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Peter Camejo's
English summary of:

APR 18 1979

DECLARATION AND PLATFORM OF THE BOLSHEVIK FACTION

(All comments in paranthesis are mine (PC) and not part of the document.) When quotes are used it is a translation not a summary.

At the July 1978 BT meeting we became a faction because -

"We have taken this grave step in consideration that since the constitution of the Bolshevik tendency up to to day the crises of leadership in the Fourth International has become generalized. It now touches all areas - theoretical, political, organizational and moral - and it has reached such a degree that it threatens to submit to ~~poxxxx~~ total postration the section and sympathizing grups that follow the orientation of the actual majority of the United Secretariat."

The crises begins in 1969

FLT crises over Portugal and Angola

FLT dissolved to hide political crises and to safe its prestige and to avoid a balance sheet of the tenth world congress.

New leadership an organizational unity "without analysis, nor politics, whose only common point was the struggle against the BT and the plan to maintain the leadership."

CHAPTER ONE "The Reality of our International led by the Bloc without Principles."

BF said all sections and groups led by U Sec. will go from bad to worse. Now to see who was right. Mandel said we have grown ten times.

Lets take the four model examples of the Bloc without Principles (BWP). PSR Colombia, LCR France, LCR Spain and PRT Mexico.

Every one in a terrible crises of leadership, finances, press and run by concensus.

France: Daily rouge disaster (because it failed-does not oppose LCR having a daily although he has a passing comment that some will try to explain it wway by saying it was a tactical mistake).

Membership ~~is~~ 1850 - terrible. For 3 congresses LCR passed not one political document nor was able to elect a leadership - they elected 20,20,9,1 CC members of tendencies no one a majority.

LCR vote only 73,979 terrible - Rouge tries to lie about vote - never presents it.

Election policy leaves out PC, PS question.

LCR bends to imperialism. (once again the number of articles in Rouge on Africa).

Moreno warned in 1973.

Immigrant workers no attention,

Quotes the International Commission of the LCR to the effect that the LCR has no international work. Nothing was done to protest French armed intervention in Africa.

Leadership functions as a consensus.

Quotes Bourguell criticizing LCR.

Members don't function. Quotes a Reahud saying only one sixth in Seine-Denis participated in election campaign.

Quotes Balance of Political Bureau saying organization not functioning well and little workers work.

Quotes a group of comrades saying women are quitting.

Then summation - closing of Rouge, chaos in the leadership, electoral defeat, projects not achieved, no workers work, organizational crises, lost of almost all women comrades.

SPAIN: "The crises of the model of models: the Spanish LCR"

In Spain the IMT line led to disaster.

But leaders of IMT and U. Sec. reject our warnings and instead give super optimistic reports on Spain.

Mandel in Bogota in 1976	Spanish LCR	6,000 members
Riel	77	7,000
Hansen and Riel		8,000
Newspaper of the Spanish section		10,000

"Who lies ??"

On 5 of July the CC of the LCR admits they have only 718 members.

That is only 718 paid dues - counting the ones that didn't they have only 2,203.

Then on to paper circulation. Riel said 35,000. Truth the LCR failed to achieve campaign for 5,000 subscriptions.

Only 800 pay dues and can't get more 3,000 subscriptions section in crises.

The quotes a report from the Political Bureau saying things not working out, not functioning well. Long quotes from report.

LCR and LC unify because both in crises.

Elections. failure only got 35,000 votes - "with 10,000 members and ~~35,000 papers~~ and the sales of 35,000 papers they obtain only 0.2% of the electorate in the country . ."

(No mention is made, of course, of the BF groups line or results in the election campaign - the election of 26 city council members will undoubtedly be due to the unification with BF members.)

Next "The Latin American model of the US: the Mexican PRT"

Hugo Blanco gave report saying PRT M largest L.A. section because PST A only 250 and PRT M 1,000.

(Then the document goes into at length the recent events in Mexico kicked off at the CC meeting of January.)

(The point made is this: PRT M is not campaigning in the elections instead permitting a discussion. The TOI minority should not have been allowed to form nor a congress held for them - this is a menchevique concept of organization. BF proven correct in Mexico - proposal for workers and socialist pole. No mention is made of errors on CP D campaign for bloc with CP - error not seen as political but organizational for lack of hardness - bolshevik etc. a constant theme in the document.)

(Quite valuable that Moreno chooses to make this an issue since it exposes his concept of party building - the case is quite clear both politically and organizationally)

PRT M fails to get 65,000 to become party. Differences and errors of last CC root^d in failure to get signatures, rooted in ~~menchevique~~ concept of party building.

Lots of debts from provinces for paper - some members only sell when they feel like it or agree with paper.

Financial campaign only raises 11,360 dollars - after six months only get 11 dollars per member - terrible -

(artificially Hugo Blancos name keeps reappearing as a liar) In parenthesis "poor Hugo Blanco when he was active in Argentine trotskyism he was a serious and objective person."

Quotes Jaramillo - we have to find out how many members we really have.

Quotes from regions critical ~~of~~ of general functioning.

Number of members - (Hugo Blanco once again as liar) - also Joe Hansen who "consciously lied"

Hugo Blanco again - lying has a class bases.

General chaos in PRT M

Next "The Colombian PSR, a party in ruins."

Colombia country where two methods can be compared.

Long section how many members in PSR - truth 400, claim 1,000. At a demonstration in Bogota PST had 1250 and PSR 250 ~~members~~ We have photographs to prove it. Meeting for Socorro only 71 at start, later 100.

Fund drive goal 6,000 only 1/3 after first month.
one

Leadership crises ~~in~~ BP member quit and 4 CC members - some PSR joined PST. Includes Medina and 20 T.U. leaders.

Will not find PSR at factory gates, HQ always closed. Quotes from region critical of functioning.

(Suddenly the document has a personal message for Hugo Blanco which I can't figure out. I think it is a reference to something in Blanco's document about Moreno. The message begins, "Now, let's explain a simple thing to Hugo Blanco . . ."

CHAPTER II The Evil Tenth Congress

BWP does not allow a balance sheet of 10th WC.

Only groups grown - those not carrying out 10th WC line.

Portugal PRT grew from 10 to 120.

formation of LTT - Ninth WC SWP and PST A fought together against guerrilla line. . . .

Quotes from LTF resolutions against GW, its extension, construction of party and ~~then~~ need to change leadership.

Says LTF formed to fight to change leadership.

Quote Joe H. on lack of proletarian base. . .

Time to say who was wrong and who was right at 10 WC.

Mandels 3 to 6 year prediction for Europe . .

(Makes a big issue over lack of concrete demands in European resolutions and refers to a document "approved by PST A" written at the same time as MA's criticism of the European document which is then quoted but never foot noted, or at least I don't know what their talking about unless its the Morenazo document.) . . .

Ultra-left orientation - new mass vanguard etc.

Lack of democratic demands.

At 10th WC SWP and IMT refuse PST A proposal for a campaign in favor of Angola and Mozambique for the withdrawal of portuguese troops.

Portugal first disaster of 10 WC line.

IMT had 200 members after 1 and a half years of revolutionary rise still only 200. Reason turned to ultraleftist mileu not masses.

IMT attacks SP not gov. as main danger also pro MPLA-MFA manuevers.

Lack of comprehension over the anti-imperialist united front of the Black African masses and world wide leaders both tendencies LTF and IMT to a wrong position on the Black revolution as a whole.

The crises of the IMT in Spain,

The IMT European document did not mention Spain or Portugal - including them in the famous ultraleft and vanguardist ten point program.

One group followed ZIMT other SWP both in crises.

Describes ultraleftism of LCR in Spain

SWP and FLT defended the trotskyst program in Spain.

In a Militant editorial of 14/6/74 comparison with Russia revolution and Portuguese made.

(Whole point is quotes from Militant referring to growth of workers powers later to be twisted to imply we said or agreed with embryonic dual power which will be used as though it is the same thing as workers power.)

Chapter III ~~Sixth~~ "The Formation of the Bloc without Principles"

SWP changes its position on dual power in Portugal - error of SWP codified in "Key issues" document also Novack's book Democracy and Revolution.

"The abandonment of trotskist politics on the part of the SWP continues to grow and reaches extremely grave level in Angola . . ."

SWP sees MPLA-FNLA-UNITA struggle as inter tribal

90% of LTF resisted SWP line - but Spain LC capitulated.

SWP support collapses over Portugal and Angola - forinstence in Portugal and Italy.

"The IEC meeting of February 1976"

U.Sec. refuses to let BF have tape recordings of sessions.

IMT line of military support for MPLA wrong but becomes right after South Africa intervenes and other two groups become lined up with S.A.

Therefore correct to vote for IMT line critically at IEC.

SWP "political crime" not to give military support to MPLA.

Tony Thomas and Ernie Hersh argue over this in London - Thomas accepts SWP made errors, Hersh doesn't - we know we got a letter.

At IEC FLT splits over Portugal -(this is developed a bit.)

"We, even, believe that in all situations of revolutionary rise where there do not exist seeds of dual power, the great task of the Trotskyist is to create them."

German informed the IEC that the IMT would make a pact with the embryonic BT. We indicated that we would not yet form a tendency "because we wanted to see how far we could develop our agreement on Angola, and if the possibility existed that a European document could be drafted that was not ultra-left and that would adopt an analysis and methodology that was Trotskyist."

"Meanwhile we would collaborate with the IMT to overcome the crises of the International."

That's the way it was at the IEC but now people want to forget. Even Hansen said IMT and PST are getting closer.

IMT sent the group that broke with LTF their European draft for corrections. The IMT acted very fraternally. But we rejected their document.

"D The self-criticism of the IMT on Latin America"

The reason for the self-criticism was the collapse of their groups in Latin America.

The self-criticism has no utility because:

1. No one left defending line
2. Tries to blame national sections
3. Continues ultra-left line in Europe

Quotes to back up claim of three points.

The only correct conclusion ^{we can draw} of the self-criticism is that the... of the International

"The dissolution of the LTF and the IMT and the formation of the New Leadership."

LTF reduced to SWP.

SWP ~~must~~ forced to abandon program of LTF make a balance full of false, twisted versions, half truths, ~~and~~ complete lies.

Errors continue - Spain and France
IMT redefinition admits continuation of line etc.

Chapter IV "The first Documents"

In Europe 180 degree change. Hero no longer Che Guevara but now the ~~left~~ dissidents in the East European countries not having democracy.

New adaptation.

(So its understandable let me throw in a comment here. Key is this. Eurocommunism etc. reflects massive petty bourgeois liberal-demo pressures. IMT adapts to this. SWP something from student liberal-demo milieu. From this flows explanation of a lot of things - SWP-INT convergence - resolution on Soc. Dem and Pro. Dictatorship etc. - this is important theme of next sections.)

~~SWP~~ First product of the SWP a revisionist resolution.

(Hang on to your hat ~~for~~ now)

This discussion is more important in the history of marxism than:

1. Debate between rev. and reformism at turn of century.
2. Battle between II and III International after WWI
3. Debate over soc. in one country.
4. Schottman fight of 1940

BP answered this document in July 1977 in a resolution titled "The Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

(I have never seen this, but I assume it must exist)

(Long section now follows - The resolution ~~of~~ Soc. Dem and Pro. Dict. believes in freedom for counterrevolutionaries - Marx, Lenin and Trotsky etc. do not. - this theme goes on for a while)

Example shouldn't we execute Pinochet, or Somoza, agents of Savak. Yes for Iranian rev. execution of Savak etc.

SDPD document abandons trotskyist concept of USSR -

Only workers parties which are revolutionary can be allowed. We must purge out a sector of the workers and peasants, their aristocracy - can't have the political liberty without limits advocated in U. Sec. resolution. (This phrase-political liberties without limitation-is repeated throughout.)

Doc. doesn't mention imperialism - only twice.

This (no mention of imperialism) is proof of something the PST A has been saying for a long time. That the comrades of the IMT and SWP ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ do not ~~profess~~ understand profoundly "the phenomenon"

(had to change typewriters - type writer collapsed)

"the phenomena of imperialism and ^{are} ~~sur~~ incapable of denouncing it systematically."

Because of ignorance of imperialism fail to note two stages - first destruction of imperialism and later reconstruction of socialism.

"The resolution contrast bourgeois democracy with proletarian democracy and also with the existing deformed workers states. What it never does is to show that the bourgeois democracy of the Western countries is of an imperialist character, part of a world regime, whose liberties for the metropolitanos stands on the totalitarian and brutal exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial masses. It is democracy for an aristocracy of workers or bourgeois, and exploitation, totalitarianism and lack of democracy for the colonial slaves. We define this democracy as imperialist, ~~and~~ for being ~~or~~ based on the profits that is taken from the colonial countries."

^{BF} ^(USEC) They quote the document as saying that in some countries the defeat of capitalism has not expanded proletarian democracy with China and Vietnam as the examples.

This is an apology for Chiang Kai Shek and US and French imperialist regimes in Vietnam. To say there is more workers democracy in imperialist countries than in workers states is to capitulate totally and absolutely to bourgeois public opinion.

The BF stands behind the fact that the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions have expanded workers democracy colossally in relation to the previous bourgeois regimes and we "underline that, in any workers state, there is a million times more democratic rights than in imperialist regimes . . ."

The U Sec. confuses freedom of the press and opinion with class democratic rights such as work, salary and vacation assured, expropriation of paper and buildings from the bourgeoisie.

Wrong definition of dictatorship - USec says - something as workers democracy - wrong, one is political form, other class.

"Failure to fore see and give line for wars between workers states"

"We show that we should defend small workers states from all invasions by those that are stranger."

(BF foresaw wars between workers states)

The doc. abandons concept of rev. party and international, substituting role of soviets - it favors a populist dictatorship not workers - where the whole people intervene.

Wrong characterization of eurocommunism and opportunist politics.

Topo Rojo - we've got tapes. Mandel hides real position

BWP says euro communism a progressive phenomena we say not so CPs going from servilism of Kremlin to own bourgeoisie nothing progressive in that. It helps consolidate national stalinist parties.

"Opportunist Politics"

~~(gskniztanzpohikizakmksnkzknx)~~

Of nine points proposed by U Sec. only 2 for action rest general and abstract.

(develops theme that key is to oppose CP8s program of support to austerity measures instead of talking about democratic rights in Soviet bloc - gives example of LCR in Spain message to CP that fails to mention Moncloa pact.

Chapter V "A triumphalist analysis and 14 useless Suggestions"

Criticism of political resolution:

- 1. Euro centric
- 2. Triumphalist - everything going well

Not true - after Portugal down turn in Europe - rev. center shift back to colonial world - Iran, Peru, Nicaragua. BF foresaw all. Key task in advance countries fight austerity measures.

Russia Rev. opened ~~corner~~ ^{era} of transition to socialism. Similarly ~~that~~ wars between workers states opens a very dangerous ~~corner~~ ^{era} of regaining of territory lost by imperialism.

World Pol. Res. ignores three negative crises. 1. Leadership 2. level of living of workers 3. wars between workers states. (one means portugal, two austerity and three China-VN-Camb.)

USEC rev. around the corner - not coherent with proposed tasks which ~~is~~ ^{are} useless, no action proposed.

Slogans of BF for Iran 1. For development of ~~Rev~~ Iranian rev. 2. Trial of counterrevolutionaries 3. Destruction of bourgeois army 4. Long live armed militias.

BF proposals - SWP should send money, arms and volunteers to fight in Nicaragua. We should call for FSLN gov. etc.

U. Sec. silent on Nicaragua - IP only article by Amador which is terrible because it not only criticizes the politics of FSLN, which is OK, but its struggle.

BF slogans for Black Revolution: For an internationalist political line which recognizes the Black Revolution as a universal afroamerican process. 2. For workers and peasant gov. to replace regimes in Angola, Guinea, Bissau and Mozambique 3. For black Socialist republic federation which accepts the right to self determination of tribes within that federation.

~~Docx Dixkaxamkix~~ The BF doc. Rev. Dic. and Prol. predicted wars between workers state. XI WC must say who was right.

Not sufficient to raise slogan Federation of socialist Republic for Europe or United ~~States~~ Socialist States of the world. Due to present reality leaves out what BF proposes. East Europe Workers States must form federation now and also call for federation of Iberia workers states and reject ECR call for Federation.

Chapter VI

"Against a Centrist International with POU~~m~~ist Parties"
"For a Trotskyist International of Bolshevik Parties"

The picture painted of BF false - no real dem. centralism, instead ~~bureaucratic~~ bureaucratic, no right to tendencies, have a mania for finding a class base to everything, that we stick ourselves into each section with monetary and cadre help, that we oblige members from student background to proletarianize, that BF leaders never write anything like Hugo Blanco says except Moreno, Moreno is a caudillo and controls everything.

First on last point. Moreno has written only 10% of documents of PST A, Colombian PST and BF.

(They say ~~W~~ behind differences is same fight of Lenin over org. concept with mecheviques and also against Urbahn and centrists)

(They say BWP believes a minority has the right to set up a tendency and call a congress setting its date any time it wants. The BF believes in regular one year or every two year conventions with three or six month, respectively, discussion periods - that is when tendencies or factions may exist)

All BF groups pay dues to the faction but it only helps situations of ~~rise~~ rise such as Peru and now it could be Iran,

(long discussion over concept of international. SWP for federation - BWP has accepted this - old IMT for centralist but confused national section with international - PST A always supported basic IMT concept of centralist - quotes from Trotsky on Spain and Germany for sending money and cadres.) (quotes by Barnes on Hansen at memorial meeting proofing federative concept.)

Propose motion for XI world congress that PST A be recognized as the greatest, the biggest, the best example etc.

Brazil fastest growing now 800. PST Colombian terrific - 25 profesionales, 20 HQs 40,000 dollars a year etc. ~~Da~~ ~~Te~~,

No to the Fraude - example of Bolivian membership at last WC

U Sec. hiding or claiming a non-existent list of Colombian TDP members .

If no fraude by setting a "Codigo" rules (I think) the BF offers to dissolve itself into a tendency and in 6 months dissolve completely.

All we ask: One and the same criteria for representation at WC.

"Program of the Bolshevik Fraction"

Battle to the death for leadership of IV

1. Demand a balance sheet of period between 10 and 11 WC.
want Joe H. document on differences and method adopted

2. Reject SDFD resolution

3. Reject Pol. Res.

(The previous points are now summarized under this third point - that is the content of the document as a whole that are touched by the world pol. resolution.)

III "For a Trotskyist International and Bolshevik Parties"

(Among things said here is a passing reference to the womens movement, ecology, and peasants as not central to our work as trade union work - only mention of such issues - nuclear power never mentioned.)

Proletarianization for moral reasons - end consensus method of leadership.

IV "For a Proletarianization of the Fourth International, of its Procedures and its Moral"

sections under legality that do not produce regular paper cannot be recognized as having more than 200 members after that its 40 per full timer not counting staffers in technical work.

Propose next WC add to statutes any person having connections with police ~~xxxxxx~~ of any ~~xxx~~ kind not officially authorized cannot be a member - (What is this mad man up to? Joe H.?) (Amador maybe or both.)

(Thats it. Don't blame me thats what it says. I might have left some important political point out but the balance is not my fault as you will see when you read the whole thing.)