMG gives "no support to any party which does not accept a programme of the ~~type~~ type outlined" (p. 16)-- IMG version of trans. prog.

Regarding

~~the~~ the SLL slogan -- "Labour to power on a Socialist programme" says that "The SLL's slogan and those of the tendency's which are completely theoretically revisionist at all times, become positively counter-revolutionary in the present period." p. 13

Well, those are just a few tidbits.....

This opens up an opportunity for us to reply....because of the open attack on the SWP..... Will help ~~bring~~ bring clarity to our basic concepts of the transitional program, party building, mass work, etc.

17...

Now, on some of the ~~organizational~~ evolution...

A change occurred right about

~~the~~ the time of the report that Mary-Alice gave to the last party convention, where as I have summarized, ~~we had~~ indicated that the Domingo letter affair led us to grave ~~concern over~~ the ~~methods~~ methods of leadership functioning in the FI,,,,

~~_____~~

The younger French leaders had come to the conclusion that the

^(previous) methods of functioning had to be turned around. They had concluded that...

① --- the SWP had ~~indeed~~ been excluded from ~~genuine~~ collaborative relations in the functioning of the world movement...

② --- the method of functioning as ~~it~~ represented by the Domingo letter was wrong...

③ --- they wanted to reverse the factional atmosphere that had been developing...

-----0-----

We favored this step wholeheartedly, and decided to release two leading PC members to devote their ^(full) attention to trying to get this collaborative method of functioning going....

In our view, the improvement of collaborative relations would be

18....

~~_____~~
of immense help in creating an atmosphere in which the political differences could receive the best possible hearing in the world Trotskyist movement.

This increased collaboration did not mean that the political differences would disappear automatically, but ~~that~~ ^(we hoped that it) could ~~it~~ lead to a genuinely ^{objective} discussion, in which we had the best opportunity to convince others ^{of} of our ideas.

Furthermore, for all the differences in the world movement, there is basic agreement on ~~many~~ many issues, and there is the opportunity to engage in many joint campaigns of activity on a world scale...

For example,,,,, ^(the world movement) this enabled ~~_____~~ to launch an expanded ^(international) defense campaign for Latin American political prisoners...particularly in Argentina and Bolivia..... which is very important.... Despite the fundamental differences we have with the PRT/ERP for example, we defend ^(these comrades) these comrades ^(terrible) terrible ~~_____~~ 100% against the repression they are undergoing at the hands of the ~~_____~~ military dictatorship....

Also....the recent international ~~_____~~ campaign around Vietnam ... ^(Comrades have read the) reports from Europe of demonstrations.... ^(joint intervention in) the Versailles conference, etc.

19....

trips....

Also, Carol Lipman -- WONAAC

Dan Rosenshine - NPAC

Stephanie Coontz - NPAC

Gerry Foley//Malachy McGurran IRA

Increasing contact....collaborationall to the good...

Much interest in our ideas.....we also learn much

Most all ~~the~~ sections are ~~very~~ very new and young.... open to ideas...

~~_____~~
By in large....during the past several months in which this

new relationship has been ~~in~~ in process, it has worked out well.....

Although not all supporters of the int'l majority had supported this turn in relations.

~~_____~~ However, recently there was a very bad development....around the
by the ERP
Sallustro kidnapping.... in Argentina

~~_____~~
~~_____~~
The Sallustro kidnapping was ~~widely publicized throughout~~ the world.

throughout the world
The action of the ERP was identified ~~as~~ as Trotskyism. And so every
party had to state where it stood....

20....

Comrades are familiar with the statement that the SWP's political committee put out ---it was printed in the Militant. We expressed our solidarity with the victims of the Argentinian government repression, but expressed our disagreement with the terrorist tactic of kidnapping.

The Canadian party also took a similar position, ~~and~~ ^{the} German party ^{has also} expressed differences. ^(with the kidnapping) Also statement of the PRT-Verdad.

But the initial reaction of ^{most of} the European Trotskyist ~~press~~ press was to hail the action as ^{an example to be followed} ~~exemplary~~ ^{portray} it as integrated with the workers' struggles.

Italy -- GCR said kidnapping must be considered in "context of at least partial civil war." "the revolutionary organizations have no other road but armed struggle" "The ERP had demonstrated its capacity to fight ~~it~~ with great decisiveness in trying to tie its actions ~~to~~ to the aspirations and demands of the most exploited masses."

Belgian--Flemish paper--- ^{recent} the kidnapping of the ~~Renault~~ Renault official in France was wrong because it "was based on a completely false conception of the situation of the French ~~workers~~ workers. In France armed repression of the workers had not ^{yet} ~~yet~~ become a common practice. It is still the exception for a worker to be shot down at Renault...." but

21...

in Argentina, they explain. the workers "understand why terrorism is necessary ~~against~~ against the dictatorship of capital."

Red Mole -- "The present situation then, offers the possibility of a great advance in the armed struggle in the ~~working~~ working class and the Argentinian masses, and in the building of a revolutionary army/.... [this] will have an important role to play in the next stage of continental war." "

(on April 15-16)
At a meeting of the United Secretariat, a motion was placed ~~for~~ for the United Secretariat to issue a ~~public~~ public statement along the basic lines that the SWP political committee adopted...This was defeated.... BUT NO MOTION ON WHAT TO SAY WAS ADOPTED.....

In addition....the United Secretariat passed a motion disapproving of the publication by the SWP and the Canadian party ~~of the publication of the~~ of the ~~statements~~ statements that were passed by their respective political bureaus. They said

Quote

In reply....SWP national committee plenum passed a motion....

Quote...

Furthermore, after this United Secretariat motion was passed, there was an unsigned editorial published in La Gauche, organ of the Belgian section and whose editor is Ernest Mandel.... This article hailed the ERP action.... ~~defending~~ the fundamental ideas of the Germain-Knoeller article in the international discussion and developing them.....

hailing the ERP action saying ~~it~~ ^{lessons} have universal importance



What is particularly incorrect in this method of functioning is that it is an under-handed way of putting forth a line at variance with Trotskyist ideas and methods....

2) ---adopt no position directly..

1) ... condemn SWP position

(OK for sections to)

3) ---publish a contrary position

(but not SWP position) implies this is FI position without having adopted it

That is why we made such a strong statement....

We want to stop this type of functioning dead in its tracks

One of the key points underlying the whole discussion is the

question of party building....we reject the "doomsday" theory of politics,...which says there is not time to build Leninist ~~m~~ parties and substitute gimmicks must be sought...that is the key general difference underlying the whole thing.....

23....

IN CONCLUSION.....

~~_____~~

As was said earlier....we are seeing ^{some of the} ~~_____~~ tendencies that were implicit in the incorrect line of the 9th world congress being brought out ^{Argentina + Britain} in ~~_____~~ to their logical conclusion in terrorism... ^{Guevarism} ~~_____~~ ⁱⁿ ultra-leftism.... ^{end}

tendency to reject transitional approach - Orthodox Trotskyism

This has led to severe setbacks ~~_____~~.

At the same time...it poses a key test to the international. ^{Whether to learn from experience or compound the error.}

~~A~~ process of rethinking and trying to come to grips with the lessons of experience will have to take place..... In this process time and experience ~~_____~~ are on our side...

We want to try to prevent any organizational measures to get in the way of the clearest possible political discussion..

We want to avoid having a premature world congress....We want a world congress which is adequately prepared....we want to get the facts out to the world movement... Step up our participation in the international discussion.

We intend to ~~throw~~ everything we have into this fight...

24....

We will be having more international analysis in the Militant.

Within the boundareis of normal cadre functioning we will make more tours by leading comrades to exchange experiences....increase familiarity...

We will get out more information on the history of the Fourth Interntional.

We will put out our own balance sheet on the Argentiniana situation....

For the coming world congress, there will be a premium on clairy....on getting clear documents....

①

May Plenum
1972

Brazil -

Posadistas inside Brazil had broken
w/Posadas by 1969

- info problem - e.g. they did not know existence of sub
- 1970 hit by heavy repression
- anti-guerrilla warfare line

3 yrs -

50

moving closer to ^(FI) our line -

Peru - 2 gps - FIR

growing 40 x 20
Hugo Blanco

Venezuela - small gp
paper

Sambert's gaining some headway in Latin Amer

(2)

Lora - Bolivia
Maoist - Brazil
Rev. King - Peru
- Arg
Chile

} Lambertists
have

maybe 3 lifts bet. Lora + Lambert

Bolivia -

after Sangua coup -

situation in left
is general

e.g.

MIR was mainly a student of

- suffered blows, losses, & splits

- not able really to function

- has lost contact inside Bolivia

PCM-L - Maoist

- in same situation -

weakened // divisions & splits

exaption

ELN -

part of leadership inside Bolivia

- g-war line // but failed or exiled
now

(3)

Colivia, cont'd

CP (pro-Moscow) similar
Lora - big sector destroyed

POR - Bd Sec. of FI must be seen in the context of this general situation

1) - repressed, weakened, ^(internally) divided
is small & weak

(of POR is)

- part inside Colivia // 30-40 La Paz reports, but no confirmation of some functions
- most of leadership is in exile
not great co-ordination between the two

not possessing largely the means allowing elections in unions because it can get at wing candidates elected

1 or 2 other cells

→ within exiled section of the party, 3 deep divergences

POR has been weakened over a 4-5 yr period

(4)

Bolivia

(4 beg 1967)

POR - 1965-66 A decided to adopt
a G war line

- were big debates

not clear - ~~7~~ texts

- most ^{of} opposed to g-war line

left - including a majority
of the CC

But we don't know what

their line was

[says SP is a
bourgeois party]

Most are now in SP of
Bolivia

This g-war position was going to be
carried out in some front w/ ELN

problem - not clear on

- party

- focismo

Was a continual process of "bleeding"
from the POR to the ELN (including all but
1 out to Cuba)

When Torres came to power, POR was in
an unfavourable situation vis a vis ELN - not

5

well known, not strong enough to carry out
actions

in area of open political activity -

① [popular assembly was a "loudspeaker"]

6 cos (t.u. leaders) elected as
t.u. leaders by their unions
(POR (Laca) had only 5)

did not use popular assembly the way
they could have (^{expose Torres} explain limitations of pop ass.)

② trade unions -

not organized wk.

individual POR leaders w/a following
but not party following -

③ ~~organization~~ organization stressed danger of a rightist
coup // but did not prepare organizationally for it

(6)

Bohemia, cont'd

problems today are those of survival
within organization, there are today
discussions around F.R.A.

Some younger ones are against participation
in the F.R.A., which is a multi-class
organization (includes reps. of bourg.)

↳ statement on F.R.A. is not accidental, but
reflects relationship of forces on F.R.A.

[fundamental line remains same as a-v-s F.R.A.
Tactical

p-c // Bohemian section hadn't held a
convention since G-war line adopted

— has the "war exists" line

— Bourazek is isolated in the exile
Leadership

(7)

Argentina

PRT - Combatiente

Seems to have grown stronger in the last year // numerically & organizationally
But big turnover - 80% were not members 1 year ago

Most of the "genuine Trotskyist cadres" were jailed

Perspective of elections - accepted by all.

80% adapt their ~~perspective~~ ^{activities} to this perspective - legal or semi-legal

Got control of a paper - around which they wanted to build base committees to "denounce the electoral farce"

∫ no real political perspective - e.g., no line on combatting inflation

Anyway, this is a secondary aspect of their activity. Their main activity is to carry out their ^{revolu. war} popular war

(8)

Argentina

e.g. Sallustro kidnapping held in context of this opening for legal/semi-legal

- done without serious analysis of pol. situation in Argentina // relations with govt. etc.

- majority of govt. & army is pro-elections
strong minority of armed forces (Army) is against

This type of direct confrontation w/ govt is in contra. w/ working in legal + semi-legal

This "war" line ~~doesn't~~ ^{development of} doesn't encompass fundamental aspects of class struggle (Mendoza, Rosario, Cordoba)

~~Int'l position of PRT-Combatiente~~
This situation aggravated by arrest & repression of more political, more orthodox Trotskyist cadres

⑨

Argentina

Chinese CP has a rev. leadership
(even in context of recent
international events)

- eg. Ceylon, Bengal, etc.
are mistakes

°° are against construction of
a Chinese section of FI

N Korea, Albania also have a
revolutionary leadership

VN - no problem?

Cuba - they are fundamentally
uncritical toward Cuban leadership

& party

(PRT) Their links w/ Cuba directly grow
stronger — ⇒ influence of
Cuba on PRT ^(is) growing stronger

This is competing with antagonistic
to FI

Argentina

Czechoslovakia - General agreement of
their Pol Bur to support invasion
of Czechoslovakia
agree w/ Castro line

Have a tendency to be non-critical
to all orgs. in L.A. which have
support of Cuba - e.g. Tupamaros

↳ support to Frente Amplio

in Uruguay

Also hold position that Verdad should be ousted
from FI & other L.A. orgs
which support minority in L.A.

PRT-Verdad

rapid growth

important w. c. base // imp. tou. wk

also student - strong in this wk

Larger than PRT-Combate

650-700 vs 500 (160-180
in jail)

& also
phase
orgs in
L.A. which
sited for
armed struggle
line, but didn't
carry it out

11

Thinks line of PRT-Verdad is
correct on Argentina
(they have perspective of)
building a class struggle left in
the future.



elections

like S - will occur
PRT-Combatante - will resolve nothing

But - this means big opportunities
for rev. left.

- both before elections

& after or exposing the
fact that nothing will be resolved

Ballot status problems (worse than
USA)

o left-antitrust split () espec. just
from SP - 3 & 13 coming out of
small // & has a known leader illegality

o maneuver to run on this slate

^{name of leader} (12)
Corale - sector of SP

- have name of SP

- people sign to place SP on ballot

They have a paper ^(in which they function) as part of SP - Corale
(not totally a Verdad paper)

no consultation w/ FI on this tactic



(Note: PRT (Combatante)'s Red Book was
available only in limited form at the
9th Wld. Congress (plus Org was not
homogeneous then)

will be translated & made available
to world movement

[J-P says PRT (C) can't be considered
a Trotskyist organization]

~~P-C~~

PRT/ERP is intervening in
Bolivian section -

feels Bolivian POR did not carry
out G-War line

~~we've had incorrect factual
info on Bolivia + Argentina until
just recently~~

~~P-C~~ // Bolivian POR (Gonzalez)
is not Trotskyist

~~PRT refused to Allende's ^(electoral) victory in
Chile as great
PRT opposes formation of a Trotskyist
gp in Uruguay~~

(14)

May Plenum 1972

World Movement - M-A

main factors in our decision to release
2 PC members - decision of younger
French leaders

- 1) SWP had been excluded from center
(from being genuine part of central leadership)
- 2) Domingo affair - agreement
that this method of functioning
was wrong
- 3) agreement to reverse the
factional atmosphere that had been
developing

Disagreement on this at Cologne

Ernest

Our view - key task - preparing
the organization of the world congress

(15)

Our view - not simply solvable
through better organizational
relations

- 7 political disagreements which
have to be solved

~~_____~~
differences over how to handle
the Sallustro affair and how
to handle the FRG fact-finding
commission report

Pierre Frank - views expressed in
IIB & greetings to SWP convention
- he feels in basic disagreement
w/ SWP concept of FI

- Pierre often pushes most strongly
for organizational moves -
e.g. Sallustro

(16)

Ernest - has taken general political leadership for line of majority

Livio - most open-minded
has drawn back from central responsibility on Latin America & doing Italian work

differences among 9th World Congress majority are beginning to emerge

functioning

Riel Trip

Harvey Trip

Chile document

Irish discussion

(17)

Irish discussion - parallels
Latin America discussion

Latin American defense

VN open in the spring

previously - $\frac{1}{2}$ VN "winding down"
 $\frac{1}{2}$ American exceptionalism
vs a vs H-A-U-11
Ernest in 1969 JEC
10/ doc

support to 7-point program
is widely popularized in Fr. lang.
organs of FI sections (Belg + Fr)

nature of VN leadership

- Gen - can't characterize VN leadership
as Stalinist because they're leading a rev.

(18)

Henry F. - Malachy McGowan
in Europe

~~_____~~
Carol L. - WONAAC
~~_____~~

(Note on increasing contact
and collaboration
w/ European comrades)

~~_____~~
~~_____~~

(19)

Jack -

we're at a new stage
Logic of the direction of the
implicit differences

- PRT/ERP -

terrorist tend to
split FI

IMG

- resolution

- revise TP

- calls SWP informant

United Simitant statement

re // Salustro - methods
akin to Stalines

PRT/ERP - demand to expel

Verdad + others in L.A.

(20)

at the same time ~~IT~~ is
mostly new, young

Britain

systematic victimization of
members of an ideological
minority

chronology (a) IEC - IMG supposed to back away

(b) Mandel/Krivine } were asked
by us to go
over & put

pressure on IMG leadership to
back away // they didn't do it

(c) Finally, ^{the} IMG asked for a fact-finding
commission

unanimous finding

(21)

Tarig/Tomk. dispute on China
Tarig was prepared to reply
but IMG PB said this would
make their position against
such debates look foolish

IMG document

summary

TP of SWP TP for BL
is reformist
etc

[— Labor Party is Counter-Revolutionary

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Argentina

- logical evolution of
line of 9th World Congress

- terrorism / anarchism

- Castroism / Guevaraism

with this, → program becomes
secondary

Sallustia kidnapping

1) hit world press -

& identified as Trotskyist
so every section had to
state where it stood

2) initial reaction of FF press

hailed as exemplary

3) integrated with wtrs.

(23)

Red Mole - This is the work of
an "Army"
- Party not even mentioned

Then after Secretariat rejected ~~our~~
article & did not adopt one of its own

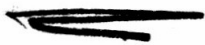
"Class Struggle + Armed Struggle
in Latin America" - model
but unsigned



↳ takes fundamental ideas of
Gennari-Knoeller article &
develops them

(~~repeat~~)

+ these have universal
importance



in this under-the-board way
a line at variance with Trotskyism
is being foisted on the P.I.

"doomsday politics" method
of party building

We -

1) - will throw all we have in the fight

2) want to hold off a premature
shotgun world congress

~~3~~ must get out the facts

3) more analysis in Militant

4) within bounds of normal cadre
functioning & make tours of our sides

(25)

(this won't be seen as a factional
move)

5.) must get info in the history
of F.I. out.

(must figure out how to
do this)

6.) put forth our own balance
sheet of the Argentinian
situation

premium on clear documents

(26)

Discussion

on world movement report

Dick R.

- a key issue is Stalinism

Lynn H.

Dick G.

Tom K.

(27)

Summary

M-A

Spain - A-W-M

Jack

GB

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It seems that

Natl Question occupies a more
important place in world politics
than ever before

(as maybe we didn't see this so well)

advanced capitalist countries
w/ks state

nat'l struggle as a form of class struggle

our previous analysis of the
political revolution has suffered
by failure to apply nat'l question
as it applies to pol. rev.