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To: Sections and sympathizing organizations
From: United Secretariat Bureau

October 30, 1979

Dear Comrades,

Yesterday the Bureau sent you documentation of the decisions taken by the leaderships of the Bolshevik Faction, the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency, and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International on October 27-29. In face of these decisions, the United Secretariat Bureau notes the following:

1. We are faced with an obvious and prepared attempt by leaders of the Bolshevik Faction and the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency, acting in collaboration with the OCRFI, to destroy the Fourth International, its sections, and its accumulated cadres. Having abandoned the attempt to win the militants of the Fourth International to their views by means of democratic discussion, the leaders of the Bolshevik Faction and the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency complicit in this act are now attempting to destroy those Trotskyist organizations which disagree with their political line.

2. This act of leaders of the Bolshevik Faction and the LTT, together with the OCRFI, was prepared during the preceding weeks. The campaign began with the acts of slander and implicit threats of violence carried out by members of the PST of Colombia against militants of the Fourth International in the PSR. On October 3, Moreno, Nemo, and other leaders of the Bolshevik Faction and the LTT openly violated the discipline and integrity of the French section and the Fourth International by taking part in a meeting with the leadership of the OCRFI.

This was followed by trips conducted by BF leaders to various countries in Europe attempting to weaken or destroy sections of the Fourth International. Thus, according to the IMG leadership, Comrade Moreno made trips to Britain in which he incited members of the IMG to commit disloyal acts, to prepare to break with the section, and urged an organization outside of the Fourth International, the Workers Socialist League, to participate in an attempt to split the FI. All this was carried out behind the backs of the British section leadership.

Members of the Bolshevik Faction in the Portuguese section have announced their refusal to recognize the congress of the section. In Italy members of the BF have issued leaflets publicly attacking the section and attempted to disrupt public meetings of the GCR.

This splitting operation of the BF leadership was carried out in collaboration with a section of the leaders of the LTT. This part of the LTT leadership established relations with an organization outside of and hostile to the Fourth International, the "Liga Comunista" of Spain. These LTT leaders urged LTT members in various countries, including Britain and France, to vio-

late the discipline of the national sections and of the Fourth International. This activity culminated at the international Steering Committee meeting of the LTT, held on October 27-28 which adopted the "Draft Declaration" that was sent to you yesterday. Members of the French, Belgian, Danish, and Portuguese sections at this meeting voted to violate the discipline of their organizations and to split the Fourth International. The British LTT rejected the split and remains loyal to the FI.

3. To judge the character of these splitting operations more clearly they should be placed in the context of the pre-world-congress discussion that has been taking place in the Fourth International.

The date and conditions for preparing the World Congress in a democratic manner were agreed to by the entire United Secretariat, including representatives of the Bolshevik Faction and the LTT. The United Secretariat has adhered to these decisions. On the request of the BF, the time limit was extended for submission of documents by the Faction. All the documents submitted within this time limit were printed in the three languages, producing one of the largest pre-world-congress discussions in the history of the Fourth International. Representatives of the BF and the LTT were able to present their positions at national congresses of all the organizations where they have supporters and even those where they had no supporters.

The charge that the coming world congress has been prepared in an undemocratic way is thus patently false.

4. The victory of the Nicaraguan masses, led by the FSLN, in overturning the Somoza dictatorship has made it necessary to add a new point of discussion on the World Congress agenda. In face of a revolution in progress, it is obviously necessary for the Fourth International to react quickly in order to be able to participate in this process.

Because of the closeness of this revolution to the World Congress it was not possible to conduct a written discussion on Nicaragua on the same scale as the rest of the pre-world-congress discussion. However, a full discussion was held on Nicaragua at the September 29-October 4 United Secretariat meeting, at which the LTT and the BF could have proposed counterresolutions to the draft proposed by the United Secretariat Bureau. Such counterresolutions could then have been proposed to the World Congress. The BF and the LTT did not do so. Moreover, they voluntarily absented themselves from the sessions of the United Secretariat in which Nicaragua was discussed.

The fraudulent character of the claim of the BF and LTT leaderships that a real discussion on Nicaragua would not take place is further revealed by the discussions and votes that have already taken place in the sections. The national congresses that took place after the United Secretariat meeting (for example, in Sweden, Britain, France, Portugal, Denmark, and Austria) were able to discuss the United Secretariat resolution and to consider any other positions put forward for a vote by the delegates to those congresses.

5. The demagogic claim by the BF and LTT leaderships that holding the congress on the agreed-upon dates is designed to stifle discussion on Nicaragua and simply carry out administrative disciplinary measures is untenable on two counts.

First, the United Secretariat has already decided to propose to the World Congress that the discussion on Nicaragua should continue after the Congress. This is necessary not only from the point of view of our internal needs, but above all because of the unfolding of the revolution itself.

Secondly, the United Secretariat has explicitly proposed to the World Congress the consideration of disciplinary action only against the behavior of the Bolshevik Faction as an international public faction, independently from their particular political line on Nicaragua. The motion adopted by the United Secretariat explained that the public intervention of the BF in Nicaragua was a "qualitative new stage" in the public faction operation of the BF, in which they "placed the discipline of their faction above that of the Fourth International, in the midst of an unfolding revolution." What made this escalation of their flaunting of democratic centralism particularly grave was the fact that it occurred in such a way as to discredit the International in face of a living revolution and hinder the International's ability to relate to that revolution and to its most militant participants and leaders.

The motions of the United Secretariat regarding political activity of supporters of the International in Central America and regarding Fausto Amador are of a different character. Since in these countries, as the resolution explains, "there is no section or sympathizing organization recognized by a world congress of the Fourth International," there can, therefore, be no question of administrative or disciplinary measures by the World Congress; there exist no formally recognized organizations or members of the International in those countries against which such measures could be taken. The United Secretariat decided that all supporters of the FI in those countries should act in collaboration with the elected leadership bodies of the International and on its line. There is also no question of the International leadership attempting to impose "instructions" on recognized sections or sympathizing organizations, since such organizations do not exist.

The functioning of the Bolshevik Faction as a public faction did not begin with the Nicaraguan revolution. Reports and documents of the BF itself have made clear that this faction has its own international apparatus, finances, internal bulletins, etc., and acts outside of any collaboration with the leading bodies of the International to send cadres to various countries, maintain relations with organizations outside of the FI, and carry out splitting operations in various sections.

The United Secretariat has condemned this functioning in the past, for example in the motion concerning Colombia adopted

at the January 1978 United Secretariat meeting, which concluded: "Thus, the top leadership of this international faction bears responsibility for the acute crisis of the Colombian PST." The methods of the BF were further documented in the contribution by United Secretariat member Hugo Blanco, "To the Latin American Comrades: Notes on the Bolshevik Tendency."

The operation of the Simon Bolivar Brigade only constituted a new escalation of these kinds of methods, contrary to the spirit and letter of the statutes of the International, which have been condemned by the United Secretariat in the past. The last United Secretariat meeting simply decided that if these methods are continued, it will propose to the World Congress that the declared leadership of the BF be expelled from the FI. If they accept the application of the statutes and the World Congress decisions, they are invited--as they have been many times before--to participate fully in all the leading bodies of the International proportional to their strength, and will of course have the right to maintain a tendency or faction and to fight inside the International to reverse the World Congress decisions with which they disagree, including on Nicaragua.

6. The FB, LTT, and the OCRFI try to cover their splitting move by charging that the United Secretariat has taken a "liquidationist" course. This charge is not new from the OCRFI and other currents that have refused to join in the building of the Fourth International. However, this supposed "liquidation" has somehow resulted in a significant growth in the membership, cadres, and number of sections of the Fourth International over the past decade. It has resulted in the bringing together of the overwhelming majority of Trotskyists in the world, and no supposed "reconstruction" of the FI can take place outside it.

Contrary to the BF and LTT demagoguery and lies, the differences that have arisen in the International over such questions as characterization of the political situation in Nicaragua, the role of the Nicaraguan government, and the nature of the FSLN do not reflect any "liquidation of the program of the International." These are the type of differences that normally develop in a democratic International in the course of a developing revolution. Moreover, it is a lie that the United Secretariat supported the expulsion of the Simon Bolivar Brigade from Nicaragua. In fact, at its September 1979 session, the United Secretariat criticized that expulsion.

7. The only fundamental programmatic difference revealed in the declarations of the BF, LTT, and OCRFI concerns the necessity of building a revolutionary international based on democratic centralism; that is, the need to build simultaneously and jointly both national revolutionary parties and the World Party of Socialist Revolution, not at some future moment, but here and now. This is a center piece of the program of the Fourth International which flows unavoidably from the very nature of the class struggle under imperialism and the theory of permanent revolution, and which can only be abandoned at the price of withdrawing into "national-Trotskyism," a grotesque version of "national-communism."

The LTT, BF, and OCRFI propose to substitute a "discussion conference" for participation in the World Congress. To deny the necessity for a decision-making world congress--which combines the broadest freedom of discussion, including the right to form tendencies and factions, with the adoption of decisions binding on the membership and the election of a leadership to lead the International forward in action--means to dissolve the organization. It means to proclaim before the workers movement that the concept of building the Fourth International is bankrupt or must be put off to the indefinite future. This false view, and the splittist move by the BF and LTT, are the real expressions of the liquidationist and cadre-destroying dangers faced by the International today.

8. Despite all their political differences and different origins, the BF, LTT, and OCRFI have united in opposition to the Fourth International because, for different reasons, they cannot stand the constraints of functioning in a real international organization. The motivation for this common refusal is confused, but comes through clearly in their common Declaration. It is based on the desire of each component of the bloc to remain "master of its own house," imposing severe restrictions on internal democracy which would be impossible inside a world party that defended the elementary democratic rights of minorities. This conception substitutes the spirit and methods of a faction or sect for the task of building real revolutionary parties. No solid organization can be built on such a basis. The BF-LTT-OCRFI "regroupment" cannot last because it lacks an organizational framework corresponding to our program and traditions. This lack of a political basis is reflected in the fact that neither the LTT nor the BF have put forward any alternative general political orientation for the Fourth International. This unprincipled behavior is going to demoralize and destroy hundreds of militants and cadres.

9. The United Secretariat opened discussions with the OCRFI after that organization affirmed that it considered the Fourth International as a whole to be a revolutionary organization, that it considered the discussion could take place on the basis of the preparatory texts for the coming World Congress, and that the aim of the discussion would be the regroupment of all members of the two organizations in a single International based on democratic centralism. What occurred was a publicly expressed change of position by the OCRFI from its previous attitude of hostility toward the FI, which it saw as an "obstacle" on the road to "reconstruction" of the International, an "obstacle" that had to be destroyed. We did not make a judgement on the sincerity of this change of position or on whether it represented a maneuver. We simply reacted politically, within the framework of our general orientation in favor of the unification of all revolutionary Marxists inside the Fourth International. This is the context in which the invitation of the OCRFI to the World Congress must be seen.

The situation has again changed with the formation of the "Parity Commission" between the OCRFI, the BF, and the LTT, with the content of the "Draft Declaration" of the three groups, and with the various maneuvers carried out in preparation of this

move over the past few weeks, which included making contact and carrying out activities on the part of the OCRFI with currents in the Fourth International outside the framework of the sections. Such activity is in contradiction with recognition of the Fourth International as a revolutionary organization. These recent developments show that the OCRFI has again made a turn toward an attempt to destroy the Fourth International, not to unify with the Fourth International. Under these conditions an invitation to the OCRFI to attend the World Congress would serve no purpose.

The OCRFI, BF, and LTT are aiming to split the Fourth International over conjunctural differences. For this reason alone their splitting maneuver is unprincipled and criminal. The World Congress and the leadership that will be elected by it will take the necessary measures to continue our political offensive toward other organizations claiming to be Trotskyist with a view to defending our program, pursuing our orientation of seeking the basis for fusions with other forces moving in a revolutionary direction, and testing the political and organizational conditions for achieving unification with all Trotskyist groups within the Fourth International based on democratic centralism.

10. Therefore, the date of the World Congress is maintained, as decided by the United Secretariat of September 29-October 4. The Bureau confirms that all sections and sympathizing organizations should send their delegates as planned. The Bureau will propose to the United Secretariat and the World Congress that only those organizations that recognize the legitimacy of the congress and its decisions should be accepted as belonging to the Fourth International. The World Congress will be able to take any measures necessary to defend the integrity of the International and to assure its expansion. The sections and sympathizing organizations will likewise be able to take whatever measures necessary to defend their own integrity.

United Secretariat Bureau
October 30, 1979

NB: Attached for your information is a motion adopted by the Political Bureau of the French ICR

Motion adoptée par le Bureau politique de la LCR le 29.10.1979

Le BP prend acte que par leur déclaration publique commune avec le CORQI, les camarades Nemo, Ulysse, Seldjouk (au nom du Comité directeur de la TLT) et Cristobal (au nom de la direction de la FB) ont de toute évidence choisi de se placer hors de la IVème Internationale et de sa section française. En constituant en dehors de la IVème Internationale un "Comité paritaire", composé du Bureau du CORQI, de la direction de la FB, du Comité directeur de la TLT et en participant à la réunion internationale du CORQI, ces camarades ont réalisé une action incompatible avec leur maintien dans nos rangs: c'est un acte de scission que le BP ne peut que constater et condamner. Rien ne justifie une telle décision de scission; c'est un choix politique sans principe, criminel du point de vue de la lutte pour la construction de la IVème Internationale, de l'unification des forces trotskystes au sein de la IVème Internationale. Cette remise en cause dans les faits des délimitations programmatiques et organisationnelles de la IVème Internationale ne peut se traduire -et ces camarades le savaient- que par le fait suivant: les instances régulières auxquelles ils appartiennent ratifieront leur départ en procédant à leur exclusion. C'est ce que le BP demande à leur cellule et soumet au vote du congrès.

Le BP appelle solennellement tous les camarades, dirigeants et militants de la FB et de la TLT, qui n'approuvent pas cet acte des camarades Nemo, Ulysse, Seldjouk et Cristobal, à demeurer au sein de l'organisation et à y exercer pleinement le droit de défendre leurs positions politiques. Dès lors qu'ils le désapprouvent, qu'ils se prononcent pour le respect du cadre programmatique et organisationnel de la IVème Internationale, ils ont toute leur place dans l'Internationale et dans la LCR; en se conformant au centralisme démocratique, ils peuvent y défendre l'intégralité de leurs positions. Mais nous ne pouvons tolérer un tel acte qui aboutirait à la dilution de nos frontières organisationnelles. C'est pourquoi le BP demande à tous les membres de la LCR de se prononcer sur la motion suivante:

"La participation des camarades Nemo, Ulysse, Seldjouk et Cristobal à la réunion du Bureau International du CORQI, malgré une première condamnation du CC et sans l'accord du BP, ainsi que leur déclaration créant un "comité paritaire" de la TLT, de la FB et du CORQI constitue une rupture politique et organisationnelle avec la IVème Internationale. Nous désapprouvons cet acte. Nous considérons qu'il s'oppose à la défense de l'intégrité organisationnelle et programmatique de la IVème Internationale et qu'il est incompatible avec

l'appartenance à sa section française".

Nous appelons tous les camarades à voter cette motion. Ceux qui ne l'approuveraient pas choisiraient de remettre en cause nos normes de fonctionnement les plus élémentaires et choisiraient d'eux-mêmes de se mettre hors des rangs de la IVème Internationale et de la LCR. Nous appelons solennellement l'ensemble des camarades à se prononcer positivement pour l'unité et la construction de la IVème Internationale. Tous les militants et toutes les militantes de la section française, quelles que soient leurs opinions dans ses débats internes, doivent se porter au premier rang de ce combat pour la défense de notre parti mondial et de sa section française.

Le Bureau politique

(adopté à l'unanimité le 29.X.79)