international centered on the an The plenum disucussion assessment of the It was the political report that took up an situation in the world Trotskyist movement, analysis of the present international political situation and the meaning of the new developments in Indochina. This report will only go into the world movement. last year's SWP report to Begin --- 🗊 brief summary 🐼 convention by Mary-Alice Waters (reprinted in IIB no. 1 for 1972) In 1969, at the world congress of the 🛲 FI, within the framework of fundamental agreexment on the most basic issues, there did emerge three serious differentes---- Latin Americat -- Chinese Cultural Rev. -- Worldwide Radicalization of Youth The lineup of support on these issues cut across each other, that the one position on the youth resolution, for example, is, supporters were not identical to the supporters of the Latin American document this was a The The deepest differences were on Latin America....and very important difference especially because there are several parties in Latin America, where future would be directly dependent on the line adopted and carried out.

2.... delegates at The majority of the world congress took the position that there should of rural guerrilla be a basic strategy warfare on a continental scale, and that preparations should be made immediately for this. They held the position that the repression precluded the possibility of building mass revolutionary parties in the classical manner. There was also a widespread opinion that there was a real chance that in the near big 4 future it would be possible in Bolivia to make a breakthrough 🛲 by far surpassing any accomplishment to date of the adopting this strategy world Trotskyist movement. We agreed with these in the minority who took the position that only one of many guerrilla wargare was e tactic to be fitted into the 🗰 broader In our opin straetegy of party building along the Bolshevik model. The logic of the majority position was towards altra-this and away from a building in the Lenginist manner. The majority denied that this was the case, The discussion on this point was not an adequate enough an prior to the world congress, so the # international discussion was opened up again by the next IEC. Comrades, I hope, are familiar 🏬 with this material on Latin america. since then .

On the Latin American discussion there was a tendency on the part of some comrades int of the majority to back off from the position on rural guerrilla warfare in and move to urban gueerilla warfare. The We reject just as much. Some comrades have also tried to shift the argument to one of being for or against armed struggle. We reject The term 'armed struggle', in our opinion, was just being used as a code word for guerilla actions. New differences also emerged in the period since the world congress. --Great Britain -- IMG line on labour party also a minority tendenccy developed in IMG Labour comrades have the documents minimum from their 1970 convention, which were printed in an IIB -- women's liberation -- IMG line different than ours an important issue internationally, and will be on agenda at next world congress -- Mideast -- possibly needs clarification through discussion -- methods of a leadership functioning in FI Domingo letter affair: maneuvering behind backs of international minority ... could tend to foster factional atmosphere, cliques --- serious default of leadership by United Secretariateness in concurring with method of Domingo letter;;;;;; we therefore took the the

3...

Domingo tettet a letter circulated in Lotmanuerica Factoral attack on 50, international menority + La Verdad group signed Soningo but later admitted to

be written by Livio Martan



4... (at that the Domingo letter affair showed the need for the

leaderships of sections and sympathizing organizations to begin consulting directly with each other

----nature of FI organizationally

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

charging SWP with not having democratic centralist cooncept. (charge) We reject that But we do maintain that the precondition

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

Our goals: 1. maximize full discussion

(get documents out in advance;;;;get translations) we have no illsuions# that the political questions can be settled by organizational means either by reprisals or by maneuevers

2. reverse line of last world congress

3. educate on our concept of party building

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

Now, what has *#* happend since then? long factual reports, recentlyf obtained , primarily on Bolivia and Key: Argentina.... The importance of these factual reports is that they further than just the realm of theoretical tend to take the discussion roposal should be done, and into the realm of experience cover what actua --- of what was the result of following the line adopted by the last world congress. (majority Bolivia: ne tended to although 9th world congress/exclude possibility of 'reformist' and replaced, regimes, we saw the Barrientos military dictatorship overthrown/first military-reformist bourgeois by Ovando / regime and them by the Torres/regime, which in turn in August, 1971 🏕 was overthrown by the right-wing 🕿 Banzer military ALC RAOKAL GPS. IN Big REPRESSION coup, which rules today. During Torres regime, very significant development -- people's possibility to tra key 4 assembly...no and real power, formass work. Provide Gudenst independent illusions in need to exposed Torres regime and work towards mass action aimed Key: at seizered of poer (against capitlist state, maintsained by Torres) arevent rd. only way to reaction Vas wan

Unsta

From the factual report presented to the plenum, based on the

assessments of the Bolivian comrades,

- -- did not use the popular assembly in the way they could have to expose Torres, explain limitations of the assembly the way it was, etc.
- -- did not carry out organized trade union work...indiviudal party leaders had a following, but not the party as such

-- the organization stressed the danger of a rightest coup, but did nothing organizationally to prepare for it... fulled about need for granulla war

what was called the On Nov. 14 there was a statement released by Bolivian Revolutionary Anti-UmperialistFront... (in exile) printed in IP...signed by POR Banzer said---- coup was directed against national independence and sovreignity and to eliminate "progressive sectors" of armed **m** forces

said that there was now a need to build a "fighting unity of all the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces so that the great battle can be begun in conditions offering a real perspective for a popular and national government."...."the is not a battle that concerning only one sector of the explaited people, or one class, insitutiion or party." Signers included insitutiion or party." CP, FOR (LOra), FOR (Moscoso), "ELN, and TORRES --- the very one whose policy is led to the defeat in

the first place

POR had been weakened over a whole 4-5 year period --1965-66-67 decided to adopt the g-war line

not clear because there are no written documents...

--- most of the comrades who opposed the g-war line left the organization (this includes a majority of the central committee)...most of these

ex-members are now in the SP of Bolivia

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

--g-war was supposed to be carried fout in a joint front with the Grant ELN....and there was no clarity on role of party and on focismo --- form, there was a continual process of "bleeding" from the POR to

8....

the ELN ---- explain

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

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

the key cadres were driven into exile.....the groups are all

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

Worst of all, it is evident that the POR HASN"T LEARNED FROM ALL THIS

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

can be marked $\frac{1 \text{ ogical}}{4}$ down to the consequences of the line of the ninth world congress....

••

So this statement, which called for guerilla wargare...did so politicallly at the expense of political clarity and the forming of a popular front group..... sacrifice plutical principle for tactic of g-war So, United Secretariat of FI printed a statement disagreeing with POR's signing of such a statement....printed in IP Feb. 21, 1972 Some of the some of the formulations in the statement, but that it was remaining in the FRA...as a means of furthering its strategy of armed struggle its fundametal line remains the same toward F.R.A. favors / line -----thus armed struggle (guerrilla warfare line) at expense of political clairty -----[note: even than ugh never really engaged in guerrilla warfare] What has this line meant for the Bolivian section? as if the party has been disaste

7...

In Argenting there is both an official section of the FI and a sympathizing group. Both have the name PRT and are distinguished by their papers --thus, PRT-Combatiente and PRT-Verdad. PRT-Combatiente is the official section....it is the motor force behind the ERP (peoples' revolutionary army) which recently carried fout the kidnapping of Oberdan Sallustro, the general director of FIAT. Suggets hit's myorty.

9....

PRT-Verdad is also known as the Moreno group...from the name of its main leader.... Suggetter international menority on Lati Annica

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

PRT'Combatiente's political line **ap** for Argenti**n** can be clearly seen in looking at the actions taken by the ERP....such as **the various** bank robberies, the holding up of milk-delivery trucks and the distribution of the milk to people in the neighborhood, **the** *suff-matrix allow qubit distribution* kidnapping of Sylvester, and the recent Sallustro kidnapping. These flow from the PRT-Combatiente's conception that the war is on, and that these acts of "armed propaganda" as they call them, are the main thing needed. They say that these au lanked to makes. By the point QUOTE FROM NEW LEFT REVIEW INTERVIEW..... QUOTE FROM TO TO THE

ndevidence of mans involvent a suggest i de The PRT-Combatiente acmepts the idea that elections are going to be held in Argentiana, but the line they project is to denounce concentrate on the electoral farce and carry out what they call their poplular war (Sallustro kidnapping occured in this context) or revolutionary war.

Nto

10...

PRT Combatiente seems to have grown stronger in the past year,

both numberically and organizationally...But M there is a big turnover.... 80% of present membership were not members one year ago many of the more experienced cadres in a genuine school of Trotskyism have been jailed.... 500 members, 160-180 in jail

International position of PRT Combatiente

--'Chinese CP has a revolutionary leadership (even in context of recent international events) --e.g. Ceyolon, Bengal were mistakes They are against the construction of a Chinese section of her the FI They are against political revolution for China

N Korea, Albania also have revolutionary leadership

11... Quote from IP

They are fundamentally uncritical of Cuban CP.... QUOTE FROM IP It becomes more and more clear that the influence of the Cuban line on the PRT-Combatiente is growing....

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

The basic political position of the PRT-Combatiente, was known by some of major written up in what they call there red book and was was the PRT-Combatiente The time of the last world congress still upholds. This will be translated and made availbalbe. 12...

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

THUS - with PRT Combitiste - { terrorism // anarchism Castrorsm / gueveansin Tortsky.st program Kerames Secondary Now, on PRT-Verdad, brifly

Has experienced rapid growth....

Have an important working class base....do important trade union work and also strong student work ...(also some w-1 work) now Is somewhat larger than PET : 650 or 700- vs. 500 Have perspective of building a class-struggle left wing in the

trade unions....

Opposes guerrilla warfare line ... support international minority of former

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

Have entered into an entryist tactic in relation to a left-eentrist Socialist Party is led by a named Corale--- publish paper Avanzada Socialista...The Militant reprinted an aritcle from this paper on May 19, against Sallustro kidnapping...in framework of Argentinian politics.... There is agreement from observers of the situation **There** both supporters of the international majority and international minority that the entryist tactic is being carried out on a principled bassis and that big opportunities are opened up.

to the official sect although showing great Both of these reports on Bolivia and Argentina are very important as far as the international discussion is concerned.... for now the comrades mine thoughout the world, in evaluating positions and making up their minds, **and** can proceed, not only on the basis of perspectives that are outlined for the future, but on evaluating the logical set in motion by the line adopted at the last world consequences 🛣 Congress.....thus the debate should be proceeding on a much higher level.....this will also be a big test for the supporters of the majority whether-engine to retreat from the previous international 🎫 position on the basis of the fasts that have become clear about the nature of things in Bolivia and Argentina....or whether to grasp at The logic of straws trying to defend me the policy of the PRT-ERP and the Bolivian POR move further and further away from orthodox Trotskyism.... 1969 - They majority would never have sanchoned Ferrorism.

13...

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

14 ...

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

e.g. Vietnam -- abandoned mass action line Towards

trashing type, and victory to NLF line Irish work -- victry to IRA line... especially liking the pick-up-the-gun approach at the expense of political line

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

Labour party -- opposed to it Since then, this has taken as a "wonker's + "-bent In reaction to this, an oppositionist tendency has developed in the

IMG, with political positions that parallel the type of political line that internet minority the main has.... Under the impact of the criticisms raised by thes tendency, the IMG has moved towards a more theoretical codification of 15...

its line

presented for the upcoming IMG convention This has been written up in a document by John Ross and Tariq Ali, two of the central leaders of the IMG,

This document is also being # presented as a contribution to the international discussion. So comrade will be able to read t.

In this docuemnt, Ross and Ali state that "A process of breaking the organization from its whole past political method has begun." The placentify this method....as **the method** of the SWP Oppose **Coppose** long-standing **Coppose** for the standing **Coppose** of transitional program, as we understand it...

Explicityly reject tr. prog. for youth, blake, women, Chinano

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

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

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

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

16.... the part of the support to any party the does not accept a programme of the stype outlined" (p. 16)--- IMG version of trans. prog. Regarding The SLL slogan -- "Labour to power on a Socialist programme" says that "The SLL's slogan and those of the tendency's which are completely theoretically revisionist at all times, become positively counter-revolutionary in the present period." p. 13

Well, those are just a few tidbits

This opens up an opportunity for us to reply....because of the open attack on the SWP..... Will help are bring clarity to our

basic concetps of the transitional program, party building, mass work, etc.

Now, on some of the morganizational evolution ...

A change occured right about

The time of the report that Mary-Alice gave to the last party convention, where as I have summarized, we had findicated that the Domingo letter affarir led us to grave the summarized that the methods of

leadership functioning in the FI,,,,

The younger French leaders had come to the conclusion that the reviews methods of functioning had to be turned around. They had concluded that... O---the SWP had been excluded from collaborative relations in the

functioning of the world movement ...

9--- the method of functioning as M represented by the Domingo letter

was wrong...

17...

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

_____0___

We favored this step wholeheartedyly, and decided to release two leading PC members to deveote their attention to trying to get this collaborative method of functioning going....

In our view, the improvement of collaborative relations would be

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

This increased collaboration did not mean that the political differences would disappear automatically, but the could a lead to a genuinely discussion, in which we had the best opportunity to convince other of our ideas.

Furthermore, for all the differences in the world movement, there is basic agreement on many issues, and there is the opportunity to engage in many joint campaigns of activity on a world scale... The world movement international For example,,,,, this enabled in to launch an expanded defense campaign for Latin American political prisoners...particularly in Argentina and Bolivia..... which is very important.... Despite the fundamental differences we have with the PRT/ERP for example, we defend these comrades terrible 100% against the repression they are undergoing at the hands of the military dictatorship....

trips.... Also, Carol Lipman -- WONAAC Dan Rosenshine - NPAC Stephanie Coontz - NPAC Gerry Foley//Malachy McGurran IRA

Increasing contact....collaporationall to the good ...

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

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

.....

By in large....during the past sev eral months in which this

new relationship has been in process, it has worked out well..... Although not all supporters of the int'l majority had supported this turn in relations.

However, recently thre was a very bad development....around the Sallustro kidnapping.... in Argentina

The Sallustro kidnapping was throughout the world. The action of the ERP was identified to as Trotskyism. And so every

party had to state where it stood

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

The Canadian party also took a similar position and the German hes also with the tides of party expressed differences. Also statement of the PRT-Verdad. But the initial reaction of the European Trotskyist press was an example to be followed to portray it as integrated

with the workrs' struggles.

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

Belgian--Flemish paper--- the kidnapping of the Renault

offiical in France was wrong because it "was based on a completely false conception of the situation of the French de workers. In France armed repression of the workers had not decome a common practice. It is still the exception for a worker to be shot down at Renault...." but 21...

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

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

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

In addition....the United Secreatariat passed a motion disapproving by the SWP and the Canadiany party of the publication **in the Military** of the **statements** statements that were passed by their respective political bureaus. They said

Quote

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

Quote...

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

saying the ERP action

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

----adopt no position directly .. Le condemn SWP position <u>K fsections to</u> 3..-publish a contrary position. implies this is FI position with out having adopted if That is why we made such a strong statement this type of functioner

One of the key points underlying the whole discussion is the

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

IN CONCLUSION.....

As was said earlier....we are seeing in tendencies that where implicit in the incorrect line of the 9th world congress being angula y fritan brought out to their logical conclusion in terrorism. (ultra-leftism....) tendency to reject transitional approach - • Hordox Twitzkyiem

This has led to severe setbacks-in the severe severe setbacks-in the severe setbacks-in the severe severe setbacks-in the severe se

At the same time...it poses a key test to the international. At the same time...it poses a key test to the international. process of rethinking and trying to come to grips with the lessons of experience will have to take place..... In this process time and experience are are on our side...

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

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

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

We will be having more international anatysis in the Militant.

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

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

We will put out our own balance sheet on the Argentiania situation

For the coming wo world congress, there will be a premium on clairty....on getting clear **must** documents....