

Balois

MINUTES OF THE UNITED SECRETARIAT MEETING  
January 27-29, 1978

PRESENT: Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Jones, Kurt, Marline, Melan, Otto, Pepe, Riel, Roman, Romero, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Thérèse, Walter

IEC PRESENT: Ahmad, Dunder, Fedeli, Karl, Mecky, Petersen, Sylvain, Williams

GUESTS: Allio, Cannon, Dario, Elettra, Ellis, Hassan, Holden, Jorge, Rocco, Sahber, Webster

- AGENDA:
1. Iran
  2. International Women's Day
  3. World Congress Preparations
  4. Indochina
  5. Britain
  6. Italy
  7. Portugal
  8. Colombia
  9. Bureau Report

Chairpersons: Stateman, Holden, Petersen

MOTION by Romero: to postpone the point on Colombia until the next United Secretariat meeting on the request of the Colombian PST leadership (for full motion, see point 8 of these minutes).

AGREED: to postpone consideration of the motion until the last day of the United Secretariat meeting.

1. Iran

Ahmad and Sahber reported on the political situation in Iran, and on the present situation of Iranian Trotskyists and the perspectives for fusion of the two organizations (the Sattar League and the Iranian Group of the Fourth International in Europe).

Discussion.

MOTION by Stateman: to concur with the plans of the Iranian comrades to establish a parity committee to discuss fusion, and with their request to ask the Bureau to assign a United Secretariat member to work with the parity committee.

CARRIED

2. International Women's Day

Susan reported on a proposal that the Bureau be delegated to write a declaration of the Fourth International on the occasion of March 8, International Women's Day, which will be sent to sections for use in their press and will also be printed in Inprecor-Intercontinental Press.

Allio reported on the situation of international coordination of actions concerning repression against women and the right to abortion and employment.

Discussion.

PROPOSAL FOR DECLARATION CARRIED

### 3. World Congress Preparations

A. Thérèse reported on progress in writing a new draft resolution on the women's liberation struggle for the next World Congress. Following a meeting of the International Women's Commission of European comrades January 14-15, Thérèse, Allio, and Susan have written a new draft, which will be discussed at an International Women's Commission meeting in North America February 27-28 and then will be placed before the March 31-April 2 meeting of the United Secretariat. The draft will be distributed to members of the United Secretariat prior to this meeting.

B. Duret reported on the situation regarding the resolutions on Europe and on the World Political Situation for the next World Congress. The Bureau will send an outline of a draft resolution on Europe to IEC members, and will organize a meeting of European Political Bureaus to discuss the outline. On the basis of this discussion, a draft will be written. After consultation with the European sections, the Bureau will send a letter notifying comrades of the date and location of the meeting of European Political Bureaus.

Comrades Walter and Celso have begun work on an outline of the World Political Resolution.

C. Susan reported on several points concerning the International Internal Discussion Bulletin (IIDB).

#### 1. Procedures for submissions to the IIDB.

In 1976 the United Secretariat adopted a set of guidelines for dividing the space in the IIDB. This corresponded to a situation in which the International was divided into two major formations (IMT and LTF), and most of the discussion contributions were coming from the two formations. These guidelines obviously do not apply any longer, since the majority of the International is not in any tendency at the present time. Thus, we return to the normal procedures for submissions to the IIDB with no special division of pages. Contributions to the IIDB are normally submitted to the United Secretariat for its approval by leaderships of sections or sympathizing organizations, by members of the International Executive Committee, or by international tendencies. In the case of contributions from individual comrades, these should be submitted first to the leadership of the section or sympathizing organization of which they are a member. The national leadership should consider whether the contribution in question belongs in the international discussion bulletin, or whether it would be more appropriate to publish it in the internal bulletin of the section (which are normally circulated internationally as well). The national leadership should make a recommendation to the United Secretariat along these lines, which the United Secretariat can take into account in making a decision on the contribution.

#### 2. Suggested priorities for discussion contributions.

It was agreed at the December 13-14, 1977, meeting of the United Secretariat that the agenda of the next World Congress should be restricted to at most four or five points, in order to hold the congress relatively quickly. It appears clear now that the resolutions on women's liberation, the world political situation and Europe will be prepared early enough to be placed on the

World Congress agenda for a vote. Therefore these points should be priorities for contributions to the IIDB (although, of course, discussion remains open on all the points that have been proposed for the World Congress agenda, enumerated in the motion from the last United Secretariat meeting).

Discussion.

3. Spanish-language discussion bulletin.

Until now, the Spanish-language bulletin has been published in a decentralized and haphazard manner.

MOTION: That the Bureau take responsibility for assuring the publication and distribution of the IIDB in Spanish, in collaboration with the Spanish-speaking sections.

CARRIED

4. Indochina

Roman introduced a discussion on the statement by the Bureau on the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict, published in the January 20, 1978, issue of the French-language edition of Inprecor-Intercontinental Press (no. 20).

Discussion.

5. Britain

Brewster reported on the perspectives of the International Marxist Group regarding the possibilities for regroupment of revolutionary Marxists in Britain.

Discussion.

6. Portugal

Jorge reported on the current political situation and the prospects for fusion between the PRT and the LCI

Romero made additional report on fusion prospects.

PROPOSAL by Jorge: that the Bureau write its comments on the fusion proposals put forward by both the LCI and the PRT.

AGREED: to refer this question to the Bureau.

7. Italy

Rocco (GCR -- Italian section) and Dario (LSR) reported on the political situation in Italy.

Fedeli (GCR) and Dario (LSR) reported on prospects for fusion between the GCR and the LSR.

Discussion.

8. Colombia

MOTION by Romero: In view of the fact that several weeks ago the leadership of the Colombian PST asked that the discussion on Colombia be postponed until the next United Secretariat meeting, since already-planned activities regarding the electoral campaign made it impossible for them to send representatives of their leadership to the January meeting;

In view of the fact that, for the above-mentioned reasons, the representative of the Argentine PST asked one week ago to postpone the discussion on Colombia in order that the Colombian PST comrades could participate in it;

The United Secretariat decides to postpone the discussion on Colombia to its next meeting.

COUNTERMOTION by Petersen: To proceed to hear a reading of two letters to the United Secretariat, one from the leadership of the Colombian PST and another from the Proletarian Democracy Tendency of the PST, which explain the importance of maintaining the point on Colombia on the agenda.

MOTION BY PETERSEN CARRIED

Letter from PST(C) leadership read (see Attachment A). Appeal from Proletarian Democracy Tendency read (see Attachment B).

Statement by Romero: Despite the request made by the comrades of the Colombian PST to postpone discussion on Colombia until the next meeting in order that they could participate in it, the United Secretariat Bureau decided to include Colombia on the agenda. The United Secretariat majority has now rejected the proposal I made in the same sense, and thus has decided to have a discussion from which the most interested parties (or, as it were the principal indictees) will be purposely excluded. This decision, which violates the elementary rights of the Colombian party and leadership to hear the charges against them and to answer them, is aimed at taking further steps in the frame-up being prepared against the Colombian PST, the Bolshevik Tendency, and in the final analysis once more against the leadership of the Argentine PST and Comrade Moreno himself. It is also a decision which breaks with the practice of the United Secretariat, which often postpones for months discussions and decisions as important or even more important than this one. For instance, to give only some examples, the discussion on the character of the famous document entitled "The Red Book" ("El Libro Rojo") written by the PRT Combatiente, as well as on the break of this organization from the Fourth International. More recently, discussions have not been carried out with the same speed on the case of Fausto Amador. The attitude taken by the United Secretariat majority is determined solely by the factional interests of the unprincipled bloc which is attempting to obstruct the fight in which the comrades of the Colombian PST are engaged, the fight for a real Leninist combat party and, more generally, the fight of our tendency to defend truly Bolshevik policy, party regime, and morality inside the International. This profoundly anti-democratic decision deepens the action initiated by comrades Jean Pierre and Hansen in their intervention in the PST Central Committee meeting; in this way, it opens a new and serious situation in the International to which my party and the Bolshevik Tendency will not fail to respond.

These considerations have led me to decide to refrain from

from intervening (and from participating in any kind of vote) on the item on Colombia, to ask that my declaration be added to the minutes, and, as a member of the United Secretariat, the leadership of the Argentine PST and the Bolshevik Tendency, to denounce the arbitrary nature of the decision taken by the new majority of the United Secretariat, which I do not consider valid.

Statement by Duret and Stateman: In light of the report made by Comrade Riel at the United Secretariat meeting held at the end of October, the United Secretariat Bureau asked comrades Riel, **Pepe**, and Enrique to attend in the capacity of observers the meeting of the Colombian PST Central Committee, held December 9-12, 1978.

1. The United Secretariat Bureau, through a letter and telephone calls, immediately informed the leadership of the Colombian PST that this delegation would be sent. The leadership did not have any objections. The Bureau asked the delegation to make a report to the next meeting of the United Secretariat. At the end of the CC meeting, the delegation made it known to the meeting that a point on the internal situation in the PST would be placed on the agenda of the United Secretariat meeting of January 27-29, and not the meeting scheduled for December 17-18.

2. In a letter dated January 5, 1978, sent to the leadership of the PST, the United Secretariat Bureau confirmed that the point on Colombia would be placed on the agenda of the January United Secretariat meeting. In another letter dated January 17, the Bureau explicitly invited the leadership to participate in this United Secretariat meeting. In order to ensure that this invitation would reach the leadership, on January 18 Comrade Sylvain spoke on the telephone with Camilo Gonzalez, political secretary of the PST-C, in order to repeat this invitation. In another telephone call on January 20, Comrade Sylvain informed Comrade Gonzalez that the point on the internal situation in the PST would be on the agenda.

3. Thus, comrades Riel, **Pepe**, and Enrique had been mandated to report to the January United Secretariat. Following this, every step was taken in order to inform the leadership of the PST of all procedures and in order to ensure the presence of a representative of this leadership. Finally, the United Secretariat received an appeal from seven members of the PST Central Committee, along with a list of more than 300 members and candidates who had been "separated from the party" for having demanded the right to form a tendency or for calling for a special convention of the PST. These disciplinary actions were a violation of the statutes of the PST and those of the Fourth International.

All this not only justified, but made it necessary to place the point on the situation in the Colombian PST on the agenda of this United Secretariat.

Riel reported on developments in the Colombian PST.

#### Discussion.

MOTION by Riel: to adopt the following resolution on the crisis in the Colombian PST:

A communication dated January 20, 1978, was received by the United Secretariat from leading members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) of Colombia who formed the Proletarian Democracy Tendency. The communication appeals the disciplinary

measures consisting of both temporary and permanent expulsions (suspensions, "separation from the party," etc.) taken against them by the majority of the Central Committee essentially for having called for the formation of a tendency and for having demanded a special convention to consider what to do about the crisis that threatened to split the party.

After hearing the reports of the comrades designated by the United Secretariat to attend the Central Committee and help the process of unification in Colombia, after studying the documentation, and after discussing the crisis in the PST and its ramifications, the United Secretariat reached the following conclusions:

1. In their decision of December 10, 11, 12, 1977, banning tendencies and factions, the majority of the Central Committee of the PST violated the provisions in the statutes of the Fourth International upholding internal democracy.

"El CC no autoriza la formacion de la tendencia democracia proletaria ni ninguna otra tendencia o fraccion antes del proximo periodo precongreso después de las elecciones presidenciales de 1978."

("The CC does not authorize the formation of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency or any other tendency or faction before the next pre-congress period after the presidential elections of 1978.")

The statutes read as follows on this point: (Section VII, point 29, letter g)

"g) les décisions sont acquises par vote à la majorité. Les minorités sont obligées d'appliquer les décisions majoritaires. Mais les minorités ont le droit incontestable de se constituer en tendances ou fractions sur la base d'une plate-forme établie et de jouir de droits démocratiques tels que:

- présenter leurs positions aux membres de leurs sections nationales pendant la période de discussion préparatoire aux congrès nationaux;
- présenter leurs positions aux membres de l'Internationale au moyen du Bulletin intérieur pendant la période de discussion antérieure au Congrès;
- être représentée dans les organismes dirigeants en considération de leur importance numérique et politique. Cela ne signifie pas que toute minorité, si petite soit-elle, a droit de représentation dans un organisme dirigeant ni qu'il y ait représentation proportionnelle des minorités. La Quatrième Internationale décide par votre majoritaire et cela implique le droit de la majorité de s'assurer une majorité opérante lorsqu'il existe de vives divergences. Mais c'est également le devoir de la majorité de sauvegarder les droits de la minorité et ceci signifie qu'une minorité ne doit pas être pénalisée parce qu'elle a une position minoritaire."

(This refers to the right to form tendencies and factions and not the form of the debate, which remains the responsibility of the leadership.)

It should be observed that the majority of the Central Committee of the PST compounded their violation of the statutes of the Fourth International by banning only one tendency, the one formed by comrades critical of the practices of the majority of the Central

Committee. For themselves, the majority of the Central Committee use a formation of their own, the Bolshevik Tendency, to promulgate their views.

2. In rejecting the call of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency for a special convention, the majority of the Central Committee also violated the provisions of the statutes of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. The statutes read as follows on this point:

"El Congreso Especial del Partido podra citarse en qualquier momento por un tercio (1/3) de la militancia o de las celulas de base, por un tercio del Comite Central (1/3), o por la mayoria del Comite Ejecutivo. El lapso entre su citacion y el momento de su realizacion no puede ser menos de un (1) mes."

("A special convention of the party can be called at any time by one-third (1/3) of the rank-and-file members or cells, by one-third of the Central Committee (1/3), or by a majority of the Executive Committee. The lag between the call and the time of its realization cannot be less than one (1) month.")

This provision of the statutes has been met.

Citing association with the call for a special convention and adherence to the Proletarian Democracy Tendency as grounds for expulsion (other grounds were also cited -- all of them of a flimsy or dubious nature), the majority of the Central Committee launched a purge that may well involve a majority of the ranks of the party.

The violation of internal democracy committed by the majority of the Central Committee has done serious damage to the PST and threatens to lead to still worse consequences.

The "separation" of Comrade Socorro Ramirez from the PST was a heavy blow to her presidential candidacy and to the entire electoral campaign of the PST and the Unidad Obrera y Socialista. News of the expulsion, as was to be expected, spread rapidly throughout Colombia, creating a first-rate political scandal, much to the delight of the enemies of Trotskyism.

The purge of the party, involving hundreds of members, provided fresh bits of scandal for the use of enemies of Trotskyism.

The antidemocratic actions of the majority of the Central Committee set up fresh barriers to the unification of Trotskyist forces in Colombia (organized in the PST and the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria) and greatly lessened the attractiveness of the Trotskyist movement as a whole among the left. The old myth about Trotskyism being the same thing as Stalinism was given fresh currency.

Worst of all has been the effect on the party of the course followed by the majority of the Central Committee. Their antidemocratic procedures have led to the destruction of cadres and now threaten to shatter the PST.

The Central Committee acts under the control of the top leadership of the Bolshevik Tendency, which intervenes directly in the decision-making process. Thus, the top leadership of this international faction bears responsibility for the acute crisis of the Colombian PST.

In view of the above facts and the refusal of the majority of the CC to abide by the statutes, the United Secretariat recognizes the validity of the appeal of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency.

The positions taken by this tendency, it should be added, are in accordance with the principles of the Fourth International. This is clearly shown by the tendency's programmatic declarations and course of action.

The United Secretariat strongly urges the majority of the Central Committee to end its violations of the statutes of the Fourth International and the PST by withdrawing the disciplinary measures taken against members of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency, restoring them forthwith to their positions in the party, and holding the special convention called for by more than one-third of the membership of the PST.

(translation)

Un comunicado fechado el 20 de enero de 1977, fue recibido por el Secretariado Unificado de parte de ciertos miembros de dirección del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) de Colombia, quienes formaban parte de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria. El comunicado hace un llamado a las medidas disciplinarias consistentes tanto en expulsiones permanentes como temporales (suspensiones, "separación del partido", etc.) tomadas en contra de ellos por la mayoría del Comité Central, esencialmente por haber llamado a la formación de una tendencia y por haber pedido una convención especial para considerar que hacer en relación a la crisis que amenazaba con escindir al partido.

Después de escuchar el reporte de los comaradas designados por el Secretariado Unificado para asistir al Comité Central y ayudar al proceso de unificación en Colombia, después de estudiar la documentación, y después de discutir la crisis en el PST y sus ramificaciones, el Secretariado Unificado llegó a las siguientes conclusiones:

1. En la decisión tomada el 10, 11, y 12 de diciembre, donde se prohíben las tendencias y facciones, la mayoría del Comité Central violó las especificaciones de los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional que fundamentan la democracia interna.

"El CC no autoriza la formación de la tendencia democracia proletaria ni ninguna otra tendencia o fracción antes del próximo período precongreso después de las elecciones presidenciales de 1978".

Los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional especifican lo siguiente sobre este punto: (Sección VII, 29, g)

"g) Les décisions sont acquises par vote à la majorité. Les minorités sont obligées d'appliquer les décisions majoritaires. Mais les minorités ont le droit incontestable de se constituer en tendances ou fractions sur la base d'une plateforme établie et de jouir de droits démocratiques tels que :

- présenter leurs positions aux membres de leurs sections nationales pendant la période de discussion préparatoire aux congrès nationaux;
- présenter leurs positions aux membres de l'Internationale au moyen du Bulletin intérieur pendant la période de discussion antérieure au Congrès;
- être représentées dans les organismes dirigeants en considération de leur importance numérique et politique. Cela ne signifie pas que toute minorité, si petite soit-elle, a droit de représentation dans un organisme dirigeant ni qu'il y ait représentation proportionnelle des minorités. La Quatrième Internationale décide par vote majoritaire et cela implique le droit de la majorité de s'assurer une



majorité opérante lorsqu'il existe de vives divergences. Mais c'est également le devoir de la majorité de sauvegarder les droits de la minorité et ceci signifie qu'une minorité ne doit pas être pénalisée parce qu'elle a une position minoritaire".

(Esto se refiera al derecho de formar tendencias o facciones, y no a la forma del debate, la cual sigue siendo una responsabilidad de la direccion.)

Debe observarse que la mayoría del Comité Central del PST fue mas lejos en su violacion de los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional al proscribir solamente a una tendencia, la formada por los camaradas criticos a las practicas de la mayoría del Comité Central. En cuanto a ellos mismos, la mayoría del Comité Central utiliza una formacion propia, la Tendencia Bolchevique, para promulgar sus puntos de vista.

2. Al rechazar el llamado de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria para una convencion especial, la mayoría del Comité Central tambien violo las previsiones de los estatutos del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. Los estatutos especifican lo siguiente en este punto:

"El congreso especial del Partido podra citarse en cualquier momento por un tercio (1/3) de la militancia o de las celulas de base, por un tercio (1/3) del Comité Central, o por la mayoría del Comité Ejecutivo. El lapso entre su citacion y el momento de su realizacion no puede ser menos de un (1) mes".

Este requisito de los estatutos fue cumplido.

Al citar la asociacion con el llamado para una convencion especial y la adherencia a la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria como fundamentos para expulsar (otros elementos fueron citados -- todos de naturaleza fragil o dudosa), la mayoría del Comité Central lanzo una purga que puede muy bien implicar a una mayoría de las filas del partido.

Las violaciones a la democracia interna cometidas por la mayoría del Comité Central han provocado un serio daño al Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores y ellas amenazan con llevarnos aun a peores consecuencias.

La "separacion" de la camarada Socorro Ramirez del PST fue un golpe fuerte a su candidatura presidencial y para el conjunto de la campaña electoral del PST y de la Unidad Obrera y Socialista. Las noticias sobre la expulsion, como era de esperarse, se extendieron rapidamente por todo Colombia, creando un escandalo politico de primer orden, para el gran placer de los enemigos del trotskismo.

La purga del partido, que involucra a cientos de miembros, proveyo un material nuevo de escandalo para el uso de los enemigos del trotskismo.

Las acciones antidemocraticas de la mayoría del Comité Central levantan nuevas barreras para la unificacion de las fuerzas trotskistas en Colombia (organizadas en el PST y la Liga Comunista Revolucionaria) y han lesionado gravemente la fuerza de atraccion del movimiento trotskista como un todo entre la izquierda. El viejo mito, en torno al trotskismo considerado como algo similar al stalinismo, recibio un nuevo aliento.

Lo peor de todo ha sido el efecto sobre el partido, del curso seguido por la mayoría del Comité Central. Sus procedimientos antidemocraticos han conducido a la destruccion de cuadros y ahora amenazan con destruir al PST.

El Comité Central actúa bajo el control de la alta dirección de la tendencia bolchevique, quien interviene directamente, en su proceso de toma de decisiones. Así, la dirección de esta fracción internacional carga con la responsabilidad de la aguda crisis del PST colombiano.

En vista de los hechos arriba mencionados, y del rechazo de la mayoría del CC de apegarse a los estatutos, el Secretariado Unificado reconoce la validez del llamado de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria. Las posiciones de esta tendencia, hay que añadir, van de acuerdo con los principios de la Cuarta Internacional. Esto se demuestra claramente con las declaraciones programáticas y el rumbo de acción de la tendencia.

El Secretariado Unificado urge fuertemente a la mayoría del Comité Central de poner fin a sus violaciones de los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional y del PST, retirando las medidas disciplinarias tomadas en contra de los miembros de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria, reinstalándolos inmediatamente a sus posiciones en el partido, y realizando una convención especial convocada por más de un tercio de la membresía del PST.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 22 (Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Enrique, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Holden, Marline, Otto, Pepe, Petersen, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Sylvain, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 0

Abstaining: 0

Not voting: 0

Statement by Marline: I agree with the resolution proposed by the United Secretariat on the crisis in the Colombian PST. But I stress that:

1) the question of the relation and articulation between the statutes of the International and those of national sections must be spelled out clearly and made the object of a discussion on democratic centralism in the framework of the preparation for the World Congress;

2) this discussion must enable us to differentiate between factions and tendencies: a resolution adopted by the French Central Committee has defined the LCR's position on this question.

MOTION by Riel: The United Secretariat has been informed of the grave crisis that Editorial Pluma is now experiencing and of the many consequences that it has already had, particularly in Colombia.

1. The United Secretariat reaffirms the principle of the necessary separation between any autonomous commercial enterprise and the political organization.

2. The United Secretariat specifies that, on the basis of this traditional criterion, Editorial Pluma, which is a strictly autonomous commercial enterprise, has never been dependent on any body of the Fourth International nor is it linked to it in any way whatsoever. Moreover, no organism of the Fourth International has ever discussed or been consulted on the activities of Pluma.

3. As a result, the name and the authority of the Fourth International or any of its bodies cannot be invoked or used in relation to the present crisis of Pluma and its implications on all levels.

(translation)

El Secretariado Unificado, informado de la grave crisis que atraviezan las ediciones Pluma y de las multiples consecuencias que esta tiene desde ahora, particularmente en Colombia :

1. Reafirma el principio de una separacion necesaria entre cualquier tipo de empresa comercial autonoma y la organizacion politica.

2. Precisa que, sobre la base de este criterio tradicional, las ediciones Pluma, que son una empresa autonoma estrictamente comercial, nunca han dependido de ninguna instancia de la Cuarta Internacional, ni han estado ligadas a ella de ninguna manera. Nunca ningun organismo de la Internacional ha discutido, ni ha sido consultada sobre la actividad de Pluma.

3. En consecuencia, tanto el nombre y la autoridad de la Cuarta Internacional como de cualquiera de sus instancias no pueden ser invocados o utilizados tratandose de la crisis de Pluma, ni de cualquiera de sus implicaciones en todos los ordenes.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 22 (Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Enrique, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Holden, Marline, Otto, Pepe, Petersen, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan Sylvain, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 0

Abstaining: 0

Not voting: 0

## 9. Bureau Report

A. Duret reported on a proposal to discuss the elections for a European Parliament and what should be the Fourth International's intervention in these elections at a meeting of European political bureaus. A date will be proposed in a letter from the Bureau to sections.

B. MOTION by Stateman: To publish in the International Internal Discussion Bulletin the motion on developments in the Colombian PST, the report by Riel on Colombia, and documentary materials.

Discussion.

CARRIED

C. Sylvain read a motion passed by the Colombian PST leadership (see Attachment C).

MOTION by Sylvain: To reject the "Resolution on Fausto Amador Adopted by the Central Committee of the PST," since there exist no new elements which would make it necessary for the United Secretariat to reconsider this case. This means that the motion concerning Comrade Amador passed at the October 29-31, 1977, meeting of the United Secretariat remains in force. The United Secretariat also rejects the proposal for a public discussion concerning Comrade Amador, which could only be harmful to our movement.

For: 17 (Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Dunder, Duret, Frej, Holden, Otto, Pepe, Petersen, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Sylvain, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 1 (Romero)

Abstaining: 3 (Claudio, Georges, Marline)

Not voting: 0

D. Melan reported on a letter received from Comrade Antonio (see Attachment D) reconsidering his previous request to resign from the Fourth International (see minutes of December 13-14, 1977, meeting of the United Secretariat).

AGREED: That Comrade Antonio remains a member of the Fourth International, and a comrade from the Bureau should try to discuss with him his future work in a section of the International.

E. Proposal by Romero: to include a point on the agenda of the next United Secretariat to discuss relations with the Dissident Faction of the MIR.

AGREED: to refer this proposal to the Bureau.

Meeting adjourned.

## ATTACHMENT A

Letter to the United Secretariat from the PST of Colombia

Bogotá, enero 25 de 1978

Camaradas  
Secretariado Unificado de la IV Internacional  
Bruselas

Estimados camaradas:

For la información telefónica recibida desde París, nos pareció que no se había tomado una resolución definitiva sobre nuestra solicitud de aplazar la discusión acerca de la situación interna del PST Colombiano para la reunión del SU de marzo próximo. Esta solicitud nuestra se fundamenta en la complete imposibilidad de que una delegación de nuestro Comité Ejecutivo se desplazará a Europe en este momento, dadas las grandes tareas que nos impone la proximidad de las elecciones a corporaciones (que se realizará en menos de un mes) y las dificultades financieras que sufrimos después de seis meses de campana electoral en la cual nuestro partido ha costeado el 95% de todos los gastos. Por las palabras del Camarada Robs nos pareció, sin embargo, que se rechazaba nuestro pedido. Y, en el día hoy, en reunión con el Secretariado de nuestro Partido, el Camarada Riel nos ratificó que la discusión sobre la situación interna del PST colombiano no sería postergada, aún cuando nuestro Partido no pudiera estar presente en ella. Ante esta situación de hecho les hacemos llegar por escrito nuestra posición al respecto.

1- El no aplazamiento de la discusión sobre Colombia tal como lo solicitamos, significa para nosotros la posibilidad de nuevas maniobras por parte de la mayoría del SU en contra de nuestro Partido. Sabemos por J. Pierre que se pretende acusarnos con terribles cargos y saben ustedes que nos es imposible estar presentes para responderlos y sin embargo proceden con un criterio fraccionalista y antidemocrático.

Para nosotros los problemas urgentes de la situación colombiana son los de la lucha de clases y dentro de ello los de la campana electoral. Nuestro Partido, respaldado por la TB ha impulsado la línea de las Candidaturas Obreras y Socialistas que ha ganado el reconocimiento de todo el trotskismo colombiano, pero sobre esto parece que no existe en el SU ninguna premura en discutir. Para sacar las lecciones necesarias para la Internacional. El objetivo de tal discusión tan inaplazable a juicio del buró, no puede ser el ayudar a superar los problemas sino el dar bases para la anunciada campana propagandística contra nuestro Partido y la TB con la cual la delegación del SU al Comité Central de diciembre nos quiso amenazar, intimidar y chantajear.

2- Esta actitud fraccionalista por parte de la mayoría del SU, no es más que otro paso de la actuación política que venía implementando en Colombia. Podemos decir que toda la política de la TMI se orientó a dividir y debilitar al trotskismo colombiano, en lugar de unificarlo y fortalecerlo. Comenzó con las visitas del camarada Mandel, en las cuales dió en espaldarazo a una línea de unificación "en dos etapas" absolutamente sectaria y excluyente frente a nuestro Partido. Esa línea, y junto con ella las esperanzas de lograr a través de unificaciones sin principios una sección pro-TMI más fuerte que nuestro Partido, fracasó estrepitosamente al producir ese grupo paralizado por la lucha interna que fué la LCR. Ante la evidencia del desastre el camarada Mandel no volvió a aparecer por Colombia y fué sustituido por el camarada Riel.

El camarada Riel tuvo un gran acierto práctico -aunque no auto-crítico-: reconocer el fracaso político y organizativo de la línea de la TMI en Colombia y el triunfo político y organizativo de nuestro partido y la Tendencia Bolchevique. De allí que se orientara a salvar lo que quedaba de aquel sector, para la cual debió de ayudar a dividirlo y aliviarlo del lastre del ala más recalcitrantemente ultraizquierdista (la ex-LOC) ayudar a alinearlos junto a nuestra política electoral y en un proyecto de unificación del trotskismo colombiano que reconocía en el PST su columna vertebral, tanto política como organizativamente. Desgraciadamente ahora viene a manifestarse que estos pasos positivos del camarada Riel fueron forzados por las circunstancias por eso ahora, que estima se ha creado una situación favorable para seguir con el fraccionalismo retoma sus viejas prácticas y métodos. En esta oportunidad contó con el apoyo y colaboración de la ex-FLT representada por el camarada Hansen.

Ya se puede hacer un primer balance de la actuación de ese bloque sin principios que hoy dirige mayoritariamente nuestra Internacional, han alentado y logrado la ruptura con nuestro Partido de un grupo minoritario de camaradas que encontraron en el fraccionalismo de la mayoría del SU un apropiado caldo de cultivo para su propio fraccionalismo. Podemos decir que atacar a nuestro Partido - uno de los más dinámicos y promisorios de la IV Internacional- y tratar de liquidarlo ha sido la primer tarea práctica del bloque que hoy dirige nuestra Internacional. Por este primer paso se puede vaticinar su futura trayectoria.

3- Las características del grupo de compañeros que rompieron con nuestro Partido fueron perfectamente conocidas por la delegación del SU que estuvo presente en nuestro CC de diciembre de 1977. Su fraccionalismo interno y público quedó ampliamente demostrado. Pero la delegación del SU no vino a Colombia a invitar al grupo fraccionalista a acatar las resoluciones unánimes que en materia política y organizativa habían sido aprobadas dos meses antes por el Congreso de Fundación del PST -resoluciones tan correctas que el propio camarada Riel las defendió dentro de la LCR. No vino tampoco a presionar al grupo fraccionalista para que cumpliera con una de las reglas básicas del centralismo democrático: el acatamiento por parte de la minoría a las resoluciones de la mayoría. La distribución pública de materiales internos del PST y de la IV Internacional en el teatro donde se realizó la Convención Nacional Electoral no fué motivo de censura para Hansen ni para Riel. Ninguno de los tres delegados del SU salió en defensa del camarada Moreno, calumniosa e irresponsablemente acusado por el grupo fraccionalista de comprar dirigentes de nuestro Partido con dinero, ni defendió a nuestros dirigentes acusados de vendidos. Ninguno de ellos defendió a una editorial trotskista atacada con métodos burgueses por el burgués Jorge Posada Lalinde "casualmente" amigo del grupo fraccionalista y compañero de una de sus integrantes, Socorro Ramírez.

Lo que hicieron los delegados del SU fué convertirse en los teóricos justificadores de la reacción antiargentina que es propia del grupo fraccionalista de Ricardo Sánchez y Socorro Ramírez. La manida tesis de la destrucción de cuadros, del aniquilamiento de dirigentes "pensantes", de copamiento, desplazamiento y sustitución de direcciones nacionales por parte de argentinos "morenistas" fué claramente sustentada por Hansen, quien se convirtió en defensor de primera línea de los fraccionalistas. El principal blanco de los delegados del SU fueron los compañeros del PST Argentino; los ataques contra ellos se realizaron en un terreno que avala la campaña chovinista que se ha venido desarrollando últimamente. La nueva moral que parece orientar a la mayoría del SU no es la de condenar sin vacilaciones las acusaciones irresponsables y canallescas contra

camaradas probados una y mil veces en la lucha de clases más aguda y bajo la represión más sanguinaria. Por el contrario, es la de no pronunciarse, insinuar dudas, pedir comisiones de investigación -que los propios calumniadores no se atreven a pedir ante la evidencia de que sus acusaciones no podrían ser sustentadas- y convertirse así de hecho en parte acusadora. Todo esto es una conducta bien coherente con la teoría de la "colonización" argentina, teoría que no hace sino encubrir la incapacidad política para dirigir a nuestra Internacional y la incapacidad aún mayor para responder a las críticas y las alternativas políticas presentadas por la Tendencia Bolchevique hace más de un año.

4- Como era inevitable, el fraccionalismo desesperado de quienes por razones de prestigio quieren conservar a toda costa la dirección de la Internacional pese a su probada incapacidad para ejercerla frente a acontecimientos claves de la lucha de clases como Argentina y Bolivia primero, Portugal, Angola y España más tarde, terminó no sólo en un frente sin principios entre trotskistas fue más allá, hasta la complicidad, colaboración con elementos burgueses y lumpenes.

Así, el camarada Riel invitó bajo su responsabilidad al plenario del PRT mexicano al burgués Jorge Posada Lalinde, a sabiendas de que este señor había intentado estafar a la Editorial Pluma (como consta en su propia declaración manuscrita que adjuntamos), que la había embargado y que había intentado hacerla quebrar, y que había sido declarado enemigo del PST y de la IV Internacional por el CC de diciembre del PST. En una clara actitud fraccionalista y de aval a este elemento burgués, el camarada Jean Pierre no tomó en cuenta la posición de una organización que se reclama de la IV Internacional sino que dió su respaldo a un individuo cuestionado por esa organización y que no había sido defendido por ningún trotskista en Colombia ni en ninguna parte del mundo.

Peor aún es la campaña desatada por un elemento lumpen como Umberto Valverde desde la prensa burguesa contra los compañeros del PST argentino que se han visto obligados por el golpe de Videla a trasladar a Colombia, y particularmente contra el camarada Moreno, cuyos recortes adjuntamos. Este periodista, amigo personal de Ricardo Sánchez y de otros integrantes del grupo fraccionalista se presenta con el respaldo de dicho grupo como integrante del PST colombiano (del cual nunca fué militante), ha lanzado una verdadera cruzada de tipo policial contra los compañeros argentinos. El carácter violentamente chovinista de esa campaña es evidente. Las acusaciones referidas a estafas, conductas "mafiosas", uso de armas, etcétera, son un llamado no sólo al atraso nacionalista de las masas colombianas, sino a la intervención directa del aparato de represión estatal. En la reunión celebrada en el día 25 con el camarada Riel (cuyas cintas grabadas están a disposición del SU) le exigimos una intervención de su parte como miembro del SU ante la ICR y ante el grupo fraccionalista para emitir una declaración repudiando la campaña policiva y chovinista de Umberto Valverde. El camarada Riel, demostrando su complicidad con este elemento y esta metodología lumpenes y policiales -en tanto le sirven para su propósito fundamental: liquidar al PST- se negó a intervenir en tal sentido.

Finalmente, un tercer elemento que tiene que ver con la descomposición moral de la delegación del SU, en especial del Camarada Riel, es su no respuesta a las acusaciones contra el camarada Moreno. Su réplica acerca de que es necesario una investigación no hace sino alentar a los calumniadores a seguir con la calumnia. Nadie hasta el momento se ha atrevido a realizar formalmente cargos contra el camarada Moreno, los fraccionalistas se han limitado a los chismes pri-

vados y públicos. Ni siquiera ellos se han animado a pedir una comisión investigadora contra el camarada Moreno para probar sus supuestas maniobras de compra de dirigentes y de otro tipo. Ellos saben que el camarada Moreno en el último medio año ha pasado escasamente un mes en Colombia, dadas las tareas que le han sido asignadas por el PST argentino y la Tendencia Bolchevique, que lo obligan a viajar constantemente. Ellos saben que el resultado de una comisión investigadora sería el descalificar a los calumniadores y ponerlos por fuera de la Internacional. El camarada Jean Pierre, en una actitud aparentemente "neutral" pero de contenido absolutamente fraccionalista ha declarado que exigirá del SU el envío de una comisión investigadora a Colombia, pese a que no existen cargos formales presentados. Esta conducta es totalmente inadmisibile: no se puede aceptar una comisión que investigue sobre rumores; si el camarada Jean Pierre pide una comisión investigadora es porque comparte los cargos, en cuyo caso debe presentarlos y bien documentados. Si no lo hace, el camarada Riel es el mismo un calumniador y como tal debe ser tratado dentro de la Internacional.

5- Por todas estas razones: por haber desarrollado una política fraccionalista orientada a intentar liquidar a nuestro Partido; por haberse hecho cómplices con su silencio de las calumnias contra los compañeros argentinos, contra el camarada Moreno y contra los dirigentes del PST colombiano; por haberse aliado con un burgués que intentaba destruir a una Editorial trotskista; por haberse hecho cómplices de facto de un lumpen que desarrolla una campaña pública chovinista y policial a través de la prensa burguesa; por haber alentado a una corriente pequeñoburguesa y fraccionalista a romper con el partido; por todo ello consideramos a la delegación del SU integrada por los camaradas Riel Hansen y Galarza moralmente impedida para dar ninguna clase de informe al SU sobre la situación de nuestro partido. Por esa misma razón habríamos querido estar presentes en el SU para desenmascarar ante toda la IV Internacional la descomposición política y moral de estos camaradas. Si el SU no quiere caer tan bajo como han caído los camaradas Riel Hansen y Galarza, si quiere demostrar a la Internacional que su actual mayoría no es un frente sin principios contra la Tendencia Bolchevique y contra nuestro partido, si quiere que quede claro que no comparte las alianzas que sus representantes han realizado con lumpenes y burgueses, si quiere deslindarse de los métodos chovinistas y policiales que el grupo fraccionalista y los delegados del SU han apañado, el SU debe acoger las propuestas que hace el Comité Ejecutivo del PST y que a continuación resumimos:

a. Suspender la discusión sobre Colombia para el próximo SU, en el cual estará presente una delegación del PST colombiano;

b. repudiar públicamente y declarar enemigo de la IV Internacional al lumpen Umberto Valverde y a su campaña chovinista y policial contra los exiliados del PST argentino en Colombia;

c. repudiar públicamente y declarar enemigo de la IV Internacional al burgués Jorge Posada y a su intento de liquidar una Editorial trotskista;

d. exigir de la LCR y de la autodenominada "Tendencia Democracia Proletaria" una definición pública en el mismo tono que los puntos b. y c. así como el cese inmediato de la campaña chovinista que está realizando y que pone en peligro la seguridad de los compañeros argentinos en Colombia (ver "Buletín Interno No. 1" de la "Tendencia Democracia Proletaria", adjunto);

e. exigir de todos aquellos que en el Congreso de Fundación del PST, en el Comité Central de diciembre y en diversas reuniones hicieron cargos morales contra el camarada Moreno y la dirección del



January 27-29, 1978

PST colombiano que presenten esos cargos por escrito en el plazo de un mes. Si esos cargos no se presentan sancionar por calumniadores a todos los compañeros que los efectuaron ante la simple presentación por parte de la dirección del PST de las cintas grabadas en donde consta que dichos cargos fueron proferidos;

f. Llamar a la autodenominada "Tendencia Democracia Proletaria" a acatar la disciplina impuesta por la mayoría de la dirección y la amplia mayoría de la base del PST colombiano, verificada en el Congreso de Fundación, en el CC de diciembre y en los plenarios regionales organizados posteriormente;

g. Llamar al Comité Ejecutivo de la LCR a cesar en su curso fraccionalista y a volver a los acuerdos sobre unificación logrados anteriormente y aprobados por el camarada Riel;

h. Apoyar la campaña electoral y condenar todo ataque público y sabotaje a la actividad del PST.

Fraternalmente,  
Comité Ejecutivo  
Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores

(translation)

Bogotá, January 25, 1978

Comrades  
United Secretariat of the Fourth International  
Brussels

Dear Comrades,

On the basis of the telephone call we received, it seemed to us that you had taken a definitive decision concerning our request to postpone discussion on the internal situation of the Colombian PST to the March United Secretariat meeting. Our request is based on the absolute impossibility of a delegation of our Executive Committee making a trip to Europe at the present time because of the heavy tasks we have in relation to the municipal elections, which will take place in less than a month, and due to financial difficulties we're undergoing after six months of an electoral campaign for which our party has shouldered 95% of the expenses. From the conversation with Comrade Robs, however, we had the impression that our request was being rejected. At a meeting with the secretariat of our party today, Comrade Riel informed us that the discussion on the internal situation of the Colombian PST would not be postponed, even if our party could not be present. Faced with this situation, we are communicating our position in written form.

1. In our opinion, the refusal to postpone the discussion on Colombian means the possibility of new maneuvers by the United Secretariat majority against our party. We learned from Jean Pierre that you intend to launch terrible accusations against us. You know that it will be impossible for us to answer, but you are going ahead on the basis of factional, antidemocratic criteria. For us, the urgent problems of the Colombian situation are those of the class struggle and within this the problem of the electoral campaign. Our party, supported by the Bolshevik Tendency, adopted the line of "workers and socialist candidates," which has been accepted by all the Colombian Trotskyists; but the United Secretariat does not seem to be in a hurry to discuss this and to draw the necessary lessons for the Fourth International. The aim of such a discussion, which according to the Bureau cannot be postponed, cannot be to help us overcome our problems, but to justify the already-announced propa-

ganda campaign against our party and the Bolshevik Tendency, with which the United Secretariat delegation to our December CC attempted to threaten, intimidate, and blackmail us.

2. This factional attitude on the part of the United Secretariat majority is nothing but a further step in your political activity in Colombia. It can be said that the entire policy of the IMT was aimed at dividing and weakening Colombian Trotskyism, instead of unifying and strengthening it. You began with the visit of Comrade Mandel, who supported a line of unification "in two stages," which was completely sectarian and discriminated against our party. This line, along with hopes for building a pro-IMT section stronger than our party through an unprincipled unification, completely failed, since the LCR was paralyzed by internal battles. The disaster was so clear that Comrade Mandel did not come back to Colombia again, and he was replaced by Comrade Riel.

Comrade Riel made a very progressive step -- although not self-critical : he recognized the political and organizational failure of the IMT's line in Colombia and recognized the political and organizational victory of our party and the Bolshevik Tendency. Therefore, his orientation was to try to save what remained of this sector. For this purpose, he was obliged to help split it and rid it of the dead weight of the most ultraleft wing (the ex-LOC) and to help line these forces up with our electoral policy and with a project of unification of Colombian Trotskyists which recognized the PST as its political and organizational backbone. Unfortunately, it is now clear that these positive steps by Comrade Riel had been determined by the conjunctural situation; as soon as he thought that a situation favorable to factionalism existed once again, he returned to his old practices and methods. In this, he enjoyed the support and collaboration of the ex-LTF, represented by Comrade Hansen. It is already possible to make an initial balance sheet of the activity of this unprincipled bloc which today is the majority of the leadership of the International. They have provoked and achieved a split in our party, which is one of the most dynamic and promising in the Fourth International; the first practical task of the bloc which now leads our International has been to try to liquidate the PST. From these first steps, we can foresee the future dynamic of this bloc.

3. The United Secretariat delegation to our December Central Committee meeting was perfectly well aware of the characteristics of the group of comrades who split from our party. Its internal and public factionalism had been sufficiently proven. However, the United Secretariat delegation did not come to Colombia to call on the factional group to accept the political and organizational resolutions which had been unanimously approved two months earlier at the founding congress of the PST (resolutions which were so correct that Comrade Riel himself defended them in the LCR). Neither did the delegation come to push the factional group to respect one of the basic rules of democratic centralism, the acceptance by the minority of the decisions of the majority. For Hansen and Riel, the public distribution of PST and Fourth International internal material at the theater where the national electoral convention took place did not deserve to be condemned. None of the three United Secretariat delegates defended Comrade Moreno, who was charged in a slanderous and irresponsible way by the factional group with using money to buy leaders of our party. Neither did they defend our leaders charged with having sold out. No one defended the Trotskyist publishing house, attacked with bourgeois methods by the bourgeois Jorge Posada Lalinde, who "happens to be" a friend of the factional group and the companion of one of its members, Socorro Ramirez.

The United Secretariat delegates went so far as to theoretically justify the anti-Argentine reaction which is peculiar to the factional group of Ricardo Sánchez and Socorro Ramírez. The hackneyed theses of the destruction of cadres, the annihilation of "thinking" leaders, of repression and substitution in the national leadership by Argentine "Morenists" were clearly supported by Hansen, who was the first defender of the factionalists. The comrades of the Argentine PST were the main target of the United Secretariat delegates; the attacks against them were launched in such a way as to endorse the chauvinist campaign that has recently developed. The new morality which seems to inspire the United Secretariat majority is not to unambiguously condemn the irresponsible and wild charges against experienced comrades who have proven themselves if not once a thousand times in the most acute class struggle under the bloodiest repression. On the contrary, their morality is to refrain from taking a position, to insinuate doubts, to ask for an inquiry commission -- for which the slanderers themselves don't dare to ask, since they know very well that they cannot prove their charges -- and, in fact, become accusers themselves. All this conforms to the theory of "Argentine colonization," a theory which only proves their political inability to lead our International and their even greater inability to answer the criticisms and political alternatives presented by the Bolshevik Tendency more than a year ago.

4. As was inevitable, the desperate factionalism of people who for reasons of prestige want to keep the leadership of the International at any price despite their proven inability to play this role in the case of such key events in the class struggle as Argentina and Bolivia earlier, and later Portugal, Angola, and Spain, led not only to an unprincipled front among Trotskyists but also to complicity and collaboration with bourgeois and lumpen elements. Comrade Riel took the personal responsibility of inviting the bourgeois Jorge Posada to attend the plenum of the Mexican PRT, while knowing that this man had attempted to rob Editorial Pluma (as is clear from his own declaration, which is attached), legally froze its operation, and attempted to provoke its collapse; he was also aware that the December Central Committee of the PST had declared him an enemy of the PST and the Fourth International. Adopting an openly factional attitude and endorsing this bourgeois element, Comrade Jean Pierre didn't take into consideration the position taken by an organization which claims allegiance to the Fourth International; he supported an individual challenged by this organization, one who had not been defended by any Trotskyist in Colombia or anywhere else in the world.

Even worse is the campaign launched in the bourgeois press by a lumpen element like Umberto Valverde, a campaign against the comrades of the Argentine PST who were forced by the Videla coup to come to Colombia, and in particular against Comrade Moreno (we attach clippings on this). This journalist, who is a personal friend of Ricardo Sánchez and other members of the factional group, presents himself, with the help of this group, as a member of the Colombian PST, which he never was. He has launched a real police-style crusade against the Argentine comrades. The sharply chauvinist character of this campaign is obvious. The allusions to robbery, "mafia-like" conduct, use of arms, etc. are not only an appeal to the nationalist backwardness of the Colombian masses, but also to a direct intervention by the repressive state apparatus. In a meeting held on the 25th with Comrade Riel (a tape recording of which is available to the United Secretariat), we asked that as a United Secretariat member he intervene with the LCR and the factional group to get them to make a statement denouncing Valverde's police-style and chauvinist

campaign. Comrade Riel refused to make such an intervention, demonstrating his complicity with this element and the lumpen and police-style methodology he uses, which are useful for Riel's basic aim: to liquidate the PST.

Finally, a third element related to the moral decomposition of the United Secretariat delegation and more particularly of Comrade Riel is the failure to answer the charges against Comrade Moreno. Riel's answer, according to which it was necessary to make an inquiry, only results in encouraging the slanderers to carry on with their slanders. Until now, nobody has dared make formal charges against Comrade Moreno; the factionalists limited themselves to private and public gossip. They themselves didn't dare ask for an inquiry commission on Comrade Moreno to prove the alleged maneuver of buying leaders and other types of things. They know that in the last six months Comrade Moreno has spent barely a month in Colombia, given the tasks he had to carry out for the Argentine PST and the Bolshevik Tendency, which compelled him to travel constantly. They know that the result of any inquiry commission would be to unmask these slanderers and to place them outside of the International. Comrade Jean Pierre, assuming an attitude that appeared neutral but was de facto absolutely factional, stated that he would ask the United Secretariat to send an inquiry commission to Colombia, in spite of the fact that there are no formal charges. This attitude is completely inadmissible. We cannot accept a commission which investigates rumors. If Comrade Jean Pierre asks for a commission of inquiry, it's because he agrees with the charges. Thus, he has to present them and prove them. If he doesn't do so, Comrade Riel himself is a slanderer and deserves to be treated as such in the International.

5. For all these reasons: for developing a factional policy aimed at liquidating our party; for having been complicit by their silence with slanders against the Argentine comrades, against Comrade Moreno, and against the leaders of the Colombian PST; for having made an alliance with a bourgeois who tried to destroy a Trotskyist publishing house; for having been de facto accomplices of a lumpen who is conducting a public chauvinist and police-style campaign in the bourgeois press; for having encouraged a petty-bourgeois and factional current to break with the party -- for all these reasons, we consider the United Secretariat delegation composed of comrades Riel, Hansen, and Galarza morally impeached and thus unable to give any kind of report to the United Secretariat on the situation of our party. For the same reason, we would have liked to be present at the United Secretariat to expose the political and moral decomposition of these comrades before the entire Fourth International. If the United Secretariat does not want to sink as low as comrades Riel, Hansen, and Galarza have sunk; if the United Secretariat wants to prove to the International that its present majority is not an unprincipled front against the Bolshevik Tendency and against our party; if it wants to make clear that it does not support the alliance which its representatives made with lumpens and bourgeois; if it wants to take its distance from chauvinist, police-style methods which the factional group and the United Secretariat delegates employed, the United Secretariat must accept the proposals made by the PST Executive Committee, which we repeat here:

a) postpone the discussion on Colombia until the next meeting of the United Secretariat, at which a delegation from the Colombian PST will be present;

b) publicly repudiate and declare an enemy of the Fourth International the lumpen Umberto Valverde and his chauvinist, police-

style campaign against the exiles of the Argentine PST in Colombia;

c) publicly repudiate and declare an enemy of the Fourth International the bourgeois Jorge Posada and his attempt to liquidate a Trotskyist publishing house;

d) demand that the LCR and the self-proclaimed "Proletarian Democracy Tendency" make a public statement along the same lines indicated in points b and c, as well as call an immediate halt to the chauvinist campaign they are carrying out, which is endangering the security of the Argentine comrades in Colombia (see Internal Bulletin #1 of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency, attached);

e) demand that all those who, at the founding congress of the PST, at the December CC, and at various meetings launched moral charges against Comrade Moreno and the leadership of the Colombian PST make their charges in writing within one month's time. If they don't do so, to sanction as slanderers all the comrades who made them, on the basis of tape recordings that the PST leadership can provide which show that such charges have been made;

f) call upon the self-proclaimed "Proletarian Democracy Tendency" to accept the discipline of the majority of the leadership and the vast majority of the rank and file of the Colombian PST, verified at the founding congress, at the December CC, and at regional assemblies organized later;

g) ask the Executive Committee of the LCR to stop its factional orientation and to return to the unification agreement, which had previously been reached and which was approved by Comrade Riel;

h) support the electoral campaign and condemn all public attacks and sabotage of the PST's activities.

Fraternally,  
Executive Committee  
Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores

#### ATTACHMENT B

#### Appeal from Six Members of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency

Bogotá D.E., Enero 20 de 1978

#### A P E L A C I O N

Nosotros, miembros dirigentes del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores colombiano, apelamos la resolución de sanciones que sobre nosotros se expidió en el Comité Central del Partido, celebrado en el mes de diciembre de 1977 y que incluyen separación del Partido hasta después de elecciones y en el caso del c. Ricardo, separación indefinida. Se trata en el marco político que transcurre en el Partido de una expulsión encubierta en expresión de separación.

Tanto en los documentos : 1) Declaración de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria y Contrainforme de Actividades. 2) Balance del Congreso del PST. 3) Declaración de los últimos acontecimientos; publicado en el B.I. No. 1 de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria. 4) La situación del PST y sus perspectivas, publicado en el BI No.2 de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria; esta explicado el marco político, organizativo y estatutario en que se ha dado el proceso de expulsiones nuestras y de cientos de compañeros más del Partido.

De la documentación citada, queda clara la conclusión que no solo se ha violado el Centralismo Democrático, claros principios de nuestro movimiento, sino que se trata de una persecución política abierta y descarada, promovida principalmente por Nahuel Moreno y demás dirigentes argentinos que actúan en Colombia.

La sancion contra el c. Enrique, delegado al SU y miembro del Comité Central, se dio por adherir a la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria, conformada en dicho Comité Central, lo mismo que la del c. Ciro.

La Tendencia Democracia Proletaria, como lo hemos explicado en los documentos aludidos, se conformo para oponerse al curso divisionista promovido por la Tendencia pro-bolchevizacion, fundada personalmente por N. Moreno en el Congreso del PST y cuyo texto conocen los c. del SU, la cual siguio actuando despues del Congreso, violando los estatutos.

Las sanciones contra Ricardo estan sustentadas en que son violatorias sus actividades publicas de la linea del Partido. Nunca se ha demostrado tal aseveracion. Por lo contrario se trata de una clara censura ideologica. Los c. del SU tienen en sus manos varios ejemplares del libro de Ricardo en el cual estan expuestas sus posiciones.

Sobre los sanciones a Socorro, Gladys y Gustavo, ademas de ser por su adhesion a la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria, se promovieron acusaciones de militantes de base completamente inducidas e irrelevantes.

A los compañeros del SU  
Socorro, Gustavo, Gladys, Ciro, Jaime, Ricardo

(translation)

Bogotá, D.E. January 20, 1978

A P P E A L

We, leading members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, appeal the resolution imposing disciplinary action which was brought against us by the Central Committee of the party held in the month of December 1977 and which included separation from the party until the elections and, in the case of Comrade Ricardo, indefinite separation. In the political context that the party is going through today, what is involved is expulsion covered up under the label of separation.

The following documents explain the political, organizational, and statutory framework in which our expulsion and that of one hundred other comrades took place: 1) Declaration of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency and Counterreport on Activities; 2) Balance Sheet of the Congress of the PST; 3) Declaration Concerning the Latest Events, published in Internal Bulletin No. 1 of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency; 4) The Situation of the PST and Its Perspectives, published in Internal Bulletin No. 2 of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency.

From these documents it is clear that not only have democratic centralism and clear principles of our movement been violated, but an open and blatant policy of political persecution has been followed, organized mainly by Nahuel Moreno and other Argentine leaders who are active in Colombia.

The disciplinary action against Comrade Enrique, delegate to the United Secretariat and member of the Central Committee, was based on his adherence to the Proletarian Democracy Tendency, which was announced at that Central Committee meeting. The same procedure was followed in the case of Comrade Ciro.

The Proletarian Democracy Tendency, as we have explained in the documents referred to, has submitted to these measures in order to fight the divisionist course carried out by the Pro-Bolshevization Tendency founded personally by N. Moreno at the PST congress, the text of which is known by the comrades of the United Secretariat and which continues to be in effect since the congress -- in violation of the statutes.

The disciplinary action taken against Ricardo was based on the accusation that he engaged in public activities in violation of the line of the party. This accusation was never substantiated. On the contrary, it was a matter of a clear ideological censorship. Comrades of the United Secretariat have in their hands copies of the book by Ricardo in which he explains his positions.

As far as the disciplinary actions against Socorro, Gladys, and Gustavo are concerned, in addition to being based on their membership in the Proletarian Democracy Tendency, they stem from completely arbitrary and irrelevant accusations from rank-and-file comrades.

To the comrades of the United Secretariat  
Socorro, Gustavo, Gladys, Ciro, Jaime, Ricardo

#### ATTACHMENT C

#### Resolucion sobre Fausto Amador Aprobada por el Comité Central del PST de Colombia

Considerando:

1. Que las actividades de Fausto Amador que fueron objeto de investigación por parte de la IV Internacional configuraron actos de colaboración con la dictadura somozista.
2. Que estos actos descalifican a Fausto Amador para ejercer puestos de dirección en la IV Internacional hasta que un largo período de prueba demuestre que está en condiciones morales para ejercerlos.
3. Que la cuestión de Fausto Amador tiene una enorme importancia política en Centroamérica, importancia que se ve multiplicada por la actual crisis que sacude la región y particularmente a Nicaragua; y que todo respaldo de la IV Internacional a Fausto Amador pone en peligro la existencia misma de la IV Internacional en América Central.
4. Que el Secretariado Unificado, en su reunión del 29-31 de octubre de 1977, ha admitido a Fausto Amador en nuestra Internacional con un status "igual al de todos los miembros de organizaciones que han entrado en relaciones fraternales con la IV Internacional y tienen pendiente el reconocimiento por el próximo Congreso Mundial", lo cual significa que lo convierte de hecho en militante pleno de nuestra Internacional.
5. Que, por la misma resolución, se acepta que Fausto Amador resida en Costa Rica.
6. Que la única limitación establecida en dicha resolución es la "recomendación" de que "por un período de prueba de doce meses o hasta las vísperas del próximo Congreso Mundial (...) el camarada Amador funcione como militante (...) sin aceptar ningún cargo de dirección nacional".

7. Que esta última "recomendación" es absolutamente formal, dado que Fausto Amador actúa ampliamente en los medios de difusión masivos de Costa Rica donde es ampliamente conocido como simpatizante de la OST, y que Intercontinental Press intenta promoverlo a nivel internacional publicando artículos con su firma.

El CC del PST resuelve:

1. Rechazar categóricamente la resolución del Secretariado Unificado respecto a Fausto Amador.

2. Exigir al SU la rectificación de la resolución citada y su reemplazo por otra del siguiente tenor:

Dado que Fausto Amador actuó como colaborador de la dictadura somozista y fué denunciado como tal por los herícos luchadores del Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, el SU de la IV Internacional resuelve: no admitir a Fausto Amador en la IV Internacional, ponerlo a prueba por un período mínimo de 5 años con tareas de base fuera de Centroamérica en una sección de la IV Internacional, y transcurrido ese período rediscutir su ingreso.

3. Repudiar la política de IP de promover la figura de Fausto Amador como dirigente trotskista nicaragüense y centroamericano.

4. Reclamar del SU que censure todo intento similar al de IP y exija a todas las publicaciones de la Cuarta Internacional se abstengan de promover bajo ninguna forma la figura de Fausto Amador como dirigente trotskista.

5. Recomendar a Revista de América una política de no colaboración con ninguna publicación que promueva por cualquier medio la figura de Fausto Amador como dirigente trotskista.

6. Reclamar al SU que se abra el debate público acerca de este caso en las publicaciones de la IV Internacional, invitando especialmente a participar en él al Frente Sandinista de Liberación.

7. Exigir al SU de la IV Internacional colocar a disposición del PST toda la documentación que sobre el case de Amador tiene.

(Translation)

Resolution on Fausto Amador Adopted by the Central Committee  
of the Colombian PST

Whereas:

1. The activities of Fausto Amador which were the object of an investigation by the Fourth International constituted acts of collaboration with the Somoza dictatorship.

2. These acts disqualified Fausto Amador from exercising leadership posts in the Fourth International until a long period of testing demonstrated that he was morally capable of exercising them.

3. The question of Fausto Amador is of enormous political importance in Central America, an importance that is multiplied by the present crisis shaking the region and particularly Nicaragua, so that any support given by the Fourth International to Fausto Amador places in danger the very existence of the Fourth International in Central America.

4. The United Secretariat at its meeting of October 29-31, 1977, admitted Fausto Amador into our International with a status "the same as that of all members of organizations that have entered



into fraternal relations with the Fourth International pending recognition by the next world congress," which means that in actuality he has been converted into a full member of our International.

5. The same resolution accepts Fausto Amador's residing in Costa Rica.

6. The only limitation established in said resolution is the "recommendation" that "for a probationary period of twelve months or until the eve of the next world congress . . . Comrade Amador function as a member . . . without accepting any national leadership posts."

7. This final "recommendation" is absolutely formal, since Fausto Amador has ample recourse to the mass media of Costa Rica where he is well known as a sympathizer of the OST, and Intercontinental Press is trying to promote him to an international level by publishing articles bearing his signature.

The CC of the PST resolves:

1. To categorically reject the resolution of the United Secretariat with respect to Fausto Amador.

2. To demand that the USec rectify the cited resolution and replace it with a different one along the following lines:

In view of the fact that Fausto Amador acted as a collaborator of the Somoza dictatorship and was denounced as such by the heroic fighters of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, the USec of the Fourth International resolves: not to admit Fausto Amador into the Fourth International, but test him for a minimum period of five years with rank-and-file tasks outside of Central America in a section of the Fourth International, and after this period has passed to rediscuss his entrance.

3. To repudiate IP's policy of promoting the figure of Fausto Amador as a Nicaraguan and Central American Trotskyist leader.

4. To call on the USec to censure any attempt similar to that of IP and require all publications of the Fourth International to refrain from promoting in any way the figure of Fausto Amador as a Trotskyist leader.

5. To recommend to Revista de América that it follow a policy of not collaborating with any publication that promotes by any means whatsoever the figure of Fausto Amador as a Trotskyist leader.

6. To call on the USec to open a public debate regarding this case in the publications of the Fourth International, inviting the Frente Sandinista de Liberación in particular to participate in it.

7. To demand that the United Secretariat of the Fourth International place at the disposition of the PST all the documentation that it has on the Amador case.

## ATTACHMENT D

Letter from Antonio to the United Secretariat

Camaradas:

Hace unos días me ha llegado vuestro planteamiento para que reconsiderare mi salida de la IV, que como anuncié en mi carta anterior se debió al trabajo liquidador realizado por N. Moreno en la sección venezolana, así como a otras graves divergencias políticas y metodológicas con la TB, de cuya dirección y cargo hemos sido corresponsables desde su fundación. También he tenido la oportunidad de conocer la actual discusión encaminada a superar la dinámica fraccional y a lograr un régimen interno saludable de cara al próximo Congreso.

Este hecho, más la comprensión de que mi ruptura, en ningún caso justificable con la IV, ha sido una decisión precipitada y con las gabas sectariás de la TB puestas, me lleva a daros una respuesta positiva y a pedir mi reingreso en las filas de la Internacional en la forma que estimeis más conveniente.

La carta aparecida en la minuta del SU firmada por Andrés Romero el 11/11/77 y titulada "A necessary piece of information" es una pieza maestra de pequeñas verdades, omisiones y mentiras considerables. Responderá a sus 11 puntos. Pero resulta realmente sorprendente que Romero hable con tanta seguridad sobre hechos acaecidos en Venezuela en los que no tuvo participación alguna. Su esfuerzo por dar una explicación psicológica a nuestra ruptura será vano: para ocultar la crisis de la TB va a necesitar otras armas. Muy bien. Si la Internacional nos readmite, discutiremos el contenido político de estos "incidentes", "tan inconsistentes" y a los que seguramente "no valdrá la pena responder".

Fraternalmente  
Antonio (Tarquin)

(translation)

Comrades,

A few days ago I received your invitation to reconsider my resignation from the FI which, as I explained in my previous letter, was provoked by the liquidationist activity carried by N. Moreno in the Venezuelan section as well as by other serious political and methodological differences with the BT, for whose leadership and orientation I have co-responsible since its foundation. I also had the opportunity to be aware of the present discussions aimed at overcoming the factional dynamic and at creating a favorable internal situation with a view to the next World Congress.

This fact and the understanding that my resignation -- in no way justified as far as the FI is concerned -- was a hasty decision and was marked by the sectarian characteristics of the BT, lead me to give a positive answer and to ask to be reintegrated in the FI in the way you consider most convenient.

The letter published in the USec minutes which was signed Andres Romero, dated November 11, 1977, and entitled "A necessary piece of information," is a masterpiece of half-truths, omissions, and considerable lies. I will answer each of its eleven points. However, it is really astonishing that Romero speaks with such great assurance about events that occurred in Venezuela and in which he did not participate in any way. His attempt to give a psychological explanation for my resignation is in vain: he will need different weapons to hide the crisis of the BT. Okay. If the FI accepts me again, I'll discuss the political content of these "incidentes" that are "so immaterial" that it's "not worth responding to them."  
Fraternalmente, Antonio (Tarquin)