

# International Internal Discussion Bulletin

volume XVI number 8

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# Additional and Alternative Writings to the United Secretariat Draft Resolution 'Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation'

Political Bureau, KAF, Sweden

[The following additions refer to 'Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation' as printed in the English-language IIDB, Vol. XV, No. 4, May 1978.]

Faced with the international crises, and their consequences for women, we ought to add a new chapter to the draft resolution. This chapter, "Women and the Crises," could very well be added to the resolution before the section "Our Demands," on page 22.

This chapter should include a concrete analysis on the different attacks directed against women as a result of the international crises, and concrete demands countering these attacks.

Some examples, mostly from the situation in Sweden, give a hint to the different aspects that ought to be included.

## 1. How Unemployment Hits Women Harder.

Even if the actual number of women working may increase, and even if their number relative to the number of men working may be the same—as in Sweden—women's role in the working population is still marginal, and this role is deteriorating because of increased part-time work, increased ad-hoc hirings, more women working in their own homes, etc.

Unemployment may hit different groups differently in different countries, but there is a general trend showing that women, youth, and foreign-born workers are hit in a harder way. These groups have more problems getting a job, and they are less active in the trade unions. The demands necessary for these groups are, to a large extent, neglected by the unions and the traditional workers organizations.

A few examples:

Switzerland has the lowest rate of unemployment in Western Europe, 0.5%. This is a result of foreign-born workers being forced through different political measures, to leave the country (220,000 in 1979) and also because many working women have had to leave their jobs and return home. In addition, part-time work has increased—and since these jobs don't pay enough money to make a living, many women have been compelled to take these jobs. In this way the figures showing unemployment are low—but in reality unemployment is high.

In Denmark the unemployment rate for young women is 18.2 percent, but for young men it is 9.9 percent.

And in Sweden: in May 1979 the official figures of the rate of unemployment was 1.5 percent for men and 2.0 percent for women. 51,000 persons were in state-financed courses for the unemployed; 27,000 of them were women. 63,000 had special jobs for unemployed financed by the state, 26,000 were women.

Two out of three housewives want a job but are not registered as unemployed, and they don't get any economic compensation.

Youth and housewives who did not have a job before, or

in the last twelve months, cannot get any economic compensation when unemployed.

The textile industries and other trades where many women work are in crises. 20,000 jobs are supposed to disappear there during the next years.

Also in trades where men dominate, the crises hit women harder. Between 1974 and 1976, when there was still a boom in Sweden, 25,000 women got jobs in the metal and mechanic industries. Between 1976 and 1978, after the crises had reached Sweden, the number of women in these industries decreased by 8,000—8,000 jobs for women disappeared.

In areas and groups where the rate of unemployment is high, women are even more handicapped by their sex. Among young people: in 1977, 5.4 percent of the men under 20 were unemployed; but 8.1 percent of women of the same age. In regions hardest hit by the crises: in the very north of Sweden, unemployment for women was 4.6 percent in 1977.

In the public sector working opportunities for women are still increasing. But more and more of those are part-time jobs, jobs that don't provide a living. Of municipal employees seventy-seven percent work part-time.

## 2. Working Conditions

In Sweden, one million out a working population of a little more than four million, work part-time. Ninety percent are women.

Women and foreign-born workers have the worst working hours: 86 percent of all persons working at night all the time, are women. 66 percent of all persons only working evenings are women. 62 percent of all those working nights have part-time jobs. Almost half of all persons working part-time, work nights or evenings. Among foreign-born women, 12 percent work nights or evenings. The corresponding figure for Swedish women is 6.5 percent. The corresponding figure for men is 1.5 percent.

## 3. The Cutting in Social Services

In France and England hospitals are closed down; this has not happened yet in Sweden but proposals to shut down maternity wards have been raised.

In the United States the right to abortion has been limited.

In Sweden, the building of nurseries has been slowed down. Taxes have been raised. More children are put into the nurseries without increasing the number of teachers.

## 4. Ideological Attacks

"Researchers," television programs, and articles try, by different means, to force women back to their homes.

## 5. Attacks By the State

Using the opinions for equality of the sexes, the parliament has passed a law about "equality at work." This law

is for preferential hiring of women to jobs with a male domination and for *preferential hiring of men to jobs with female domination in the work force.*

This is also applied to courses and education. This means that women are given preferential hiring in new jobs that don't exist, while men get preferential hiring in women's jobs, which will weaken even more the marginal role of women in the labor market.

A special "six hour day" for parents with small children has the same effect. Subsidies to women staying home to take care of children is again being raised in the election campaign.

#### 6. The Trade Unions and the Traditional Workers Parties

In almost all unions so-called equality between the sexes is discussed and contracts about this have been agreed upon. But in reality nothing is done.

In fact the trade unions have in many cases accepted discrimination in layoffs. No trade union and none of the workers parties have been able to raise demands countering this discrimination.

To sum up:

More women are entering the work force. Women's work situations have many negative aspects. In spite of this, work is fundamentally positive for women—more independence, especially economically, more contacts, more self-confidence. But when the attacks start, women are hit hard.

To add this to the resolution means that the Fourth International firmly supports women's right to work and their rights to be a part of the work force. It means that we give defense of the right to work for women first priority today.

The resolution says that the source of independence for women is economic independence from men and authorities. This independence has been a partial right for groups of women—but this right is under attack today.

Therefore, the resolution should stress that defending working women's rights is our most important task in the women's movement; that it is necessary for the women's movement to build alliances between the labor movement and the women's movement to get the necessary support from the working class to the demands for women's rights.

It is also important to show to the women's movement that it is most important to counter this threat to women's right to work. This is a threat to all women, even women who have a job today, and it has consequences in limitations in the right to abortion, and cuts in social services such as nurseries. If the women's movement doesn't take this threat seriously, and fight it, the class struggle will bypass it and the working class will lose an important ally.

To take up these demands in the women's movement, win the women's movement to a fight for them, and forge an alliance between the labor movement and the women's movement—this is what a proletarian orientation for the women's movement means.

#### Changes and Additions

[Delete text in section "Our Demands," beginning page

22, second column, point 2, 'The right of women to control their own reproductive functions,' through to end of section on page 24.

[Substitute the following which includes portions of the draft's text as well as additions.]

#### 2. Full economic independence for women.

a. Work for all—share the existing jobs between all who want to work.

b. Guaranteed jobs at union wages for all women who want to work, coupled with a sliding scale of hours and wages to combat inflation and unemployment among men and women.

c. Equal pay for equal work. For a national minimum wage based on union scale.

d. No discrimination against women in any trade, profession, job category, apprenticeship, or training program.

e. Elimination of laws that discriminate against women's right to receive and dispose of their own wages and property.

f. Preferential hiring, training, job upgrading, and seniority adjustments for women and other superexploited layers of the labor force in order to overcome the effects of decades of systematic discrimination against them.

When the capitalists threaten the workers with lay-offs, one task for revolutionaries—to maintain the unity of the working class—is to strongly oppose the sexist opinions among the workers directed against women workers. A possible slogan to raise is that lay-offs may not decrease the relative number of women workers.

g. Paid maternity leaves for both parents with no loss of job or seniority.

h. Free, government-financed twenty-four-hour child care.

i. Paid work leaves to care for sick children to be given to men and women alike.

j. No loss of government-financed child-care at unemployment.

k. Part-time workers to be guaranteed the same hourly wages and benefits as full-time workers.

l. A uniform retirement age for men and women, with each individual free to take retirement or not.

m. The extension of beneficial protective legislation (providing special working conditions to women) to cover men, in order to improve working conditions for both men and women and prevent the use of protective legislation to discriminate against women.

n. Compensation at union rates throughout periods of unemployment for all women and men, including youth who cannot find a place in the work force, regardless of marital status. Unemployment compensation to be protected against inflation by automatic increases.

#### 3. Women's right to education

a. Free, open admission for all women to all institutions of education and all programs of study, including on-the-job training programs. Preferential admission of women to traditionally male-dominated fields and educations.

b. Special education and refresher courses to aid women reentering the job market.

c. An end to portrayal in textbooks and mass media of women as sex objects and stupid, weak, emotionally dependent creatures. Courses designed to teach the true history of women's struggles against their oppression. Physical education courses to teach women to develop their strength and be proud of their athletic abilities.

d. No expulsion of pregnant students or unwed mothers, or segregation into special facilities.

e. No preferential hirings or preferential admissions for men to traditionally female-dominated trades and occupations.

#### 4. *Woman's right to her own body and sexuality*

A woman has the sole right to choose whether or not to prevent or terminate pregnancy. This includes the rejection of population-control schemes which are tools of racism or class prejudice and which attempt to blame the evils of class society on the masses of working people and peasants.

a. Free abortion on demand; no forced sterilization or any other government interference with the right of women to choose whether or when to bear children. Right to choose whatever method of abortion or contraception a woman prefers.

b. An end to all government restrictions on abortion and contraception, including for minors, immigrant workers, and other noncitizens.

c. Free, widely disseminated birth control information and devices. State-financed birth control and sex education centers in schools, neighborhoods, hospitals, and factories.

d. Priority in medical research to development of totally safe, 100 percent effective contraceptives for men and women; an end to all medical and drug experimentation on women without their full, informed consent, nationalization of the drug industry.

#### 5. *An end to the hypocrisy, debasement, and coercion of bourgeois and feudal family laws.*

a. An end to all forced marriages—whether the compulsion is done by church, state or family. An end to buying and selling of wives.

Abrogation of all laws against adultery. An end to all laws, by state or religion, sanctioning legal penalties, physical abuse, or even murder of wives, sisters and daughters for so-called crimes against male "honor."

No to all laws, by state or religion, forbidding marriage between women and men of different colour, religion or nationality.

Marriage to be a voluntary process of civil registration with the right to automatic divorce on request of either partner.

Separation of church and state.

State provisions for economic welfare, job training for the divorced woman.

b. Unmarried women have no status.

Abolition of the concept of "illegitimacy." An end to all discrimination against unwed mothers and their children. And end to the prisonlike conditions that govern special centers set up to take care of unwed mothers and other women who have nowhere else to go.

c. The rearing, social welfare, and education of children to be the responsibility of society, rather than the burden of individual parents. Abolition of all laws granting parents property rights and total control over children. Strict laws against child abuse.

d. An end to all laws victimizing prostitutes. An end to all laws reinforcing the double standard for men and women in sexual matters. An end to all laws and regulations victimizing youth for sexual activities.

e. Abrogation of all antihomosexual laws. An end to all discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing, child custody. An end to the insulting stereotyping of

homosexuals in textbooks and mass media, or portrayal of homosexual relations as perverted and against nature.

f. Violence against women—often sanctioned by reactionary family laws—is a daily reality that all women experience in some form. If it is not the extreme of rape or beatings, there is still the ever present threat of sexual assault implicit in the obscene comments and gestures women are constantly subjected to in the streets and on the job.

We demand the elimination of laws predicated on the assumption that female rape victims are the guilty party; establishment of centers—independent of the police and courts—designed to welcome, counsel, and help battered wives, rape victims, and other female victims of sexual violence; improvement of public transportation, street lighting, and other public services that make it safer for women to go out alone.

Violence against women is a vicious product of the general social and economic conditions of class society. It inevitably increases during periods of social crisis. But we strive to educate women and men that sexual violence cannot be eradicated without changing the foundation from which the economic, social, and sexual degradation of women flows. We expose the racist use of antirape laws to victimize men of oppressed nationalities. We oppose demands raised by some feminists to inflict drastic penalties on convicted rapists or to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the state, whose cops are among the most notorious brutalizers of women.

#### 6. *Reorganization of society to eliminate domestic slavery of women.*

The family as an economic unit cannot be "abolished" by fiat. It can only be replaced over time. The goal of the socialist revolution is to create economic and social alternatives that are superior to the present family institution and better able to provide for the needs currently met, however poorly, by the family, so that personal relationships will be a matter of free choice and not of economic compulsion.

Many women have jobs where they have to work nights, weekends and at other times when it is impossible to get child care in any other way but through private solutions. The children are thrown back and forth between different forms of child care. Because of that many women have an insecure situation at work with a bad conscience because of the children.

Therefore we fight for free, government-financed child care twenty-four-hours a day.

The employers, who profit from the work of the parents, should pay for child care through a different tax system.

Possibilities for different ways of life than marriage. More service flats.

The trade unions should decide daily work hours.

Systematic development of low-cost, high-quality social services such as cafeterias, restaurants, and take-out food centers available to all; collective laundry facilities, house-cleaning services organized on an industrial basis.

\* \* \*

These demands indicate the issues around which women will fight for their liberation, and show how this fight is interrelated with the demands raised by other oppressed sectors of society and the needs of the working class as a whole. It is in struggle along these lines that the working

class will be educated to understand and oppose sexism in all its forms and expressions.

The women's liberation movement raises many issues. The development of the movement has already demonstrated that not all will come to the fore with equal forces at any given time. Which demands to raise at any particular time in the course of a particular struggle, the best way to formulate specific demands so that they are understandable to advance new demands to move the struggle forward—the answer to those tactical problems is the function of the revolutionary party, the art of politics itself.

(Approved unanimously by the Political Bureau of Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet after a proposal submitted by members of the Women's Commission.)

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### Suggestions and Modifications for the Document, 'Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation'

By José Valdés

In order to improve this document, with which *we are in general agreement*, we would like to make the following observations on the English text, published in *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XV, No. 4, May 1978.

Page 3: Women's oppression is discussed in general without clearly indicating—from the beginning of the document—that the basis of this oppression is the economic exploitation of women. This would enable us to differentiate ourselves from the reformist currents that stress only the superstructural oppression of women.

Women are oppressed not only on the level of ideology, culture, and psychology. They are not only dependent, passed over, and considered as sexual objects, but fundamentally suffer from *economic exploitation*. The basis for the oppression is exploitation. The different variants of sexual, psychic, and cultural alienation are based in the alienation at work and inside and outside the home. A historical materialist analysis must begin from the economic function fulfilled by women in the different social formations. It is necessary to begin by unravelling the economic alienation of women in order to explain the basis of their cultural oppression.

The basic function realized by women is the reproduction of the labor force. Not only are they alone biologically capable of having children, but it is they who have borne the job of feeding, raising, and caring for those who will later play the key roles in the productive process. Women fulfill the function of providing the work force, the basis of any system of production.

The capitalist system does not invest a cent in the reproduction of the work force. Women are assigned to do it without being compensated by the capitalists. It may

Additional Comments after discussions with members of the Women's Commission.

1. Page 6, first column, last paragraph. Delete "It is the capitalist class, not men in general, and certainly not male wage earners, which profits from women's unpaid labor in the household."

This sentence should be omitted, since men and male wage earners in the short run *do* profit from this unpaid labor by women at home.

2. Page 6, second column, section 5e. A paragraph should be added, describing the attacks on women's right to work—more part-time etc. (see our proposal about a chapter on Women and the Crises).

3. On the whole the very positive aspects should be stressed of women going out to work, in spite of low pay, part-time, etc., as a very fundamental origin to the independence of women.

appear incredible but it must be repeated: the care and upbringing of the children is work—unremunerated work. Behind the ideology that pretends to idealize the role of the mother is the interest that capitalism has in ensuring the reproduction of the work force without any investment.

The fact that this labor is not considered work, but rather a natural function of women, allows the capitalist system to avoid paying for this work, which is equally or more tedious and draining as that done in factories, businesses, and offices.

Women's domestic work complements the wage or "necessary labor" of the worker, peasant, or employee. A bourgeois ideologue might argue that the feeding of children is subsidized by the payment of wages to the worker. The truth is that the payment for "necessary labor," received by the worker or employee, is only enough to maintain him or herself and allow a return to production with renewed energy.

Without the work of the woman at home, the wage would not be enough for the whole family. The woman carries out unremunerated work in cooking the food acquired with the wage of her husband and feeds and bathes the man, who must continue to produce surplus value in the factory. The woman not only raises children and prepares food free of charge, but also produces use-values, such as clothing, food, knitting, mending, etc. Political economy has neglected to study the economic exploitation of women, both within the home and outside it, not recognizing its real importance as one of the factors facilitating capitalist accumulation.

The labor theory of value explains the process of overproduction but has not evaluated the importance of women's labor as a decisive factor in the reproduction of

the work force. The solution is not to apply the theory of surplus value to women's domestic labor, since the rules of capitalist production, necessary labor and surplus labor, do not apply to this work. The man does not extract surplus value from the labor of the woman. But the woman performs labor, and all labor produces value.

If the woman who works at home produces value, we are entitled to ask how this value is manifested. Obviously, the food and clothing produced in the home are use-values. But the problem becomes more complicated when we discuss the reproduction of the work force destined to go on the labor market. Marx showed that the work force is a commodity in the capitalist system. The worker—a commodity—once brought up by his or her mother, "freely" sells his or her labor power.

It would be risky to deduce from this—as some authors have done—that the mother produces commodities or exchange values. What the woman does is to reproduce, free of charge, the work force that later becomes a commodity when the worker offers himself or herself for a wage in the labor market. The value produced by the woman by her work at home is in the last analysis handed over to the capitalist system without it having to pay a cent for the reproduction of the work force. The unremunerated work of the woman at home is obviously not a social relation of capitalist production, but takes place within the system and serves to reinforce it.

Another major case of unremunerated work by women is found in the small peasant artisan enterprises. In family-type enterprises, the mother is a pillar of production. This work by women is not paid, either. It is considered, especially in the countryside (milking, cheesemaking, gardening, watering plants, etc.) as a domestic task.

This unremunerated work done by women and children allows the peasants to sell their products at low prices on the capitalist market. Capitalism benefits from this mechanism of prices of products of popular consumption because it allows workers who receive low wages to acquire these products and renew themselves as labor power. In this way family-type exploitation—which is obviously not based on a social relationship of capitalist production—serves to reinforce the process of capitalist accumulation.

Women aid the worldwide process of capitalist accumulation by producing surplus value at jobs in which they are contracted with low salaries. Women are hired to so-called "unskilled" jobs in order that the employer may pay them less. In actuality, it has been shown that in some branches of industry, the productivity of the women is greater than of the men and as a result the surplus-value produced is greater.

In certain jobs—also known as "unskilled"—women are able to reach a work speed, patience, and attention to detail that men are incapable of. In some industries work rhythms are maintained that women are able to sustain more efficiently than men.

Women are the main industrial reserve army allowing capitalism to incessantly lower real wages. Women not only reproduce the work force that swells the industrial reserve army, but are also a potential and real part of the reserve labor army.

Women who work for their own account (dressmakers, wigmakers, weavers, peddlers) are a vast exploited sector. Many produce exchange values, such as clothing, food (preserves, pies, etc.) and handicrafts for popular consumption. Others are exploited by enterprises that give them

work to do at home.

The process of imperialist accumulation cannot be fully explained if the economic exploitation of women is not taken into account both in the highly industrialized countries and in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The woman question there acquires huge proportions. It is not limited to questions of individual oppression or situations related to the sociology of the family; the economic exploitation of women transcends the whole social formation, inasmuch as this exploitation contributes decisively to the worldwide process of capitalist accumulation. Further exposure of the significance of the economic exploitation of women will without doubt contribute to the enrichment of the theory of imperialism.

In synthesis, we suggest that a subchapter be added to the document on women, submitted to the discussion for the World Congress, on *the economic exploitation of women* and its implications in the worldwide process of capitalist accumulation.

*Page 4:* The role played by women in production not only in the "primitive" indigenous communities, but also in the peasant and urban-handicrafts family enterprises in the Greco-Roman and medieval societies, is not pointed out. This could make it possible to explain how the patriarchal family of antiquity and feudalism had different characteristics from the bourgeois patriarchal family, whose first function is to guarantee the reproduction of the work force for the capitalist system. Even the measures of the second half of the nineteenth century, prohibiting massive labor by women and children, had the aim of safeguarding the nuclear family and assuring the reproduction of the work force. Thus, under the capitalist regime there developed precisely the type of family needed by the system.

*Page 7:* The category of "unskilled labor" is not demystified. The bourgeoisie calls women's work "unskilled" in order to pay them less. In reality, a great part of women's jobs are so skilled that only they could do them, because they have been prepared over years to perform delicate and patient tasks.

*Page 8:* Women's struggles appeared not only in the metropolitan capitalist countries, but also in Latin America; for example, we have many examples of women's participation in struggles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and in the organization of feminist movements beginning in the 1920s.

In Chile in 1919 the National Women's Movement was founded, which later became the Chilean Movement for Women's Emancipation (MEMCH). In Argentina, women not only participated in trade-union struggles of the UGT, but in 1906 created the Feminist Center, which organized the National Feminist Party in 1919, led by the poet Alfonsina Storni.

During the Mexican revolution, the First Feminist Congress was held in 1917. It adopted a series of very advanced resolutions in favor of women's liberation, going as far as to propose a "Female Republic" in 1936.

In Colombia, in 1927, some fourteen thousand native women signed a manifesto on the "rights of native women." In Venezuela, the Female Association was organized in 1934 and the Venezuelan Association of Women in 1952. The latter won some specifically female demands through its struggles.

Finally, not to exaggerate or idealize the role played by Latin American women, we nevertheless think their participation in social struggles should not be ignored. Nor

should we forget the organization of specifically feminist movements that called for women's liberation several decades ago. Although this movement is still weak, it acquired more importance beginning in the 1960s, due to the influence of the European and North American women's liberation movement.

*Page 8:* The way the document was drafted leaves the impression that the proportion of women who are employed is rising. Actually, while the number of women working for a wage increased after the Second World War, it should be recognized that it has stagnated in the last decade, in general, since it has grown in some economic sectors but has decreased in others.

*Page 12 and following:* On the women in the colonial and semicolonial world; there is no thoroughgoing analysis of either the economic exploitation of women, or the place occupied by women in the class structure.

*On page 13,* it is erroneous—we could call it dualist—to say that there is an imperialist regime superimposed on an “archaic” and precapitalist mode of production. The truth is that imperialist penetration has imposed the laws of capitalism on the whole economy of every semicolonial country, causing the precapitalist forms to go into crisis and abruptly incorporating so-called “precapitalist” forms of exploitation into the capitalist economy.

The system functions as a totality, not as separate parts between a capitalist sector and a precapitalist and “archaic” sector (the latter characterization is very imprecise). This overall analysis of the entirety of the social regime in the semicolonial countries makes it possible to understand how the work of Latin American, Asian, and African women contributes to the process of worldwide capitalist accumulation.

*Page 14; point 5:* The so-called “active” female population in Latin America is approximately twenty percent, not eight or fifteen percent as the document indicates. In any case, it is necessary to point out that the concept of an economically “active” population is false because it does not consider women who work in the home and in peasant and handicrafts enterprises of a family type as active.

*Page 16, point 13:* Delete the paragraph that speaks of the “weakness of the capitalist classes in the colonial and semicolonial countries,” because it lends itself to political confusion and ignores the role of imperialism as a prop of these bourgeoisies.

*Page 17, point d:* Delete the paragraph that speaks of “possibilities for the liberation of women opened up by the technological advancements of capitalism,” because it sows illusions that the present process of technological development will advance the liberation of women. The truth is that so-called modern technological “development” is throwing women out of factories with more sophisticated technology.

*Page 17:* As we have shown in previous paragraphs, it is not true that women in semicolonial countries such as those of Latin America have had no tradition of feminist movements. While it is true that the European and North American feminist movement has been more relevant, we should not ignore the fact that in some semicolonial countries (not all, of course), the feminist movement has been rising for several decades.

*Page 20 and following:* On “Our Demands.” We think that the program proposed by the document is basically for the women of the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and North America. It is necessary to distinguish

between a program—one that is achievable—for European women, and a transitional program for Asian, African, and Latin American women, adapted to the specific characteristics of the semicolonial countries.

It is also necessary to point out precisely which are the propaganda slogans and which are the agitational and action slogans. The total liberation of women, the definitive end of female oppression and the dissolution of the patriarchal family are slogans of a propagandistic type that should be raised and explained all the time, but with a clear understanding that they can only be won with the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the construction of an authentic socialist society, in which women will participate equally in the organs of workers' power.

The key problem is how to centralize the women's struggle on points that make possible a mobilization of all women. On the other hand, the risk is run of proposing a “maximalist” struggle for total liberation that will be reduced to small vanguardist groups. In our opinion, every section of the Fourth International, in close relation with the feminist movement in its country, must choose the programmatic points that can help build a real mobilization of the majority of women.

As for the general program proposed by the document, we think some additions should be made:

1. We should put more emphasis on the slogan of the *sliding scale of hours of work*. While it is true that this is valid for all workers, in the case of women it is especially important because women are the first to be laid off when the process of mechanization speeds up. A concrete way of applying this slogan is the guaranteed monthly wage, regardless of the hours of work during that month; next, to divide the hours of work between men and women, as the workers in the refrigeration industry in Argentina succeeded in doing and the Chilean leather and shoe workers succeeded in doing.

2. The document should question the term “unskilled labor,” in which the majority of women are employed, explaining that it is actually labor so skilled that if men performed it the productivity of the factories would decrease.

3. We should demand legislation protecting women from unhealthy work in the factories, obliging the employers to reduce the poisonous elements to the minimum, and demanding earlier retirement for those suffering from an unhealthy environment.

4. Retirement for women after twenty-five years of work, or at fifty-five years of age. A fight for regulations adding a year per child to the figures for time spent working for purposes of figuring retirement.

5. *For women who perform unremunerated work:*

- a. A fight for payment of women's work done at home. One way to begin this struggle is through the actual conquest made by the so-called “Family Allowance” workers in some countries. The demand would be that this Family Allowance, now paid by the employer or the state to the worker or employee for the subsistence of his wife and children, be converted into payment for the work performed by the woman at home.

At first, payment for this work, expressed in the Family Allowance, will in only a minimal way compensate the true labor of the housewife, but it will signify the first public recognition that the woman's work in the home should be paid. Once this minimum gain is achieved, it will be possible to go forward to struggle for an increase



through a greater proportion of the Family Allowance or through some other designation or heading that clearly expresses that the private enterprises and the state are obliged to pay for the work of women in the home.

It might be argued that this reinforces the idea that the woman always has to take responsibility for housework. But this need not be the objective. The tasks of housework can be performed by the man or the woman. The main point is for it to be recognized as work; and this work should be paid like any other.

b. A struggle for a form of payment for unremunerated work performed by women in family-type peasant enterprises and urban handicrafts enterprises. Payment for this work could be made through different means in each country and region. The main point is to explain the right of the peasant woman to be paid for her work, which always goes beyond the bounds of so-called "domestic" tasks, and the right of the urban woman, who works in the handicrafts shops of her father or brothers, without remuneration, to be paid.

6. *Education*: It is necessary to encourage women to go into university-educated professions that are not limited to secretarial work, teaching, nursing, etc. We should fight for a popular university in which most professors would be women. An educational plan drawn up by women themselves to reformulate the current education curriculum, which reinforces patriarchal society and devalues women, separating specifically masculine and feminine tasks. Boys should be taught from an early age in school to sew buttons just as girls do; to cook and perform other domestic tasks, following the experience of Anna Freud in the kindergarten of the Hampstead Clinic in London.

*Page 24 and following*: On "Our Methods of Struggle," We think that the *methods of struggle* ought to take into consideration the specific features of each continent or country. For example, it would be an error to mechanically transfer the whole program of struggle of European women or North American women into Latin America. It is necessary to act tactically, taking into consideration the social and sexual prejudices that are widespread in Asia, Africa, and Latin America so as not to provoke rejection mechanisms in the women themselves.

On the other hand, it is necessary to criticize the "focoist" and "terrorist" methods that will lead to isolation of the feminist movement. For example, if an armed women's group throws a bomb at a cosmetics store or a company that organizes beauty contests, killing an adult or a child, it would tend to discredit the feminist cause and lead to repression that would isolate the feminist movement from the start. We are not for practicing "substitutionism"; that is, we do not seek to replace the mass women's struggle by isolated terrorist acts, as is occurring in Italy.

There are some attitudes taken by women's groups—which can be characterized as "infantile leftism"—that lead to men, including those who support the women's liberation struggle, resorting to defense mechanisms and reacting negatively to minor female aggressions. These squabbles between the sexes divert attention away from the fundamental problems and from the main agitational and action slogans for women to use to make concrete gains opening the way to winning strategic objectives.

The feminist movement should wage a consciousness-raising campaign aimed not only toward women but also toward men, helping them understand the need to share

tasks at home, the reasons for sexual rejection by the women in response to their "macho" attitudes, their autistic behavior in sexual intercourse, their poor relations with children leading to feelings of frustration as fathers as years go by. It is necessary to demonstrate to the men that a large part of their personal frustrations result from their "macho" behavior.

The autonomous organization of women should attenuate the contradictions between themselves and the trade unions or political parties. The revolutionary Marxist party should set the example in this. Not only should the central committee and the ranks of the party publish documents on women's liberation in the newspaper or magazine, but the male members should begin to set an example, pushing forward the most capable and combative women members into party leadership positions, ceasing to use women members in secondary tasks, e.g., as secretaries or leaflet distributors; uprooting the habit of assigning women to serve coffee during party meetings or prepare food and clean up when there is a party social gathering.

The party tasks should be shared equally, without differentiation or discrimination between the sexes. It is also necessary to get rid of the custom of women staying home to take care of the children because the male party member has to attend a party or trade-union meeting. Such behavior generally leads to minimizing or destroying women's ability to be active or causes the inactive wife and the children to begin openly rejecting the party.

We should generalize the experiment begun by some revolutionaries of forming groups of politically active couples who share domestic tasks and child care. If such a group of couples is formed, a man and a woman can care for the children of the other couples one night while the others attend meetings or carry out other party or trade-union tasks. In this way the revolutionary Marxist party can be a practical example to the rest, preparing the new woman and man for socialism.

November 30, 1978

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Additional Comments Submitted January 5, 1979.

We think that in the subchapter, "Origin and Nature of Women's Oppression," *it is necessary to add an analysis of the problem of female sexual alienation*. We realize that it is a complicated subject to discuss in a political document, and could create a misunderstanding. The sexual frustration of women cannot be put aside, however, because it is one of the most serious problems of women's oppression. For that reason, we are in favor of including the sexual question in that subchapter and are making the following suggestions.

Sexual behavior is conditioned by the social system, which imposes cultural forms, ideology and "morals." It is the woman who suffers most from the system of domination. The man reaffirms his dominance over the woman through sexual activity as well. The sexual alienation of the woman is a product of the patriarchal system, which has set roles for each member of the couple. In sexual relations, the man reproduces his dominant role in the home and in the whole society. The woman has been

assigned a passive, receptive, dominated role.

Patriarchal society has created the myth that sexual intercourse, as humans traditionally perform it, derives from our "biological nature." Recent studies on animals show that different forms of sexual expression exist. The form of human sexual intercourse seems to derive more from culture, rather than being intrinsically biological. We are aware of the biological purpose of sexual intercourse, but we are saying that the form in which it is practiced in patriarchal society has a cultural conditioning; it is a result of men's oppression of women.

The entire sexual act, including "foreplay," is aimed at the man's ejaculation. It is conceived to satisfy the male, without taking into consideration the authentic sexuality of the woman, as has been demonstrated in the investigations of Kinsey, Masters and Johnson, and Shere Hite. The patriarchal regime has made it an absolute, sacred truth, resorting to false biological rationalizations, that women's sexuality should be accommodated to the man, forgetting that it has its own dynamic and a different way of expressing itself.

The function of intercourse is to assure reproduction, which in the capitalist system concretely means reproduction of the work force in order to strengthen the system of domination. The Judeo-Christian code punishes sexual activity that does not aim at reproduction. Our civil and penal codes have maintained this tradition by repressing non-coital forms of sexuality. This leaves 70% of women on the margin of sexual enjoyment, as the Hite Report showed, through a survey of three thousand women, the majority of whom said that intercourse itself did not lead to orgasm.

It was thought that women reached orgasm only vaginally, which went along with the idea that women reached climax due to the action of the men. Recent studies have demonstrated that orgasm is produced by the stimulation of the clitoris. Women reach orgasm through masturbation or intercourse, as long as men understand that the most important manifestation of female sexuality is in the clitoris.

Sexuality has been defined in terms of the satisfaction of the man. He decides when the act begins and ends, generally leaving the woman frustrated. This lack of sexual realization is another example of female oppression. Women—sexual slaves—are not only repressed, but,

in turn, repress themselves, fearing to express their own sexuality.

In the recent decades, the mass media have publicized the so-called "sexual revolution," propagating the concept that women have achieved emancipation by having a chance to go to bed with whomever they choose. The so-called "sexual revolution" is a way of channelling women's protests and has the objective—manipulated by men—of converting women into more accessible sexual objects. In the view of many conscious women, the problem is not to conquer more men but to have a true relationship that allows the full expression of female sexuality. The problem is not quantitative but qualitative.

These very serious problems of sexual frustration, found in North American women, are even more evident in Latin American, Asian, and African women, who suffer from a more intense form of machismo and a greater degree of repression and self-repression.

Women will certainly find the most suitable methods to attain their own sexual identity. The fight for egalitarian sexual rights will be more difficult than the fight for certain economic and legal demands. The change in the relations of production and the end of private property, under socialism, will make it possible for women to win important demands. But it will not guarantee a change in men's behavior in the sexual act. The emancipation of women in this vital aspect will be the work of women themselves.

The right of women to the free use of their own bodies applies not only to conception and contraception but also to the expression of all their various forms of sexuality. Conscious of their sexuality, women will be in a more favorable situation to fight for an end to dependent relations with men. It is not only a question of an equal right to orgasm, but also of creating free relations between beings who love each other.

The sexual problems of capitalist society—and those of the period of transition to socialism—can only be solved when full equality is attained between men and women. The liquidation of the patriarchal family and the end of the dominant role of men—not only socio-economically, politically, and culturally, but also sexually—will be the essential condition for full equality between men and women.

January 5, 1979

## Amendments to the World Political Resolution Proposed by the Two Reporters, Celso and Walter, September 1979

[The following amendments refer to "The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International," Draft Resolution for Fifth World Congress Since Reunification (11th World Congress), printed in the English-language IIDB, Volume XV, No. 5, July 1978.]

1. Page 3, first column, reformulate point 1 as follows:

"A further shift in the international relationship of class forces to the detriment of imperialism as a result of the weakening of world capitalism owing to the defeat of American imperialism in Indochina, the first generalized recession of the international capitalist economy since 1937-38, and the revolutionary overturn of the shah's regime in Iran and Somozaism in Nicaragua, with all their consequences for the Middle East and Latin America."

2. Page 3, first column, reformulate point 2 as follows:

"The colonial and semicolonial sector remains highly explosive. New social revolutions will continue to break out there before socialist victories in imperialist countries—as indeed occurred in Ethiopia, Iran, and Nicaragua. But simultaneously, the weight and impact of the class struggle in the imperialist countries upon the world . . . (continues as in original)."

3. Page 3, second column, reformulate point 6 as follows:

"A crisis of world Stalinism connected with the crisis of capitalism and imperialism.

"In the degenerated or deformed workers states, political opposition continues, with the dissidents becoming bolder in seeking openings to resist repressive measures. In Poland the working class is the central driving force of the anti-Stalinist opposition. In other countries, including the Soviet Union, the working class is progressively adding its weight to the opposition begun among intellectuals and oppressed nationalities.

"At the same time the exacerbation of the Sino-Soviet conflict at the state level, the current trend of Peking's policy, increasingly lining up with reactionary capitalist and imperialist forces against both Moscow and Cuba, and the moves of the Kremlin to further and further appease Western European imperialisms, has given that crisis an exceptionally grave character."

4. Page 8, second column, rewrite third paragraph as follows:

"The industrial proletariat is the most powerful social force in capitalist society. Once the scope of its mass mobilizations and the radical forms of its organization increase qualitatively—and that is a decisive characteristic of the emergence of a revolutionary crisis, together with the growing paralysis and initial disintegration of the bourgeois power organs—the attraction it exerts on all its

potential allies becomes immense. Proletarian forms of organization, growing out of experiences in prerevolutionary times—union committees, elected strike committees, broad factory committees, etc.—begin to take the form of elected councils that extend beyond the plants, centralize workers organization, pit it increasingly against the badly-shaken bourgeois state apparatus, and tend to encompass larger and larger sections of the allies of the working class.

"A multi-faceted struggle erupts between the class-collaborationists and the class-struggle forces represented in these councils, for the leadership of the mass struggles, unions, and the other mass organizations. A process of selection unfolds, that makes possible the swift growth of a revolutionary Marxist mass party—provided it has grown sufficiently before these events to appear as a credible alternative leadership to the masses, it has firmly rooted itself in the industrial working class, and it had started to gain increasing influence and adherents in the proletarian vanguard. The growth of such a mass party is the decisive element in winning a majority of the workers to the revolutionary perspective of expropriating the bourgeoisie, removing and replacing the bourgeois state machine, and conquering power by the councils and guaranteeing victory."

5. Page 14, first column: Take out the two first paragraphs of that column and replace them with a new chapter III: "Perspectives and Problems of the Iranian Revolution," to be drafted on the basis of the general line of the United Secretariat resolution on Iran adopted by the March-April meeting of the United Secretariat.

The same will be done to add Nicaragua to the Latin America section of the resolution.

6. Page 16, first column, rewrite the second part of point d (4th paragraph) as follows:

". . . prerequisites for the building of socialism. The political revolution, will, however, not be restricted to the superstructure. The introduction of proletarian democracy will radically transform planning, economic management, and the organization of the production process. It will, among other benefits, restore the friendly, mutually advantageous alliance with the peasantry. It will mark a decisive assertion of workers management of the economy and the beginning of a radical transformation of family life."

7. Page 25, first column, 3rd paragraph, rewrite second sentence as follows:

"The working class is led in turn to organize itself by extending and tightening its international ties, not only to press forward its historic interests, but even to defend its immediate needs and conditions of day-to-day life and work against the capitalist offensive."

## Proposed Amendments to the World Political Resolution, 'The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International'

By Gabriel-Casals

[The following amendments refer to the World Political Resolution as printed in the English-language IIDB, Vol. XV, No. 5, July 1978.]

1. Page 9, second column, under Section II, first paragraph. Replace "The deterioration in the leadership of forces . . . in the Horn of Africa." with:

"The crisis of the imperialist system is particularly striking in Africa, where the Soviet Union, taking advantage of the openings provided by mass struggles, is extending its diplomatic influence, its complicity with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois regimes, without, however, going outside the limits of peaceful coexistence. Antiwar sentiment in the United States prevented Washington from openly intervening militarily against the revolutionary development of mass struggles in Angola and in the horn of Africa."

2. Page 9, second column, under Section II, first paragraph. Replace "However, Havana accepted . . . be more dramatic." with:

"But in supporting the MPLA against the reactionary South African troops and those of the puppet UNITA and FNLA movements, who were trained by agents of the imperialists, Havana accepted the risk. Cuba thus built up political credit in the eyes of most anti-imperialist fighters in Africa."

3. Page 10, first column, under point 9, second paragraph, next to the last sentence should read:

"Imperialist pressure for similar turns in Africa has already made significant progress in enlisting the Chinese bureaucracy, which, for one thing, supports the Zairian regime politically and militarily; and in getting the endorsement of the Soviet bureaucracy in terms of the settlements envisioned for Zimbabwe and Namibia."

4. Page 12, first column, fourth paragraph, fourth line should read:

"nent, with the notable exception of South Africa, Namibia, and Rhodesia."

5. Page 12, first column, fifth paragraph fourth line should read:

"regime in South Africa, and by supporting the coalition made up of South Africa, Zaire, the FNLA, and UNITA."

6. Page 12, second column, first paragraph. Replace "In Namibia, too, . . . is making such a solution very difficult." with:

"In Namibia, too, imperialism is involved in a neocolonial venture that revolves around the settlement plan developed by the five Western countries that are the main investors in this country (West Germany, United States, Britain, France, and Canada). SWAPO and the front-line

countries (Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Botswana) have long since endorsed such a project. Nevertheless, in the context of the stubbornness of the South African government, which has orchestrated an internal settlement by means of rigged elections, and that of the white settlers, such a peaceful compromise solution seems hardly attainable at present."

7. Page 12, second column, after paragraph: "In Zimbabwe. . . course of the African revolution as a whole." insert following paragraphs:

"In this country, the big mobilizations of 1976 showed the full importance of the mobilization and organization of the working masses. They showed that the South African revolution combines a national and a social character. The primary objective for building a revolutionary party is to move forward in the construction of organizations of the Black masses, trade unions and associations. They also showed that the strategy of armed struggle preached by the nationalists and Stalinists and supported by the OAU is an impasse wherein hundreds of militants have already been sacrificed. Finally, they showed that the struggles against the system of apartheid and against the bantustans, through the mobilizations that they have created, are sparking a questioning of capitalist domination in that country."

"In Zimbabwe, the programs of the forces making up the Patriotic Front do not guarantee either full democratic rights for the masses, or the questioning of capitalist social relations. By waging an active armed struggle on the one hand, and becoming trapped, on the other hand, in the machinery of African diplomacy centered around the Anglo-American plan and conditional aid from the front-line states, the Zimbabwean nationalists are limiting the revolutionary potential of the masses in that country who are struggling for their national independence. In this framework, revolutionary Marxists do not separate support to those who are struggling against the Salisbury regime from the struggle to enable the Zimbabwean masses to establish their class independence from the nationalist and petty-bourgeois leaderships."

8. Page 12, second column, third paragraph. Replace "The fact that the Dergue regime . . . class struggle." with:

"The petty-bourgeois nationalist regime of the Dergue, under the prodding of the masses, had to take a whole series of radical measures, but its political nature prevents it, as we can observe, from breaking with the international capitalist system and private ownership. This makes the breadth of the mass mobilizations, that have made Ethiopia an unprecedented example of national struggles and class struggles combined, all the more significant."

9. Page 12, second column, fifth paragraph. Replace "self-determination for the oppressed nationalities . . .

including the Dergue." with:

"... for independence of the trade unions, committees, and militias, for a sovereign Constituent Assembly, for self-determination for the oppressed nationalities against the Dergue's policy of housebreaking the mass movement."

10. Page 12, second column, sixth paragraph. Replace "Under the present circumstances . . . independence for the Eritrean people." with:

"Under the present circumstances of growing imperialist aggression against the African revolution, and a counter-revolutionary policy by the Soviet Union carried out with the aid of the Comecon countries, it is imperative that anti-imperialist and revolutionary Marxist forces everywhere in the world include in their defense of the African revolution strong support for the right of independence for the Eritrean people."

11. Page 12, second column, sixth and seventh paragraphs. Replace "The Cuban and Soviet governments. . . would be the ultimate gainer." with:

"The Cuban and Soviet governments are arming and training the Ethiopian troops that invaded Eritrea. This counterrevolutionary policy goes against the legitimate rights of the Eritrean masses to independence. It is thus a duty of revolutionary Marxists to condemn this situation by reaffirming the right of the peoples in the former Ethiopian empire to self-determination, to demand the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops from Eritrea, and to demand an immediate halt to the participation of Soviet and Cuban instructors in training the Ethiopian troops, as well as all political and military aid to the Dergue.

"We should demand that the workers states recognize the right of the Eritreans to decide their own destiny. The Cuban proposal of a federative formula throughout the horn of Africa would not have a true internationalist meaning unless it meant concrete aid to the revolutionary struggles of the masses against the Ethiopian and Somali regimes for the inalienable right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities, for the destruction of capitalist social relations, and not, as it is in reality, a confused formula that seeks to combine maintenance of the Dergue's authority with the concerns of Soviet diplomacy, particularly in relation to certain Middle Eastern states and Somalia.

"The course that has been followed leads not only to a weakening of the Cuban revolution, but even to a rollback of conquests of the Ethiopian revolution. World imperialism, with increased capacity to maneuver in the region, is the ultimate gainer."

12. Page 13, first column, first paragraph. Delete sentences from "However, marked unevenness both in the development of classes. . . . [to end of paragraph]." Replace with:

"In these neocolonial states initially built around the petty bourgeoisie that had emerged from the womb of the colonial administration, a deepgoing process of social differentiation is under way, first and foremost within the ruling class itself, a fraction of which has succeeded in establishing its power through its control of the state-owned economic sector in some countries, and/or as a result of accumulation induced by its management of the state apparatus and the benefits flowing from this. This has made possible the emergence, at different rates accord-

ing to country, of a bourgeois class tied to the imperialist market but with investments in some secondary economic sectors. This process has intersected with the transformations of imperialist economic policy itself, which aims to stabilize these states by fostering the development of a firmly established ruling class. This is the meaning of the aid to the development of African small business and accords of the EEC-ECP type.

"Despite the unevenness of development of the process of private capital accumulation, a category of countries may be distinguished where this bourgeois class reigns, in some cases in alliance with precapitalist ruling classes. Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Kenya, Gabon, and Zaïre are the most typical examples of this. But this social transformation has taken place on the scale of the entire society. The last ten years, therefore, have been marked by greater proletarianization and class differentiation. The growth of the proletariat during this period, the chronic instability of the ruling groups, and the challenging of imperialist domination on an international scale are the general factors whose combination marks a new period of a rise in mass struggles in the neocolonial Black African countries, after the objective defeats that the very establishment of these states represented.

"The fusion of these class struggles with the national liberation struggles being waged in southern Africa might have created an explosive situation across the continent. But this combination did not take place, given the narrowly nationalist strategy of the petty-bourgeois leaderships.

"Nevertheless, this new rise of class struggles in neocolonial Africa favors the appearance of new phenomena of radicalization and represents an important landmark in the crisis of the neocolonial system.

"The central task of revolutionary Marxists in these countries, therefore, is to struggle for independence and unity of the mass movement that is being born or reborn. The absence of the most elementary democratic forces gives an extremely important mobilizing dimension to the struggle to win democratic rights: for the right of organization, for basic freedoms, for the struggles of the poor peasantry against its exploitation, against ethnic and national oppression.

"These actions are combined with the struggle for the independence of the mass working-class organizations (trade unions independent of the bourgeois state, for example) and for working-class demands like a 40-hour week, social security. . . . The political domination of petty-bourgeois nationalism in most of these countries confronts revolutionary Marxists with the arduous task of rebuilding the mass movement. But there lies the road to the building of the revolutionary party.

"The countries that have emerged from the liberation struggle in the former Portuguese colonies, or Ethiopia after the fall of Selassie, represent bourgeois states of a special type. The nationalist petty bourgeoisie, which has just barely managed to penetrate the state apparatus, is still the ruling class there. The processes of emergence of a bourgeoisie are already inscribed in the policies of the leaderships, although this is not an accomplished fact nonetheless. It is through the ties that this petty bourgeoisie in power maintains with the imperialist monopolies, through its dependence on the capitalist world market and its attachment to private ownership (particularly in land) that it is transformed into a culture medium for the

emergence of an indigenous bourgeoisie as a possessing class. The tasks of revolutionary Marxists in these states are also centered on the question of the struggle for elementary democratic rights which the nationalist leaderships deny to the toiling masses, and for the rebuilding of the mass movements of the workers and peasants in total independence from the state apparatus.

"That is why we must demand of the workers states, and of Cuba first and foremost, that they stop all support to these regimes. The scrupulous adherence to the OAU framework, the support given to regimes that are christened "progressive" like those of Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Benin, the Congo, the Seychelles, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia, the search for a compromise in Namibia and Zimbabwe, etc., far from aiding the African

revolution, reinforce the illusions of the masses in bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalism, and fall within the framework of peaceful coexistence."

Finally, we wish to draw the attention of the United Secretariat to two things:

1. In Chapter V (pp. 25-28), there should be inserted the call for a struggle to withdraw imperialist troops from Africa (probably in paragraph (a) on page 27).

2. In light of the events in Peru, Iran, Rhodesia, Ethiopia, etc., there should probably be inserted in the resolution a special paragraph recalling our approach with respect to the battle for democratic rights and for a Constituent Assembly.

## Criticisms of the Draft 'Resolution on Latin America' Some Reflections and Proposed Amendments

By Heredia

[The following amendments refer to the Resolution on Latin America as printed in the English-language IIDB, Vol. XV, No. 6, December 1978.]

### Preliminary Remarks

The draft resolution that we are discussing is far from meeting the deeply felt need of our movement in Latin America for a general line of orientation that summarizes the experiences we have gone through and projects the most likely course of future events.

Because of the very nature of this draft, it would require substantial changes or a new one would have to be written. We are, however, limiting ourselves here to some criticisms and proposed amendments, reserving the right to formulate an alternative draft, if necessary, during the discussion and during the Congress itself.

### A Methodological Problem

The most noteworthy aspects of the draft that has been presented are its failure to forecast the most likely course of events and its lack of a strategy for seizing power. It could give the impression that the authors of the draft think the development of the class struggle in Latin America will make it possible to enjoy a gradual, slow, harmonious process of building the mass party.

One could get the impression that this process of construction will take place through the application of simple recipes, explained pedagogically to our cadres and through them to the vanguard, and through the vanguard to the masses, so that they will understand the importance of organizing mass parties, Leninist parties to the extent possible.

One could get the idea that these mass Leninist parties will have to assure trade-union organization and workers

democracy, will have to hold the bureaucrats in check or subordinate them to the interests of the class, will have to guarantee the democratic gains that have been won, will have to utilize the elections, move toward a constituent assembly, and, with the help of God and the Transitional Program, establish a workers and peasants government to guarantee the happiness of the human race.

All this is an evolutionary, peaceful way, regaining the democratic rights that have been lost, winning over the mass trade unions, winning elections, making sure that the bureaucracy does not betray too much, without any more cases of violence, taking good care, of course, not to fall into armed-struggle adventurism.

We do not know what part of the world the authors of the draft are thinking of with these prescriptions. It is difficult for us to believe that they are meant for Latin America. It would imply a deep underestimation, not to say ignorance, of the struggles and traditions of the working class, the masses, and the members of the Fourth International in Latin America.

Perhaps, motivated by the goal of "recomposition," the authors of the draft tried to sidestep defining disputed questions of the class struggle. We can understand this but cannot justify it. The "recomposition" of our movement will not be achieved by making its history disappear. By making it disappear, the proposed resolution proceeds from a superficial description of Latin America, as if this continent had just been discovered. The document could easily be named "The Second Discovery of America"; or perhaps "The New Codification of the Laws of the Indies."

That's not how things are. Latin America was discovered and colonized five centuries ago and the history of the class struggle in Latin America is already long, leaving behind traditions, experiences, and conclusions. For many years already a solid proletariat has existed, which as such plays a role in the class struggle in Latin

America and has traveled a long road in developing its class consciousness.

This proletariat has been exposed to anarchism, socialism, Communism, Trotskyism, and their variants. It organized unions, workers federations, and parties. It has waged heroic class struggles. There have been general strikes, uprisings, peasant wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions.

The class reached high levels of consciousness, expressed in programs that included the essential points of the first four congresses of the Communist International and our founding program. Suffice it to recall the Pulacayo program in Bolivia or the La Falda and Huerta Grande programs in Argentina.

Workers and peasants militias have been organized, and they have been centralized in militia general staffs. Proletarian fronts and mass workers parties have been organized, such as the Socialist and Communist parties in Chile. Embryonic organs of an alternative power have been set up, such as the *cordones industriales* in Chile or the Workers and People's Assembly in Bolivia. Massive factory occupations have been organized, with the seizure of hostages, and factories have been made to function under workers control in Argentina. Rural guerrillas have gone as far as to establish independent republics, as in Colombia. Urban guerrillas have shaken the structure of Latin America.

The members of the Fourth International, first as the Left Opposition and later as the Fourth International, have been present and have fought in each of these actions of the class. The progress of the class has not been only empirical. Revolutionary Marxists have worked for the class's development in all fields: cultural, scientific, artistic, trade-union, political, etc.

There have been great mass movements under bourgeois or petty-bourgeois leaderships, in which the class asserted unquestionable features of the permanent course of the revolution, which have achieved massive expropriations, statizations, and gains.

Many saw only demagogy in this. Marxists knew how to distinguish the organized power of the class, which took hold of and asserted its gains, without going so far as to overcome the limits of the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois leadership, due to the pernicious role of the traditional leaderships and our own organizational and political weakness.

In this long march of the Latin American proletariat, the class asserted its distinctive class features, assimilating aspects of Trotskyist politics, at the same time that the Trotskyists learned from the class.

In this dialectical relationship between the class and revolutionary groups, and between revolutionary groups and the class, the perspective of socialist revolution was confirmed with the triumph of the Cuban revolution, which the Trotskyists were part of. This whole development culminated in the establishment of the first workers state in Latin America, in which we fought once more for its construction, for its defense, for its extension, and against its bureaucratic deformation.

We have gone through very rich experiences of victorious revolutions and defeated revolutions. We have had experiences in periods of rising revolutionary activity and in counterrevolutionary retreat. We have seen the first Latin American workers state come into being, but we have also lived through counterrevolutionary barbarism.

Our attention is drawn to the fact that many of these experiences are not reflected in the draft we are discussing. We should recall what our teachers said: Those who have no history are not likely to have a future. In Latin America, we have had experiences that call for reflection and certainly provide rich lessons, not only for the Latin American movement but on a world scale.

What is most noteworthy in the draft, together with the absence of a strategy for taking power, is the lack of discussion of the continental character of the revolution and the absence of a continental coordination of the struggle and the perspective of the Socialist Federation of Latin America.

### **How Latin America Fits Into the Worldwide Framework of the Class Struggle**

By abstracting Latin America from its context in the world economic, political, and social framework, the draft arrives at a dangerous schema of Latin America. It is not a simple world. It is divided into two antagonistic systems that coexist in a division of zones of security and influence. Within this division, Latin America is the rear guard of the citadel of world capitalism. The political and social situation of this rear guard determines the stability, security, and future of the citadel.

The Cuban revolution naturally tended to extend itself throughout the continent. It is hard to imagine a new revolutionary upsurge anywhere in Latin America that would not profoundly alter the stability of the world balance of forces and lead to a rapid spread of the revolutionary process.

We not only have the example of Cuba; the Vietnamese revolution was extended throughout Indochina, setting off a chain reaction of struggle and the military intervention by imperialism. It is unlikely that a revolution could unfold in Latin America without provoking open or covert intervention by world imperialism and, as a result, the extension of the struggle on a continental scale.

The development of the revolutionary process in Chile brought a centralized response by world imperialism. This clearly shows the type of struggle we must prepare the revolutionary Marxist cadres of Latin America for. To indicate, as the draft does, that it is possible to build mass Marxist parties and mass trade unions, to control the bureaucracy, to carry out an intervention by revolutionary parties in a harmonious, legal and peaceful process, is to paint a rosy picture that is far from reality and experience.

Even more tragically, it means not assuming the responsibility for organizing our cadres to carry out an effective task in the next period. The events in Latin America, particularly in the southern cone, clearly show the dimension of the fight the masses will have to wage to defend their gains and their organizations, and the type of policy needed to confront the class enemy. If we do not understand this, if we do not draw the appropriate thoroughgoing conclusions about how to organize our groups, and what type of struggle we will have to confront, we will leave them disarmed in face of this process.

Latin America is suffering the effects of the general economic recession taking place in the capitalist world. But the economic crisis has special features in Latin America. It is the form that the general recession in the capitalist world takes in dependent or semicolonial countries, with structural weaknesses, for the increased repro-

duction of capital. This general recession has economic, political, and social consequences that should be analyzed in depth.

We should expect that the sharpening of the contradictions of the system and the convulsive collapse of the new world economic order will increasingly lead the capitalist system to try to maintain its capital accumulation, its profit rate, and its surplus value, by increasing the exploitation of the labor force. And to achieve this, it will have to constantly attack every level of organization and consciousness.

The general tendency in Latin America is reflected in the deep crisis of bourgeois parliamentarism and the trend toward a strong state or the so-called "authoritarian democracy." This trend is not only found in the superstructural aspects of the capitalist regime, but also operates to impede, obstruct, and strangle any form of autonomous social organization.

This is the general tendency. Although it is not our intention to contradict the orientation of the resolution in favor of agile utilization of every legal opening, we must put emphasis on the most probable course.

### **The Nature of the Military Dictatorships of the Southern Cone**

In our opinion the draft we are discussing underestimates the political and social significance of the dictatorships in the southern cone of Latin America. Let us repeat what was said in the document submitted to the United Secretariat on this same question, entitled, "Some Considerations on the Political and Social Evolution in the Southern Cone of Latin America," dated February 1977. In general, we think that the resolution should include a specific chapter on this question, along the following lines:

The rise in revolutionary activity in the southern cone of Latin America ended, in Chile, with the counterrevolution that overthrew the Popular Unity government, with the military coup in Uruguay, and with the establishment of the military junta in 1976 in Argentina. A counterrevolutionary course was established in these countries, and the most skilled and concentrated proletariat of Latin America was dealt one of its harshest defeats. The military dictatorships in the southern cone are not merely more of the same kind of dictatorships that resulted from the traditional conjunctural military uprisings. These dictatorships exemplify a new type of state terrorism and correspond to the institutional form of those capitalist regimes in the dependent countries that face a large, concentrated proletariat in this period of generalized recession in the capitalist world.

These regimes are the expression of a combination of statized property, administered by important sectors of the army, combined with a new type of penetration and dependence that is imposed by multinational capital. They are the result of the new structuring of ruling classes—increasingly associated with, integrated with, and dependent upon multinational capital and state property—and their relation with the power of the armed forces, armed forces that are not simply puppets or praetorian guards for these ruling social sectors, but that have their own interests as a differentiated military caste.

This new structure of real power is expressed in the institutional form of the political regime. This institutional form of the regime in the southern cone indicates the

general outlines of a process that tends to strengthen a type of civilian or military government that bases its ability to survive on the liquidation of the democratic and social gains of the masses. It indicates the process of degeneration of parliamentary democracy in the dependent countries in this stage of capitalism, and the impossibility of opening up a process of developing the productive forces, even with this type of institution that ensures superexploitation. These regimes can survive only by submitting the masses to conditions of barbarism. Even in those countries that are experiencing a certain economic bonanza because they possess reserves of strategic resources or because of conjunctural conditions, the tendency toward state terrorism and new types of repression can be seen. Its purpose is to crush in the egg any attempt at or manifestation of independent and autonomous organization of the masses.

To arm the vanguard and the masses for the task of organizing the revolutionary party, which cannot be done without the self-organization of the masses, it is necessary to draw the appropriate conclusions not only from the policy of the bourgeoisies in Latin America, but also from that of imperialism, in order to confront prerevolutionary or revolutionary crises, such as those taking place in Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Argentina.

### **The Institutionalization of the Dictatorships**

I also propose inserting a paragraph dealing with this process. The Carter administration and the imperialist metropolises in Europe are now acting scandalized by the violations of human rights in Latin America and are seeking to improve the image of the dictatorships. We agree with the draft that there is no material basis for the dictatorships to make real concessions to the masses and restore democratic regimes. But it is necessary to point out that the metropolises have an interest in utilizing the defeat imposed on the masses in order to set up forms of political and social organization guaranteeing the defense of their interests and a certain degree of stability.

In this regard a certain process is to be noted. The crisis of centrism, a result of the evolution of the Castroist policy as well as the development of relations between the classes, and the crisis of Stalinist monolithism, aggravated by Eurocommunism and by the China-USSR conflict, has left a political vacuum. With the crisis and discrediting of populism, the Social Democracy is trying to fill that vacuum.

Today the Social Democracy pursues a new dynamic and aggressive policy of organizing sectors of the class on this continent. Basing itself on a process of Social Democratization, it is presenting itself as an organizational alternative to the old trade-union bureaucracy, or sectors of it, in order to have authoritative representation in the workers movement, which it needs to organize at the same time as it brings the movement to heel.

The proposed trade-union laws that the dictatorships are preparing partly reflects this process, which has a dual character. The aim is to structure a labor bureaucracy, guaranteeing by specific laws that this bureaucracy will not overstep certain limits in its participation in the state, and, at the same time, it aims to give this bureaucracy the tools the bureaucracy needs to protect itself against any advance of the labor movement that might threaten to swamp it.

These plans for humanizing the dictatorships, or institu-



tionalizing them, respond not only to political requirements, but also and basically, to the economic needs in the inter-imperialist disputes over the Latin American market and the plans for establishment of a "new world economic order." While it is the task of Marxists to utilize these contradictions to advance the independent organization of the class, we must denounce the objectives of these maneuvers and the pernicious role attributable to a bureaucratized labor leadership that serves them.

### On the Unions

It will soon be forty years since Trotsky wrote "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay." Trotskyists have often propagated these ideas and generalized Trotsky's conclusions. It is unfortunate that the resolution we are discussing ignores them. It is not our intention to make a detailed criticism of the pedagogical recommendations in the draft, but we will ask how, where, and through what methods we can push forward the organization of the masses into unions, their joining unions, internal democracy, and the expulsion of the bureaucracy, in order to develop revolutionary leaderships in the unions.

The draft resolution that we are discussing repeats certain recommendations. But these recommendations are inapplicable unless we analyze the role of the trade unions in the dependent countries and, more concretely, the role of the unions in the dependent countries under military dictatorships in the stage of general recession in the capitalist world.

Undoubtedly, where unions do not exist, they must be organized. Where the unions are bureaucratized, they must be democratized. Where the military has intervened in them, they must be rescued. But this remains a platitude.

The resolution we are discussing introduces by decree a series of characterizations that have neither been discussed nor been given any basis; for example, the independence of the Chilean trade unions in relation to the "bourgeois" Allende government. We do not consider this method of analysis to be serious, to introduce political characterizations without discussion or preparation.

But to return to the unions: Our proposal that they be independent from the state results not from a moral or principled attitude, but from the masses' need for independent political organization. It is true that because of the absence of mass workers' parties, the unions have often taken on the functions of a mass political organization, and many times they have been instrumental in providing central leadership in political struggles that have gone beyond the limits of strictly trade-union functions.

More than once in Argentina we have seen the validity of the slogan adopted at our fourth world congress for the formation of a mass labor party based on the unions. From that time until today, much water has passed under the bridge and a deepgoing transformation has occurred in the working class and in the ruling class, and especially in the evolution of the worldwide crisis of the capitalist system. Between then and now, new workers states have been built throughout the world and in America, and a very intense social struggle has unfolded.

To understand the role of the unions, it is necessary to master the often-discussed dialectical relationship between "class, party, leadership," which has been reflected in Latin America, in the absence of mass parties, in the dialectical relationships of class, union, bureaucracy. We

have seen how when the mass movement is on the rise, the bureaucracy has been a transmission belt for the labor movement in the capitalist government, subject, in the last analysis, to the pressure of the masses, even differentiating itself from the government and advancing to the rudiments of mass parties. But during thirty years of Peronism in Argentina, we have also seen how capitalism has advanced to the institutionalization and incorporation of this bureaucracy into the state and how it uses the bureaucracy, which acts not as a transmission belt of the workers movement into the capitalist state, but as a transmission belt of the bourgeois state into the workers movement.

We have also seen, particularly in Argentina, how the struggle to win back the trade-union organizations from the control of the bureaucracy and the state was transformed in practice into a political and revolutionary struggle that had to confront the repressive strength of bureaucratic gangsterism as part of the state's terrorism.

The struggle for union democracy—the struggle for freedom of tendencies in the labor movement—was posed as a political struggle that had to confront the bureaucracy as an institution of the state itself. The first so-called paramilitary gangs whose first victims were from the workers' vanguard were organized by the trade-union bureaucracy, with the complicity of the intelligence services.

The draft resolution we are discussing says nothing about the sinister and counterrevolutionary role played by the union bureaucracy in Argentina, which used all the methods of state terrorism to repress the workers' vanguard and cleared the way for the military junta. The draft says nothing about the fact that the vanguard organization that fought against the bureaucracy had to seek clandestine forms of organization, before the period of the military dictatorship, to protect itself against repression not only from the state itself but also from the bureaucracy as part of the state. It is clear to us that the union bureaucracy cannot be seen simply as part of the state bureaucracy. But it is incorporated into the state apparatus as a labor bureaucracy, with its own interests, and it is afraid of losing its privileges either as a result of advances by capitalism or as a result of advances by the masses. But experience shows us that when they are faced with a choice of advances by capitalism or advances by the masses, they have so far thrown themselves into the arms of capitalism and against the masses.

If we do not recognize this phenomenon, almost forty years after Trotsky analyzed it, we will leave our movement disarmed. At the same time, we would be leaving the door open to harmful illusions in the possibility of agreements and compromises with, if not "regeneration" of, the union bureaucracy.

The union bureaucracy cannot be "regenerated." It must be overthrown. There is no basis for thinking that solid organization of the workers can force the union bureaucracy to submit to workers democracy. It is an antagonistic enemy of democracy. The bureaucracy goes along with democracy only when it is sure of its control. If there were sufficient strength to compel the bureaucracy to submit to democracy, then the task would not be to make the bureaucracy submit, but to destroy it.

This poses the need to put forward forms of organization and political slogans. It is not enough to be organized into unions controlled by the bureaucracy and the state. It is

necessary to weld to these unions and this organization a combat structure of the vanguard that operates independently of the bureaucracy and the structure.

Workers commissions, workers committees, delegates bodies, and trade-union commissions are necessary, but they require political organization—whether open or underground depending on the situation, or even both—of the political fraction of the party or the class-struggle tendency. The party or tendency should act with their own programmatic and political objectives, coordinating the activity of all these structures.

The resolution should make clear that the fight for unionization of the workers is united with the struggle against bureaucratization and that the struggle against bureaucratization is dialectically united with the struggle for power. The trade-union organization without the fraction or tendency fighting for power will remain in the framework of reformist union activity.

The experience of the Spanish proletariat in the struggle against Francoism, in organizing the workers commissions; the struggle of the Brazilian proletariat to unionize during fifteen years of dictatorship; and the level reached by the Chilean proletariat with the industrial *cordones*; as well as the experience of the Argentine proletariat in its struggle against the Peronist bureaucracy, with the coordinating committees, are indications of the road to travel.

We propose that a chapter on this be included.

### On the Leading Role of the Proletariat

I propose to delete from the draft resolution all wording of the type found in point 32, where it says that “the working class is moving towards the forefront, towards leading the struggles of the peasant masses, the urban poor, the oppressed nationalities, women, and all oppressed and exploited layers of society.” [IIDB No. 6, 1978, p. 20.] We think this is not so and that the working class has already for decades been at the head of the social struggles in Latin America. This is an incorrect expression, which may indicate a lack of understanding of the history of the Latin American proletariat and which is confused regarding the principles of the permanent revolution.

### On Armed Struggle

This part of the draft resolution is lamentable. It leads to a severe misunderstanding of the social process and the history of the class struggle in Latin America. I propose its deletion, plain and simple, and its replacement.

First of all, I must express my surprise at the expression that the Fourth International “rescinds the erroneous line on Latin America adopted at the 1969 and 1974 World Congresses.” [p. 16.] All that needs to be added is a sentence saying, “The present resolution has the force of law and everything opposed to it is repealed.” Methods such as this make one fear to think of what this would mean if we held power.

On the other hand, in the same paragraph, the following is added: “With the debate now over, the documents can be studied in an educational way, as part of the history of our movement.” Who has decided that the debate is over? Is the experience that was gone through now to be simply consigned to documents or testimony for students of Marxist texts? Is it so easy for the majority of the United

Secretariat to present this debate as finished and the experience as closed? What about the Latin American vanguard? Will the lives of the hundreds and thousands of cadres who self-sacrificingly gave their lives in the revolutionary struggle be only for the study of the curious interpreters?

This I consider very mistaken, comrades. It reflects a bureaucratic attitude, a lack of consideration of the experience of an entire vanguard. I cannot be suspected of being a militarist. I publicly and openly opposed the resolution of the Ninth World Congress. At the Tenth I presented very concrete draft theses on this subject. I refer to the critical article submitted, entitled “An Inconclusive Conclusion.”

From the beginning we fought the Castroist orientation, considering it centrist. From the beginning we fought substitutionist militarism. I think I am not mistaken if I state that the great majority of Trotskyist cadres in Latin America carried on the same struggle as we. We fought against the error of facile, impressionistic, success-bedazzled adaptationism and tailism in relation to Castroism.

We, the immense majority of cadres, were against the vanguardism of the exemplary methods of propaganda. But as Trotskyists, we knew how to differentiate militarism from the organization of armed violence. We knew how to distinguish guerrillaism from rural or urban guerrilla war. We confronted focoism in all its variants, but we defended the use of force in the struggle for power.

Having made these clarifications, we will go to the heart of the problem. It is absurd to say that guerrilla warfare in Latin America, and especially the urban guerrilla warfare that shook Argentina and Uruguay and had some expressions in Chile and Bolivia, was a result of the moral example of Cuba or an attempt to imitate the July 26 Movement in Cuba.

We do not minimize its influence, but the urban armed struggle in Latin America was not only the result of the example and encouragement of the Cuban revolution, of the ideological orientation of Guevara and Fidel Castro. It was above all a social and objective phenomenon, whose material causes we have indicated in the February 1977 document, already mentioned, and in the magazine of our organization in Argentina, “Socialism and Revolution” and “New Course.” I cannot explain these material causes here, but I will summarize them as follows:

- a. The increasing proletarianization of broad layers of the traditional petty bourgeoisie as a result of the industrial development that took place in the southern cone of Latin America during the third technological revolution.
- b. The powerful mass movements and a crisis of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leadership of these movements.
- c. The breakdown of traditional society and the restructuring of the ruling class and the proletariat itself.
- d. The role of the trade-union bureaucracy as a transmission belt of bourgeois ideology in the mass workers organizations.
- e. The role of the Stalinist and traditional reformist leaderships.
- f. The crisis of our movement. The degeneration of the Latin American Bureau and the vacuum left by the Posadista degeneration.
- g. The influence of the French May and the independent student movements in Europe. The hot autumn in Italy,

the Czech crisis, and the crisis of Stalinism.

h. The consequences of Vietnam, Algeria, and the armed struggle in the dependent countries.

i. Recognition by the radicalized sectors of the students and petty bourgeoisie of the working class of itself, but a failure to understand the working class for itself.

These examples will do, although there are other causes that would need to be explained.

This armed struggle that affected this sector of Latin America will not be consigned just to Marxist textual analysis, but is a living experience undergone by a sector of the population, one which has left its imprint, leaving behind traditions, experiences, and lessons. The duty of Marxists is to collect them, hold them up, defend them, conserve them, and use them—not to repeal them. Reality is not repealed, in any case; it is transcended, and it cannot be transcended if it is not understood.

We must make a severe and inflexible criticism of our movement's ideological and political deviations. We must bring to light all the conclusions that follow from these adaptationist errors, and errors of orientation. We must make a complete analysis of the factors that made the errors possible, the functioning that tolerated them, the character of the structure that made such pressures possible, in order to go forward, to correct them, and to avoid similar errors of an opposite kind. Can't yesterday's impressionism in relation to guerrilla warfare lead us to impressionism in the trade unions and the mass legal parties today? Might not apology for militarism be transformed into apology for electoralism, if the causes are not corrected?

It is mistaken and not objective to attribute the defeats suffered to the failure of the Castroist strategy. The Castroist strategy undoubtedly did not attain its objectives, and in the last ten years it has shown its profound limitations, which are typical of any form of centrism. But it is equally clear that in much more time than the period of the Castroist experience the Trotskyists have not succeeded in building mass Marxist parties. Following the method of the resolution under discussion, would we have to conclude that the strategy of building mass Marxist and Leninist parties has failed?

Obviously this indicates that the method employed by the draft to show the failure of Castroism is false. This method does not combat the guerrilla strategy and Castroism.

It is necessary, furthermore, to establish clearly that the phenomenon of Castroism and guerrillism developed in Latin America in the context of our own weakness and filled a vacuum that we left or did not know how to fill.

The resolution says the following, under point 23:

This is true, but history has also demonstrated that the masses must organize and prepare not only for "self-defense," but also for attack. We see the socialist revolution as an insurrection, and the insurrection is not only self-defense, except in a very broad sense, but aggressiveness, initiative, and assault.

The resolution recalls, the October revolution; I agree completely. The October insurrection was organized, planned, and prepared by a military command of the party and the soviets. It is true that the military organization does not substitute for the class, but it is not true that the military organization comes from the class and cannot come from outside.

Do the ideas of Marxism come from within or outside?

This is a very old discussion—from Kautsky to the present! Must the military organization of the class be prepared by the party? Not as an absolute rule. But it is true that a party that prepares for the insurrectionary seizure of power must prepare the armed struggle. This is not done by analyzing texts; it is done in the living class struggle.

The draft resolution adds, "It has to be conceived of and led by the party in such a way that the masses themselves, organized democratically, decide on the necessary means for their own self-defense." [p. 16.] Magnificent! Wonderful! But the draft does not make clear where, in what country of the world, the masses can be called on to democratically decide to defend themselves. After taking power, undoubtedly, you can have a wide-ranging debate in democratic assemblies about military measures for the class to take.

But in performing the tasks of revolutionary organization under the capitalist system any call for self-defense is a transgression of the law and transgressions of the law are not carried out publicly. The degree of the enemy's penetration even into the ranks of the workers is underestimated. Clandestinity is a necessary consequence of conspiracy; clandestinity and conspiracy result from understanding the role of the state, which must be destroyed by violence. This is ABC, but an ABC which until now has divided the waters between Marxism and reformism.

Undoubtedly, the guidelines in the resolution are useful, but they appear to have been formulated by persons who never had to work in a workers assembly patrolled by bureaucratic goons and spies from the intelligence services and the employers. It appears that the authors were never active in a workers' neighborhood, organizing the neighborhood committee, staying out of the way of the local police, the fascists, the bureaucracy's goons, and the neighborhood intelligence services.

To have some minimal effect, the organization of self-defense must be based on the mobilization of the masses undoubtedly, but it must be centralized, disciplined, and clandestine. Only in periods of great mobilizations, when the relations between the classes are favorable, when the capitalist regime is weakened and the political and the social authority of the working class and the mass organizations grows, can the military self-defense and attack measures be given publicity.

In situations of revolutionary upsurge we have seen miners, workers, and peasants parade with arms in hand through the streets of the city. In normal situations or when the rising tide has ended, we have seen and recommended that the workers keep and hide the arms, secretly and not so democratically.

How would we prepare democratically decided upon workers' self-defense under the military dictatorships in the southern cone?—where it is an offense to think—just to think! How would we "democratically" organize armed self-defense?

At the root of the problem is a concept that runs throughout the whole draft: The party will be organized in a stable process, in a straight-line "traditional" manner, without consideration of the need to destroy the state in a conspiratorial way. In other words, the question is whether or not we will organize a conspiratorial party. We go back to *What Is to Be Done?*

A chapter should be added to the resolution on the conspiratorial and clandestine organization of our movement and the need to combine utilization of legal work and the clandestine structure. More than once the legal or

electoral work has exposed all our forces and facilitated the job of repression. More than once the utilization of legal openings has led to the de facto—not always theorized—abandonment of the conspiratorial character of the revolutionary party.

But I also consider it a false method to repeal resolutions and declare the polemic closed when it is far from closed. The draft resolution should say explicitly what is considered obsolete and why. I do not defend the resolution of the Ninth World Congress, which our organization in Argentina fought systematically. What I am reflecting is the armed-struggle experience of important vanguard sectors in Latin America. I also defend the possibility and necessity at times, for detachments of militants to take the initiative in armed struggle, even when the masses may not yet have taken this initiative, if this is the way forward indicated by reality. Otherwise, we would always be in the wake of the masses rather than in the lead.

A guerrilla or armed movement, urban or rural, does not always coincide with a great mass insurrection. Moreover, when the mass insurrection is under way, the guerrilla process becomes part of it and acquires a secondary character. Ever since Lenin's time we have known that in periods when the class is in retreat, the vanguard detachments may be obliged to engage in guerrilla actions.

In addition, there are guerrilla processes in Latin America whose significance cannot be ignored. Concretely, we see what the Sandinist Liberation Front is doing, fighting the Somoza regime. We will be able to make all the criticisms of the political limitations of the Sandinist guerrilla struggle, but it exists, is a material reality, and plays an objective role. The draft resolution, in point "a" under number 8, discusses the general strike and the erosion of the Somoza regime, omitting any mention of the existence of the Nicaraguan guerrilla struggle. I consider a political analysis of this type to be lacking in seriousness. We are adopting the not very well recommended method of ignoring political processes that are not in accord with our analysis. Our members have many times paid a physical price for such a method.

We have major differences with the Sandinist Liberation Front and we have no reason to hide them, but there should not be the slightest doubt that the Sandinist guerrilla struggle has put the Somoza regime in check and is preparing its fall. Imperialism understands perfectly well that when regimes like those of Batista or Somoza fall apart due to their autocratic clan character, they leave a social power vacuum which opens the way for a socialist government. For that reason, even when it is no longer possible to maintain Somoza, when his regime is eroded and becomes an obstacle to the very stability of the region, they prop him up in order to bleed the revolutionary organization, to leave the way open for his bourgeois substitute. The nature of social regimes like those in Nicaragua make guerrilla struggle objectively necessary.

Moreover, because of the character of the struggle in Latin America, which is the rear guard of the imperialist citadel, we are going to witness the most varied forms of resistance and armed struggle and confront them as revolutionary Marxists. It is absurd for the draft resolution to treat the chapter as closed, when what we have to do is correct it and go beyond it.

One last observation here: The evolution that centrism has been undergoing today was not determined by fate. Many centrist tendencies which were defeated, not only

because of their policies, but because the masses were defeated—we have seen more than one centrist group in history triumph—are going through a very deep crisis today and a significant polarization is occurring within these forces, which lack of clarity in our resolution can only encourage. In fact, many centrist groups are evolving, in conformity with an internal logic, toward becoming a left wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy or the Social Democracy, according to the particular case. Trotsky's prediction is strikingly confirmed.

In their "self-criticisms," many guerrilla groups acknowledge having underestimated Leninism. They take the Leninist concept of the party to mean the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy and the Latin American Communist parties. They capitulate completely to the Kremlin or Havana policy of class conciliation. We have seen splits of this type in the Chilean MIR, the Argentine PRT, etc. Another wing falls back toward the Social Democracy—for example a wing of the Argentine PRT, the Montoneros, etc. If we leave such an empty space in the resolution, we will not be able to win over the best of these movements to revolutionary Marxism. We should not forget that such tendencies arose as a reaction to the CP's policy of revolution by stages and against the peaceful transition to socialism. Today it is more necessary than ever to be precise about the insurrectional character of the proletarian revolution and the conspiratorial type of party to be built.

### **On National Oppression, the Oppression of Indigenous Peoples and of Black People**

No one would question the right of the authors of the document to take initiatives, write articles, and formulate proposals they consider necessary, but it is not correct to introduce such a complex question while explaining that it is not being submitted for a vote. The general principles opposing exploitation of the national, or racial, or indigenous minorities and their right to their language and culture, or even autonomy, are not subject to question in our ranks. The specific situation of Latin America should be the subject of a detailed study and discussion.

### **On the Cuban Policy**

I propose that a chapter be included on the phenomenon of bureaucratization in Cuba and that the principles of political revolution be put forward within it, for the application of proletarian democracy within the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle for the right of more than one party to exist and for the legality of our party in Cuba.

### **On the Lines of Party Building**

The draft resolution establishes a series of general principles that are correct in themselves. But by being abstracted from the concrete analysis of the conditions of the class struggle that are unfolding in dependent countries such as in Latin America in this period of generalized recession, these principles leave themselves open to more than one interpretation and can serve to justify a course of adaptation or submission to a gradualist conception of party building.

In this regard, the mere statement of the need to build

mass Leninist parties, though necessary, is not sufficient. Furthermore, the constant references to aspects of the Transitional Program, though necessary, are not sufficient either, if the necessary conclusions are not drawn from the concrete development of the class struggle and the experiences of real life. There is no straight-line conception of party building, least of all in this epoch.

Parties grow when they are able to win authority through their correct positions and proposed solutions in the organs of self-organization of the masses. But these bodies do not arise through spontaneous generation; they develop in the context of the class contradictions and the level of consciousness, in conformity with traditions. The revolutionary team plays a decisive role in the development of this consciousness and in the process of self-organization. A mass party can grow out of a guerrilla struggle or out of union organizations. But there is a scientific conclusion that can be drawn. The revolutionary party that is to be built will be constructed in a life-and-death struggle with capital for the destruction of the capitalist state, and as a result will be conspiratorial.

In conformity with the principle that one step forward by the whole class is worth more than ten steps forward by the vanguard alone, we should support the formation of mass workers parties, even if not Marxist; for instance, a workers party in Brazil based on the unions or on some other analogous conjunctural manifestation. It is even possible that we will have to orient our groups to join such parties as wings or tendencies.

But we don't make such decisions on the basis of a general a priori policy. Rather the decision flows from a precise analysis of a concrete dynamic, in a clearly specific time and place. As a team we fight to build a mass revolutionary Marxist party. We fight against attempts to codify the programmatic points around the average level of consciousness. If in this struggle the program is codified on the basis of this average level, we can support it as a step in the organization of the masses, but it is not a priori our task.

By way of nipping false polemics in the bud, it is necessary to make clear that while we stress the conspiratorial character of the revolutionary parties that we have to build, in no way do we consider this to be in conflict with the most agile and audacious utilization of all openings provided by bourgeois legality. When we point out the dangers of electoralism, this does not imply that we are against using all forms of the electoral process and the parliamentary platform.

In Latin America, we have a long and rich experience in this regard. Under the Aramburu-Rojas dictatorship in 1957, I represented the Argentine section before the Supreme Court in the fight for the party's legality. Trotskyism attained legality for the first time in Argentina in

1958. We call for amendments to the resolution in order to avoid concrete pressures that can distort our objectives and to arm young cadres on the necessary connection between legal activity and conspiratorial structure.

We say the same thing about the trade-union orientation. Everything in the resolution on this subject was in one way or another applied by our movement for many years. But this in itself did not guarantee that we would achieve the given objectives. The way they are formulated makes it appear that we could achieve the objectives we propose without having to deal with the specific context of the concrete relationship between classes and without having to predict the most probable evolution.

### **The Experience of the Trotskyist Organizations in Latin America**

Latin American Trotskyism has already had a long experience. Not counting the evolution of the small Trotskyist groups formed before World War II, two major experiences have ended up in organizational and political failures of Trotskyism in Latin America. The first was the Latin American Bureau. The second was the experience of armed struggle. My intention is not to go into a study of the evolution of these experiences; I will just recall them.

The first, the LAB, which ended in the split and degeneration of Posadism, was based on a correct interpretation of the social phenomena and attained a significant degree of organizational and political development. Later major forces, which, like the PRT-ERP of Argentina, oriented to the ranks of the International, suffered an analogous development. Did both processes take place because the advice in the resolution was not followed? We sincerely believe not.

What guarantees do we have that the young groups in Latin America, which in significant numbers are orienting toward joining the International, will not be subject to pressures that will make their development more difficult? What guarantees do we have that the advice in the resolution will be sufficient? We think that the fact that the general orientations in the resolution are open to various interpretations leaves the door open for our groups to go through experiences flowing from the objective pressures that will lead to crises that are no less important than the two past ones.

A more accurate interpretation of reality and an intervention by our International on a world scale, with a projection of the most probable course of events, is necessary to meet the needs of organizing our forces in Latin America.

April 17, 1979

## Proposed Amendments to 'Resolution on Latin America'

By Carlos Rossi

[The following amendments refer to the Resolution on Latin America as printed in the English-language IIDB, Vol. XV, No. 6, December 1978.]

### EXPLANATORY NOTE

1. The main weakness of the document, in our opinion, is its almost total silence on the *strategy of the struggle for power*. This is unacceptable, not only because the question is already on the agenda in certain Latin American countries (like Nicaragua), or has a chance of being put on the agenda in others, but also because the task of revolutionaries is to educate the vanguard and the masses today.

The seventh paragraph of Chapter 23 [p. 16] should be deleted because it states the problem in an erroneous way, exclusively from the standpoint of *defense* against the counterrevolution, specifically the *defense of a workers' government*. Nowhere in revolutionary Marxist tradition is it said that in a situation of revolutionary crisis the workers must limit themselves to "defense." Why wait for the capitalist gentlemen to shoot first? Is a revolutionary offensive excluded from revolutionary politics?

Furthermore, to stress only the "defense of a workers' government" dodges the key question: how to establish a workers' government in Latin America? Only by peaceful means? Furthermore, in countries living under dictatorships (three quarters of the continent), how are we going to overthrow the dictatorship and establish a workers' government without the previous arming of the workers?

The wording that we propose be added to Chapter 35 (after the fifth paragraph) [p. 24] is aimed at correcting this surprising silence; it simply reaffirms the "classical" theses of revolutionary Marxism, without claiming in any way to decide specific tactical questions related to the conjunctural situation in each country.

2. Chapter 34 [pp. 22-23] contains several confused or dangerous formulations, in our opinion, which tend to present any mass party based on the unions, *regardless of its leadership*, as a step deserving support. Moreover, the text suggests that Trotskyists should *enter* these parties to challenge the reformist leadership. Is this an unacknowledged return to the "entryist" line for Latin America? Is it proposed that Trotskyists enter a possible labor party based on the (Peronist-led) unions in Argentina?

Without denying that in some cases a labor party based on the unions could represent a step forward, it seems to us preferable not to make this formula a universal panacea applicable in all countries of the continent. The example given, FOCEP, is not convincing: FOCEP is not "based on the unions" (which are still controlled by the reformists in Peru, particularly the Stalinists) but is the result of an alliance of far-left organizations under Trotskyist hegemony. Why is *this* method of building a mass labor party not put forward in the document?

3. Several times the document gives the Argentine PST as an example for Latin American Trotskyists (Chapter 37). [pp. 25-27]. If *no* criticism is made of the PST, it will

create the impression that *the Fourth International completely accepts the policy* of this organization in the last five years. It would *at least* be necessary to take note of the *public* criticisms made by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in the past.

\* \* \*

### AMENDMENTS

1. Page 16, chapter 23: Delete the seventh paragraph, "History has shown that. . . isolation and defeat."

2. Page 22, chapter 34, second paragraph: Replace "But except for Chile. . . in creating mass workers' parties." with:

"In other countries, the unions are the only mass organization recognized by the workers. In certain cases, the creation of a mass workers' party by the unions may be a step toward an independent policy of the working class. But this does not mean that any political organization created by the trade-union bureaucracy necessarily represents a step forward, especially if this new party appears from the beginning as a social-democratic organization tied to the Second International, or worse, as a form of support by the union bureaucrats for bourgeois populism (nor is a combination of the two variants excluded)."

3. Page 23, chapter 34, seventh paragraph: delete sentences from "Whatever the initial leadership. . ." [to end of paragraph].

4. Page 23 chapter 34, eighth paragraph: delete sentences from "The strong support for the FOCEP slate. . ." [to end of paragraph].

5. Page 24, chapter 35, fifth paragraph: After the sentence ending with ". . . programs or strategies with bourgeois forces." add:

"On this question the United Secretariat of the Fourth International was obliged to publicly criticize the support given by the comrades of the Argentine PST (together with bourgeois forces) to the process of bourgeois 'institutionalization' in Argentina in 1974 (see *Inprecor*, Nos. 5-6 and 14 in 1974)."

6. Page 24, at the end of chapter 35, add:

"As opposed to reformists (Stalinists, social democrats, and others), revolutionary Marxists reject the illusion of a 'peaceful and parliamentary road' to socialism. As Marx and Lenin always insisted, the proletarian revolution means *the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus*, and in particular its repressive military and police institutions. This cannot be the work of a heroic minority or an elite of specialists, but is the job of masses of workers democratically organized in 'dual power' structures (workers' committees, factory councils, neighborhood com-

mittees, *cordones industriales*, etc.), which will be able to ensure *the arming of the workers* on a wide scale and will be able to coordinate the armed workers, self-defense groups, and workers' and peasants' militias with the soldiers' committees that will form in the bourgeois armed forces.

Revolutionary Marxists will be in the vanguard in

## On the Positions of the Bolshevik Faction Contribution to the Debate for the Eleventh World Congress

By Pereyra and Sergio Cabrera  
(GOR Argentina), Members of LCR Spain

Due to problems of space in the International Internal Bulletins, only 6 of the 18 pages that made up the original text sent by the authors to the United Secretariat on April 19, 1979 are published here.

For years, our International has faced a situation characterized by the existence of factions and a lack of respect for the resolutions adopted by its Congresses and leading bodies. Many serious deviations could arise within this framework.

The dissolution of the IMT and LTF, in addition to facilitating collaboration and direction of the United Secretariat, has helped bring to light the existence within our International of a current, the Bolshevik Faction [BF], whose attitudes are further and further removed from the methods and policies that are basic to the Fourth International. We consider an analysis of this faction essential for our movement at this conjuncture, and particularly for the Latin American comrades, in whose geographical area the main forces of this faction reside. We give great importance to this study, since the most serious political and methodological vices that our movement suffers from are manifested in the BF. This contribution should not be seen as being in total agreement with the history and current positions of the components of the United Secretariat, but as a contribution to the struggle for political clarification that our movement needs so badly, and to the defense of essential principles that is the very history of the Fourth International.

We recognize that the present work still has great limitations, and even more so in this abridged version, but we see it as a contribution that at least begins to bring to light important elements that characterize the BF.

### Politics and Methodology in the Construction of Moreno's Parties

An analysis of the whole of the BF at a world level shows important similarities, both on the political and organizational level, and also shows us the difficulties that this faction has met with in applying its line outside of Argentina, after the initial successes produced in various countries. One cannot put an equal sign between More-

performing this strategically decisive dual task: political work among the draftees, soldiers, and lower officers in the army and encouraging self-arming of the workers. Of course, such a process of dual power only becomes possible in a situation of revolutionary crisis, but the task of revolutionary Marxists is to prepare for it and educate the vanguard and the masses on this, *beginning now.*"

nismo in Argentina and in the rest of the world, even when they transfer activists of the PST to other countries.

The characteristics of this party cannot be reproduced without meeting serious resistance from the comrades in other countries. At certain moments in each process, when members of the BF managed to gain absolute control over other parties, a healthy reaction arose from the ranks of these parties which obliged the BF to retreat, or to carry out actions like those done against Socorro Ramírez and Hugo Blanco, whom they tried to push aside and isolate in their own countries. The leadership of the International was not ignorant of these reactions however, and there was more objective information available, elements that were lacking in Argentina for many years. These reactions explain the upsets produced in countries like Colombia and Peru, among others, due to the influence that the BF had in its time.

Having established this difference between the Argentine PST and the rest of the BF, we will now try to sum up the general positions of this faction.

#### *a. Defense of bourgeois institutions and class collaboration*

In Argentina, this was carried out to a level that was incompatible with revolutionary Marxism, given that it implied a real front with the government of Isabel Perón and the bourgeois parties, lending the name of the party, and hence of the International, to cover up the repressive and anti-working-class policies of Peronism in power. This, accompanied by the refusal to defend the imprisoned guerrillas, made up an authentic class-collaborationist policy. That this policy was not accidental is shown by the whole political development in Argentina, where the PST as we have seen (we refer to material described in the original version of this article), came to put itself under the discipline of General Perón for years, and supported a bourgeois candidate like Frondizi. In Panama, this line showed itself with support for Torrijos, during the discussions on the Canal treaty, even if they later retreated from this stance. In Uruguay, with the participation in the Frente Amplio, supporting a bourgeois candidate for the presidency. The defense of bourgeois institutions—

Parliament and the Government—was confused with the defense of democratic liberties, whereas revolutionary Marxists have always carefully distinguished between the two.

*b. Coalition with the union bureaucracy*

In Argentina it has been the practice for many years to support the creation of the so-called workers party of Vandor, main leader of the Peronist union bureaucracy; and today we are calling for the formation of a workers party without having made the deep critique that suits such traitors to the workers movement. At present the Argentine Morenistas limit themselves to calling these bureaucrats only "union leaders," omitting any mention of their bureaucratic character. The policy shown in Italy, (see original text), is similar to that in Argentina, which serves to consolidate the strength of the bureaucrats and not for alerting and preparing the workers to struggle against them and to maintain a policy of class independence.

*c. Conciliation with the Social Democracy*

This is currently one of the common threads in the policy of the BF in many of the countries where it is active. The creation of the Argentine PST came about through the union with the Social Democrat Coral; and currently they call for the creation of a Socialist Movement with all the Social Democrats, including the most reactionary of them. The letter to the Second International, the praises of Felipe González, the entryism in the PSOE, and the dissolution of the Venezuelan section into the MAS, are signs of a general policy of trying to enter or link up as the left-wing of the reformist parties. The name of socialist, the policy with regard to these parties, and the analysis lacking any deep criticisms, constitute a line that is incompatible with the general line of and membership in the Fourth International.

*d. Combination of revolutionary Marxist phraseology with a conciliatory policy*

The BF makes much of an abstract principle, of an aggressive defense of the program and terminology of revolutionary Marxism, in its factional struggle within the International. In the case of the United Secretariat's document "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," their differences (those of the BF), are raised in the name of defense of principles, and they accuse the International leadership of serious deviations in theory, of folding before Eurocommunism, etc. But the daily practice shown by the BF is an abandonment in fact of the elements of our program and their replacement by "... two or three central slogans," such as the aforementioned conciliation in the face of reformism and the union bureaucracies, if not before bourgeois leaders and parties.

*e. Negation of democratic centralism*

In the organizations led by the BF, democratic centralism is replaced by the absolute supremacy of the leadership, by the absence of conventions with real discussions, by the prohibition against organizing tendencies and the annihilation of potential oppositions. This method has been widely applied in Colombia where the majority of comrades were expelled; in Peru, where the PST allowed Hugo Blanco to be expelled at a time when the International and the majority of Peruvian comrades were striving to unite the Trotskyist movement; and in general, in

one or another form, in each country where the BF has the leadership. This anti-democratic method of functioning, which rejects any serious effort at internal discussion as "studentist," is an obstacle to the construction of authentic Trotskyist organizations and the development of cadre as projected by our International, cadre capable of developing a political line and correcting, through self-criticism, the errors of the organization.

**Attitude of Morenismo  
to the Fourth International**

The BF, which as such claims to be part of the Fourth International, promotes a factional activity that points to the split and liquidation of the International, and not to its growth and consolidation. The BF puts the construction of its own organizations above that of the construction of the International. Its members and resources are employed to this end. They invade organizations, capture them or, if this is not possible, split them with the aim of getting an organization under the faction's discipline, even if this means weakening the International. The SWP comrades, who have had much experience with Morenismo within the LTF, have developed very sharp criticisms of the BF. Thus, in the report on our world movement presented by Barry Sheppard to the 29th National Convention of the SWP and adopted by that convention, one reads: "... the tendency led by the leaders of the Argentine PST, who split with the LTF. Those who have followed developments in the International through the bulletins know that the Bolshevik Tendency is misnamed. It's neither a tendency nor a principled faction but a clique which has carried out a series of marauding operations, destructive raids, and unprincipled interventions in sections and sympathizing groups around the world." [IIDB, Vol. XIV, No. 8, September 1977.]

Information and fundamental characterizations appeared in the report by Jack Barnes to the LTF Steering Committee on August 15, 1977: Morenismo has aimed at dividing the International for years, and, in its relation with the LTF, has applied the same methods that characterize it where its groups are active. We quote: "A similar conflict arose at the LTF meeting at the 1974 world congress, where the Argentine comrades argued that we should propose the formation of public factions that would publish their own organs. . . . The rest of us said no. . . . It would definitely close the minds of the cadres on both sides to the arguments of the other side. . . . The conflict came to a head at the LTF Steering Committee meeting two years ago, August 1975. At that meeting it became clear that some comrades in the Moreno current had been carrying out in practice the line that we had been defeating in theory in the LTF meetings. That is, comrades from the elected leadership of this current were going around the world—to Britain, Spain, Colombia, Italy, Mexico—and counseling comrades to take a course that could place them outside the Fourth International." [Ibid.]

When the LTF presented this fact to Moreno, he said that he was against these methods, but that they were "errors that had been committed by local leaders or emissaries of the PST leadership who had become excessively factional." [Ibid.] As is well known, this method has been used by Moreno on a thousand occasions, avoiding responsibility by using a scapegoat. All this led to the split of Moreno's current from the LTF, when it denounced



them before the International. But all those who have had direct experience with Morenismo know that these are their permanent practices, and have been used before and after the incidents cited. In recent years, it is true, these anti-democratic practices have been increasing and can lead to the split of the International, unless we are able to alert all of the sections and sympathizing groups as to the meaning of the BF within the International. The BF presents the dissolution of tendencies and the successful attempt at discussing and working together as a simple maneuver. Its response has been to increase its factional activity, as many examples on a world scale prove. The political struggle between fraternal and disciplined tendencies, which contribute to the World Party of Socialist Revolution, has been replaced by the BF with a challenge to the United Secretariat to resign, so that they can negotiate with the leadership of the International to finally give Moreno the leadership of our organization. This is not a new attitude for Morenismo. For years, it has educated the Argentine comrades to deprecate the leaders of the International, in underestimating the forces of the European comrades, considering them petty-bourgeois, without experience with the masses. This policy has been extended to all countries where Morenismo is active, and there are many witnesses to such an attitude. Their declaration of the formation of the Bolshevik Tendency is very clear, and its demands raised at the end of 1978 even more so, where they consider the entire leadership of the International to be bankrupt. Its own Faction Platform for the Eleventh World Congress, with an apparently Manichean conception of politics, can only depoliticize the discussion, putting it within a framework that has little to do with a debate between revolutionary Marxists. Even more serious is the public policy of Morenismo with respect to the International. In effect, the BF uses the name and prestige of Trotskyism and the International when it suits them, when they need to give themselves a revolutionary facade. Likewise, they adopt ultraleft positions when this is demanded by internal demagogy. On other occasions, they abuse demagogy, as in the recent case of their announcing to all four corners of the world the sending of the Colombian PST's "Simón Bolívar Brigade" to Nicaragua before this had really materialized and before the United Secretariat itself knew about this decision. This was accompanied by public accusations that those Trotskyists who did not send volunteers to fight militarily with the FSLN were "traitors," (*El Socialista*, June 22, 1979). But the real substance of the politics of Morenismo is very different: it is the formation of socialist parties, of socialist movements of a social-democratic variety, flirting with the Second International and its leading figures, and with the union bureaucracy, praising yellow reformism in its press and declarations. The policy of Morenismo is not to build a revolutionary International, not to strengthen the Fourth International, not to build sections of the Fourth International. The policy is to create parties and movements in the orbit of the Second International, at times using parts of our program, and at other times not even that.

All the activity of the BF leads to splitting and weakening the Fourth International, and the experiences of the

recent years show that only when the International confronts Morenismo forcibly and fights it politically can it halt its advance and smash its maneuvers. Only with political clarity, denouncing its social-democratic deviations, its splitting attitude towards the Fourth International, can its members be enlightened and brought back to the road of building the International. On the other hand, conciliation with the PST, giving it its domains, negotiating administratively the recognition of sections, would be a serious political error.

In this sense, it is serious that different members of the United Secretariat have spoken semi-officially for three years of the certainty of the recognition of the Argentine PST as the next official section of the Fourth International in that country. This would be a serious political error. Serious for Argentina, where a social-democratic type of party would be being built under the banner of our International. And serious for all the International, because the recognition of the PST would imply before all the comrades in the world support for a methodology that negates the principles of democratic centralism in the internal life of our organizations, and which also negates the essential political principles of Trotskyism in daily political practice. This recognition—the prestige of being a section of the International—would immediately be used to take up the factional struggle against the Fourth International with renewed strength. After the negative experience with Posadas in Argentina, and the public debate between the United Secretariat and the leadership of the PST for several years, a recognition of Morenismo today would be only a step backwards for the International and confusion for the Argentine vanguard, making it even more difficult to build a revolutionary Marxist alternative in that country. The leadership of the International has the obligation, both to its members and to the world workers movement, to not only hold high its revolutionary Marxist banners in the field of class struggle but to also do so within its own ranks, where the world party of world revolution germinates. Today there exists the imperative need to reestablish the unity of all of the International, eradicating the factional practices and contributing to its strengthening. This means guaranteeing the practice of democratic centralism in all the sections, and the broadest accurate information about the activity, achievements, and shortcomings of each sector of our movement. If there is no hard battle against the vices of the BF they will continue to invade the International, continue splitting organizations, continue eluding the efforts at common work, and threatening the liquidation of the Fourth International.

Madrid, July 6, 1979

Note: The authors wish to express their acknowledgement to all the comrades who contributed information and suggestions in the preparation of this document, and especially to the comrades who did so from underground in Argentina; and ask that they send new contributions to cover the weaknesses that this document doubtless contains.

## October 1977 Letter to the Leadership Committee of the IMT, by Comrade Hoffmann

Dear Comrades,

I have been informed of the draft resolution for dissolution of the IMT. I agree with the decision to dissolve and voted for it in the Central Committee of the French section. I am not in total agreement with a number of points in the draft resolution, but I think it is preferable for the discussion on these points to take place in the general debate prior to the next congress. The purpose of this letter is to discuss only one point, which I consider quite serious for the future of the International, and on which my disagreement with the draft resolution is total.

In the process of division of the International into closed blocs, around the time of the Tenth World Congress, there was slippage on the practical status of sympathizing organizations of the International, and the statutes which had just been adopted were completely negated.

The first backsliding was the counting of "indicative votes" of the sympathizing groups for the purpose of proportional representation of ideological currents in the leading bodies of the International. Worse still, these sympathizing organizations had representatives in the leading bodies and even in the United Secretariat.

It is not surprising that as a result our press ordinarily speaks of "sympathizing sections," which is a nonsensical term that now leads to posing the problem of the future of the Argentine PST in terms of "regularization" or "eviction" from the International. That is, it is not considered outside the International, as a sympathizing formation, but as a constituent part.

At the Tenth World Congress, I personally opposed such measures. Today they lead to the idea that not recognizing the PST as a section of the International would be an "administrative" measure!

I have learned that a "self-criticism" document on Latin America considers it an error not to have recognized the PST as a section of the International at the Tenth World Congress. Is it a feeling of guilt that thus leads to "jumping over to the other side of the horse"? If there is a self-criticism to be made for nonrecognition of sections at the Tenth World Congress, it should be done for the nonrecognition of the LCR-ETA VI and the Mexican LCI, which met all the requirements of the statutes for such recognition.

This inconsistency underlines a false principle, which itself originated in an unhealthy situation. According to it, whether an organization is recognized as a section depends first of all on . . . its size. Now we are in danger of having recognition denied, in a country where two sympathizing organizations exist, we are in danger of seeing recognition denied solely on the basis of refusal to enter a fusion with the numerically larger organization, without its line and political program, its organizational regime, or even its relations with the International leadership being taken into account.

On this basis, if the OCI had asked to join the International at the beginning of 1968, our tiny PCI would have had to enter the OCI (along with its JCR fraction, natu-

rally) and submit to the discipline of the majority. Is this example absurd? The PST is hardly closer to the International than the OCI . . .

If abstraction is made—and I cannot agree with that—of the policy of an organization that considers itself sympathizing, can abstraction be made at the same time of its practical relations with the International?

An organization that proposes to enter the International, but for years does its best to build rival organizations to our sections or sympathizing groups founded under the International's supervision, in all the countries where their size permits it; an organization that publicly attacks the International in the most slanderous way and does not contribute financially to its functioning—does not even deserve the name of a sympathizing organization.

The (too) "liberal" gesture of bringing representatives of the PST into the United Secretariat was seen by this organization not as part of a policy favoring unity and the cooling down of the violent disputes, making it possible to discuss the political disagreements according to our rules and our traditions, but as an attitude of weakness that encouraged it to worsen its factional behavior.

From this standpoint alone, merely to continue to recognize the PST as a "sympathizing group" would require an immediate end to this hostile behavior, with the specification that henceforth any organization using such practices would be immediately deprived of its status as a "sympathizing group."

Much more is at stake today: its recognition as a section. On what basis?

Will it now be sufficient, for recognition to be granted without question, to "declare adherence to Trotskyism" and to declare a desire to belong to the International, even while behaving contrary to this stated aim, provided there is not yet a section in the country in question?

In reply to my rejection of such an attitude, comrades say that there is no other solution than recognition on the basis of the "line of the International" and that it is a sectarian position leading to artificial reinforcement of the majority and thus spoiling the democratic procedure.

Although this would be an implicit break not only with Lenin's concept of the International but also and especially with Trotsky's, it can be admitted that the line of a congress is too narrow to serve as a criterion for membership. This is not, however, a sufficient reason for adopting an apolitical principle leading us eyes closed toward the concept of a "nebulous" International, based on a vague, formal, dogmatic kind of Trotskyism, without reference to the concrete revolutionary struggle.

Fortunately, these are not the only two possible roads.

It seems to me that it would be possible to draw and discuss a new "twenty-one conditions" (which could obviously be ten or thirty), acceptable to any "loyal" minority. Such minimum conditions would necessarily explicitly reject activities such as building organizations parallel to those of the International, failure to recognize the leadership elected at congresses, systematic public denunciation of the leadership, and nonpayment of assessments to the

International. Among these formal conditions, in my opinion, ought to be the statutory guarantee of the right to form tendencies, unified internationally, with the greatest number of specific points possible under the most varied political conditions.

As regards political principles, beyond the most general theoretical references (which are already part of the statutes), these could be chosen according to the degree of unanimity reached in our movement. These latter definitions are undoubtedly more difficult to formulate than the former, but I do not think it would be impossible. Furthermore, it would be an excellent test of the convergence of the currents that were earlier opposed to each other.

While it may be unlikely that we will reach common theses on all questions, on the other hand it should be possible to outline a "common ground" marking out the political boundaries of the International.

For my part, I am convinced that far from limiting the construction of the International, such a framework would allow us to begin from a greater homogeneity to: (1) have better relations with revolutionary organizations outside the Fourth International, which we would treat purely as political partners, than with organizations—the same ones or others—which are up in the air about the limits of the International, and as a result behave as "antibodies" more concerned with combating the majority in the hope of overturning it than in finding a "common front" in which it might be possible to influence one another; (2) to conclude fusions on a politically and organizationally more healthy basis after a testing of common action.

Our experience in France with formations like the CCA (which includes along with the "Pabloist nucleus," members of the LCR who recently resigned and elements from the PSU), the OCT (part of which is the former *Revolution!* group which left our Communist League), is an example that is no less instructive because it is a national experience. This is because remaining outside can be more useful than the poisoned atmosphere of a "forced marriage" for the purpose of feeling out the political conditions for a later rapprochement.

In any case, the problem does not seem to me to be posed today in terms of a broad International or a narrow International—the size of the International in no case being independent of the world political conjuncture. Here again, the example Trotsky showed us during the 1930s is as decisive and enlightening as the hopes based on our leap from before 1968 to after 1968. It points to an International that is coherent but not obliged to spend most of its time and devote the best of its forces to a fight against itself. It is better to have a healthy organization that faces a thousand difficulties than an organism that is obliged to spend three-quarters of its time worrying about itself, hoping to be able to spend the other quarter . . . facing the same thousand difficulties.

This letter may not reach its destination until after the actual dissolution of the IMT. In that case, I ask the United Secretariat Bureau to consider it as a proposal for the discussion before the Eleventh World Congress.

Fraternally,  
s/Hoffman