

X's: Jack, Gus, Joe, MA, Doug, Rich F, Jose, Mike B.
[Sweden]

Report to the United Secretariat
on COMBATE AND WHAT HAPPENED WITH
THE PROPOSAL TO SET UP AN INTER-
NATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR L.A. REFUGEES

I had hoped to be able to present a written report to the Usec members before. And I had hoped that this report then could have included a positive piece of information, saying that a preliminary agreement had been reached with the comrades around the paper Combate (produced in Sweden) on the further functioning of this paper as an organ of the Usec.

Unfortunately this is not possible.

Not only is there no agreement to report, but the comrades have also informed the Swedish leadership that they don't want to be members of the Swedish section (and thereby of the Fourth).

After a split in April, when the comrades of the present Combate group left the section to set up their own grouping outside the section and the Fourth (although still in political sympathy with both); after a first round of discussions with the Bureau on the possible setting up of an international magazine for l.a. refugee work based on Combate; after a series of efforts of the Swedish leadership to solve the problems together with the comrades and after a first reintegration of four comrades from the group, as a first step towards the reintegration of all of them (at least in the minds of the leadership) - the comrades have now gone so far as to withdraw those four comrades from the section again and do this in a way and with arguments that are even worse than in April.

As the reintegration of the comrades into the Swedish section was regarded as a precondition for the practical solution of the problems with Combate, the present stand of the Combate comrades makes the solution in the way it was foreseen by the Bureau (and the Swedish leadership) immensely difficult if not impossible.

This is how things stand right now. Of course we cannot content ourselves with just noting the present situation. We have to put forward and discuss different alternatives. But before we come to that stage the Usec comrades should be presented with at least some minimal information on the point of view of the Swedish leadership and myself (as a part of this leadership as well as a member of the Usec).

Four items are therefore annexed to this introduction:

1. A resumé of a report made by the AU (exec. comm. of the Political bureau) of the Swedish section at the time when the Combate comrades left the section. This piece of material should give you some idea on how the Swedish leadership judged the situation then, acted and reacted.
2. Some notes - by me - on the Bureau proposals put forward at a meeting in June (attended by Bureau members as well as representatives of the Swedish leadership and the Combate group).
3. A translation of the resolution on l.a. refugee work that was adopted (with a majority vote of about 2:1) at the CC in June.
4. Some notes - by me and comrade Ångström (main responsible for this work now in the Swedish leadership) - on what happened after the Bureau discussion and the CC resolution.

Frankfurt in October

/Frej

[written on a trip to Germany]

RESUMÉ OF A REPORT BY THE DAILY LEADERSHIP OF THE SWEDISH SECTION
WHEN THE COMBATE COMRADES LEFT THE SECTION (from April 14th)

/Short introduction

In a letter, dated 78.04.05 eighteen comrades until then organized in the LA fraction of the KAF declared their "decision to leave their work in the LA fraction to build an organization together with other LA revolutionary marxists in exile".

This was a blow for our refugee work, as well as a unilateral breaking-off of the ongoing political discussions between the leadership of the Latin American fraction (of the KAF) and the so-called Tendency 2 (a preparatory step for the CC meeting in June)

The report tries to describe what had happened.../

Resumé of the report

In the autumn 1977 the CC had decided to start an organized internal and external debate on the LA work, in preparation for a CC meeting June 9-11 1978.

In three successive issues of Combate the debate was developed under these head-li

1. The character of the exile in Sweden
2. The exile internationally, and in relation to the situation in LA and the building of the FI
3. Political tasks today

Before the fourth round of the debate in Combate the eighteen comrades left the KAF, and AU decided to close the external debate. The contributions on the fourth subject in the debate - Organizational tasks and the role of Combate - was published internally. The debate in Combate was carried by the leadership of the LA fraction on the one hand and the comrades of the T2 (tendency two) on the other.

The background is in short the following. In the summer of 1977 about ten comrades from the T2 left the LA fraction, against the will of AU and PB. The problems of the LA work grew worse, with permanent conflicts and frictions.

During the last nine months many accusations have been made against the T2, the LA-fraction leadership, individuals and the leadership of the KAF. Accusations of open factionalism, non-proletarian methods, indulgence towards violations of discipline etc. AU, PB and CC have tried to concentrate on the political debate, from the standpoint that the conflicts, however serious, could be solved within the frames of the KAF.

A commission for the debate in Combate was formed, with representatives from the different sides. A coordinating commission was formed to solve acute problems and overcome frictions, mainly in connection with the LA work in the Stockholm branch. AU also tried to convince the leadership of the LA fraction of their special responsibility in the situation, as an official national organ of the KAF.

However, AU's proposals and attempts to improve the situation were overshadowed by the question raised by the leadership of the LA fraction concerning the formation of a new LA association outside the KAF, with the comrades of the LA fraction as members.

The question of the LA association (and the comrades' decision later to leave the KAF) is connected to the comrades' belief that the CC, on its meeting in June when the LA work should be treated, was not able to take a correct decision on the future line of the

But the main cause of the comrades' organizational break with the KAF, as we see it, is tied to a political step backward of the comrades. It's alarming that the comrades don't see the dynamic in leaving a national section of the FI to build a LA association outside. Likewise, the definitions of the association's work are very narrow.

Before further discussions on the association could be held, discussions that were planned together with the comrades of the LA fraction leadership, the association was actually formed. The leadership of the KAF was faced with a fait accompli. AU tried to convince the comrades to raise the question of the association to the CC meeting and take part in the preparations of this meeting within the KAF, but with no results. The comrades wanted to discuss what kind of agreements that could be made between the KAF and the association, but AU refused to go into this discussion at this stage.

On its meeting April 8-9 PB took as its position AU's written criticism of the comrades' step to leave the KAF and build an association outside. PB also decided that Combate until the CC meeting could not be published as KAF's paper ^{required} and that the comrades who had left KAF should respect the right of the KAF to decide on the future publication of Combate. PB wanted to go on with the discussions with the comrades, and didn't take any rapid administrative measures that could worsen the situation in the short run.

In the period after AU has tried to hold discussions together with all the comrades that left the KAF, in first place around AU's criticism of the formation of the association. AU has required of the comrades to refrain from publish any information on the association, in case they should go on publishing Combate, and to publish a commentary from AU on the causing of the external debate, and inform AU on the articles planned for the paper.

SOME NOTES ON A BUREAU PROPOSAL TO TRANSFORM COMBATE INTO AN INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE FOR REFUGEE WORK UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE Usec

In the beginning of June a discussion was held between present Bureau members, myself and comrade Karl from the Swedish leadership and several comrades from the Combate editorial board and the Combate group (see annex no 1, on the Combate group)

The objective of the meeting was to try to elaborate a preliminary agreement on the publication of the Combate in the future that could be presented to the Swedish leadership and to the Usec for discussion and later decisions.

Although this was only partially an objective of the meeting, it couldn't avoid discussing how it might be possible to find a solution for the Combate comrades' preoccupations inside the section and without endangering the norms of the section. (To my opinion this latter discussion was hampered by the fact that the T 2 comrades had refrained from taking part in the meeting, following an ultimatum from the Combate comrades: "either no T 2 participation or no Combate participation!" On T 2 - see annex 1.)

The meeting had been preceded by a trip by comrade Dunder to Sweden, where he had possibility to meet several PB comrades and others of different opinion as to our l.a refugee work.

It should also be mentioned that the question of transformation of Combate wasn't a completely new one. The proposal to internationalize the paper and put it under the editorship of (among others) leading representatives of the Fourth in Europe and Latin America had also been raised in a motion presented to the KAF Central Committee in February -78 (by me and comrades Karl and Otto; the motion wasn't decided upon then - and later it was "overshadowed" by other KAF/PB and Bureau proposals; the comrades in the then Latin American fraction leadership, later Combate group, agreed with the proposal).

At the meeting representatives of the Bureau presented a set of proposals on Combate, namely the following:

1. The existence of a large emigré milieu in Europe composed for the most part of worker militants coming from L.A. countries now dominated by military dictatorships offers the Fourth International an opportunity to win significant forces through a specific intervention in this milieu and in this way to eventually contribute to building and reinforcing its sections in L.A.

Publishing a special organ of the Fourth International for the intervention in this milieu would be a tremendous help to the sections now doing this work.

2. The Bureau proposes that Combate - which up until recently has been an organ of the Swedish section - be an organ of the F.I. for which the Usec would have political responsibility, as has been proposed by the Political Bureau of the KAF. [This proposal was expressed in a draft resolution on the political and organisational tasks in refugee work - see annex 3 - and also presented to comrade Dunder while he was in Sweden.] In the same way as is done for other publications of this type

the Usec bureau will make final decisions as to the content of the journal and will be responsible for electing the editorial board.

3. The material responsibility for this publication (printing, circulation, finances) will be the responsibility of the Swedish section as in the past.
4. We very much want the Latin American militants who as members of the KAF have up to now taken the responsibility for this work, to continue to fully play their role, especially being part of the editorial board. In order to do this they must reverse their decision to leave the Swedish section, which has placed themselves outside the International.

As to the editorial board the present team should agree to broaden it to include other Latin American militants of the F.I., independently of any disagreements they may have with them.

5. The journal would mainly be devoted to articles analyzing both events that have marked the past period in Latin America and the present situation, according to documents of the Fourth International and its organisations in Latin America. As well, it would contain articles on the international situation published in IP/Inprecor. Finally it would include articles concerning Latin American solidarity campaigns, the situation of refugees and the struggle for democratic rights.
6. Parallell with this publication, the various sections engaged in work of this type may publish their own Spanish-speaking organs.

These proposals were presented to the meeting orally. The intention was that the Bureau after the discussions would edit them and then distribute them in the form of a written statement/proposal.

* The point 4. was unambiguously interpreted both by Bureau comrades and by the KAF leadership representatives to imply that a reintegration was a pre-condition for a practical solution to the problems with Combate.

* When representatives of the Combate group replied that they didn't want to prejudge the positions of the other comrades in the group, myself and comrade Karl proposed that they sign a common "declaration of intentions" together with us, saying that they would work for the reintegration of the group as a whole. Then the practical discussions on how to proceed with the proposals could go on between us. This the comrades refused to do, which also made the discussions at the meeting come to a halt.

* Comrades Karl and myself assured that our organisation would be prepared to take the proposed responsibility for the material side of the publication, as well as name some CC comrades to the editorial board.

* When some of the Combate comrades as well as Karl and myself raised the question on how to interpret point 5, comrades in the Bureau assured that there would be a continuity between the old and the new Combate, an evolution rather than a radical change - and an evolution then based on discussions and successive evaluation.

* When reported back to the KAF Central Committee the Bureau proposals were very well received. The main aspects of them were also incorporated in various PB proposals how to resolve the problems after that date.

Annex 3

RESOLUTION BY THE KAF CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE LATIN AMERICAN REFUGEE WORK

/Introduction

This document was adopted by the Central Committee meeting in June -78 by approximately a 2/3 majority. The minority's amendments are also published here.

The adoption of the resolution ended a one-year-long discussion among Latin American comrades in the section and in the CC itself, at least in the form it had had until then.

The translated version is from the draft document. The final amendments are very secondary. (The draft document was translated for the Bureau before it was voted upon in the CC - for practical reasons we distribute the document as it was translated then.)

minority / The same goes for the amendments - they were later changed a bit and elaborated, but the main ideas were kept.

The CC also adopted some resolutions on further discussions in the CC itself and in the KAF as a whole. They seem to have secondary importance to the Usec members and are not reproduced here./

SOME NOTES ON THE MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS
- AFTER THE BUREAU DISCUSSION AND THE CC RESOLUTION (*)

1. After the June CC meeting...

The KAF PB/AU have taken a series of decisions on how to build the LA work in accordance with the CC document. Most of these decisions have been adopted unanimously or with big majorities, irrespective of earlier "line-ups". The first measures have been taken to organize the work in the Stockholm branch, together with the local leadership. Initial problems have been partly overcome, mainly related to the opinion among many LA comrades in the Stockholm branch that there was urgent need to take all the measures necessary to immediately build a new national LA fraction. AU has tried, through many discussions with the comrades involved in the work and with the local leadership, to clarify the different tasks in the work, and step by step build the appropriate instruments, work out plans for internal discussions around the work among refugees in Sweden and on the situation in different countries in LA etc, make up the first plans for a new paper in Spanish, pamphlets, documents etc, material in Spanish for new members, translations of contributions to the internal debate in the KAF.

To elaborate different plans for the work and for the LA comrades' participation in the internal life of the KAF AU and the local leadership have designated ^{LA} comrades responsible for different tasks. The organization of the work in the Stockholm branch is beginning to function, although not without problems. There is always a tendency towards separating the LA work from the rest of the KAF. An important discussion in the Stockholm branch today concerns what measures must be taken to integrate the LA comrades in the KAF (internal discussions; responsibilities in different leading bodies; participation in women's work; trade union work etc; partly in contradiction to the work exclusively among LA refugees etc).

2. Partial reintegration

The KAF PB/AU have also tried to take measures for the reintegration of the comrades of the Combate group. The comrades declared during the summer that they were prepared to start a process of reintegration. After a PB decision four leading comrades of the group were reintegrated as a first step. (This point of view was expressed in writing.) AU tried to make the comrades take part in the elaboration of the plans for the future LA work of the KAF. However the comrades were not very willing to go into concrete discussions about the work as a whole and contribute to the elaboration of plans for the discussion, publishing etc. AU and the local leadership in Stockholm (where the big bulk of the Latin American comrades reside), also proposed that the comrades of the Combate group as a whole take part in the discussions that are held in the Stockholm branch about L.A. work and the situation in different countries of Latin America. But the comrades were not willing to take part in such common discussions either.

3. Problems in stabilizing the L.A. work

Some progress has been made in organizing the L.A. work after the June CC meeting. But the price has been rather high. The AU has spent much of its time on the L A question. Actually more time than could be afforded in the long run. The goal was to stabilize the situation and create normal structures and a normal partition of labour in the PB and CC for this work as soon as possible. But this stabilization couldn't come about without a solution to the problems with Combate and the Combate

(*) Except for the first paragraph below we will try to concentrate on such information which is most important for the Usec discussions on Combate and leave out a lot of things which are not directly relevant for that discussion.

46.

group through a full reintegration of the comrades, accepted without sectarianism from anyone. This turned out to be very difficult to bring about. Without a real integration of the comrades in the Combate group as a whole it was very difficult to proceed with the concrete transformation of the Combate. The drawn-out reintegration process also added to the already existing tensions and contradictions among l.a. comrades in and around the KAF. The responsibility for this was never one-sided, but let it be said in the context of this very report that the hesitation from the Combate comrades to reintegrate didn't lower the tensions but on the contrary gave extra fuel to them!

4. Frictions with the Combate comrades

During the last two months the problems with the reintegration has become more and more acute. At several occasions the Combate comrades have published their own propaganda (for example big leaflets) without discussing its contents with the KAF leadership. Neither has there been any discussion on the relation between this independent propoganda activity and the process of reintegration. The four comrades from the group who were reintegrated into the KAF (and allowed at the same time to stay in the Combate group to win over the rest, at least in our view...), never raised such discussions with us.

This is not just a formal problem, since some ideas in the Combate propoganda material is in contradiction to views expressed since a long time by official KAF bodies and in our main organ (Internationalen). For example it goes for our understanding, how to fight for the democratic rights for political refugees. We for our part have fought for the Chile Committees to take up the defense of the right to asylum for political refugees as one of its main tasks. The Combate group on the other hand regards this question to be important, but secondary for the solidarity movement. Of course our point of view could be rediscussed but then in an appropriate way. We must say though that we don't regard the political contradiction to be very big or decisive. (But of course bringing the discussion into the open through public leaflets, without this having been discussed beforehand, could have a certain dangerous dynamic of its own.)

A further problem: in a special leaflet entitled "What is the Combate group and what does it want" the comrades summarized their point of view and described the Combate group as an organization of revolutionary marxists in exile, without at all mentioning any perspective of (re)integration into the KAF.

5. No common statement - but a new split

To clear this whole situation the AU proposed a common statement to the comrades, where it should be said that the comrades of the Combate group work together with the KAF leadership to bring about their reintegration and the transformation of Combate.

On October 12th a joint meeting was held between the AU and the leadership of the Combate group. The comrades from the Combate group then declared:

- that they were not prepared to sign the statement;
- that the 4 comrades who had been reintegrated into the KAF already were going to leave the organization;
- that the Combate group does not stand for the perspective of a reintegration into the KAF;
- that the Combate Group intend to present a document to motivate its decisions;
- that the Combate Group will try to establish comradely relations with KAF.

We will not go into detail on what was said at the meeting. We will pass over some of the personal hints with silence. But some points must be mentioned:

- o The Combate comrades have the opinion that they "are slandered by KAF members."
- o "The KAF leadership is in crisis and has shown itself incapable of handling the situation."
- o "The development over the last period has proved that the KAF

lacks a political line for L.A. work; what has happened has given the T 2 /see annex 1 for explanation of T 2/ a free room for manoeuvre /the T 2 as such doesn't exist though; the tendency as such was dissolved after the June CC meeting; our comment/;

- o This in turn has led to "important contradictions between the KAF and the Combate group"/examples mentioned were: "the ultra-left KAF line in the (so-called) refugee group of the Chile committees" and the concentration on Hugo Blanco's person when the KAF participated in the Peru solidarity activities; our comment/.
- o "KAF doesn't have any functioning internal democracy - minority points of view are suppressed."
- o The Combate group has today "the duty to fight for the freedom of tendencies within the solidarity movement against the KAF."
- o "KAF is today the main enemy for the Combate group in its work among the refugees."
- o If KAF takes measures to attack the Combate group, "the group will not refrain from attacking the KAF publicly."
- o It would be positive if the KAF attacked the Combate group and condemned it because "this would prove that the KAF now supports the T 2."
- o As to the proposals to transform Combate, it's a question to be discussed between the Combate group and the Usec - "the group has no interest in discussing this with the KAF."

We feel no reason to rush into a debate on this level and on this conditions. We hope that the preceding report as well as the resolution could give the Usec comrades some ideas on where we stand in this dispute. Let it only be said that we avoid being provoked to actions which prematurely and irreversibly take this conflict to the open and lead to a definite severing of the ties between us and the Combate comrades.

We have no interest in a big public debate at this stage and around these type of questions. The only thing we have to do and will do to avoid unnecessary confusion, is to make a short statement of our own, saying:

- that Combate now is published, not as an official organ of the Fourth or the Swedish section, but by comrades who nevertheless declare themselves to be in political solidarity with the Fourth International;
- that KAF regards the comrades as trotskyist militants, the right place of whom is in the Fourth and the Swedish section;
- that KAF regrets that the comrades have broken organizationally with the KAF, but wants to have good comradely relations with the comrades nevertheless;
- KAF wants to establish a joint political work as far as possible and continues to fight for the reintegration of the comrades and the proposed transformation of Combate.

We will combine a cautiously worded public statement in this direction with an internal one where the KAF comrades are told not to engage in public polemics with other forces as to the decisions of the Combate group, outside the points of view expressed by the KAF leadership.

6. LCC and LSR

Two final problems that must be resolved are related to the type of relation that (ex-)members of Latin American organizations now living in exile could or should have with their (former) organizations.

First on the LCC, the LCC in Chile as to our knowledge has taken the position that their project in Sweden is to build the LCC outside Chile as a support for the struggle inside the country and that their needs couldn't be met if they were organized only in the KAF. As to the ex-LCC comrades in Sweden - we have tried to convince them to integrate in the section, all of them, and there to play their role in the L.A. work of the section;

of course they then could be given special responsibilities where they/we could utilize their special knowledge and interests.

We would like the Usec to comment on this question and to establish universal rules not only for the relations between ex-LCC members and the LCC in Chile, but also as concerns other organizations.

Secondly and finally, several Argentine refugees in Sweden were earlier members of the LSR in Argentina. We would like to hear the position of the Usec on the status of the LSR today.

Frej / Ångström
(members of the KAF
political bureau)

Check if the following introduction
tells the truth or not.....

*Should we make excerpts
from the resolution or publish
the whole of it?*