

(1)

United Secretariat Mtg

Nov. 6-9
1978



1. European election platform -

Brian proposes deletion of #2

- proposes a motion

[Key = re, pers. br
of agents
w/ centrists]

Pierre F.

- mention guides by name
- need # on why FI

CM - discusses w/ Brian motion

can't say it is a program of action
can't envisage a platform agreement
w/ a centrist gp (e.g. SWP Britain)

- not just a sum of national
candidates + platform, but
of a European oppo

Jan P. -
em -
BS -

JB - reject - BG ~~proposal~~ ^{proposal} to delete ^{is running a} FI/CPG

EMZ will add -

US entry into common
market of Spain, Portugal, Greece

CP's are divided on this

~~EMZ~~
motion: approve general line of
document & E.M. summary

- amendments

BG ~~EMZ~~ drops his amendments

2.) Europe resolution - C.A.U.

Continuation of broad social
movements, but increasingly tied
to w.c.

③

key: econ crisis without w.c. having been defeated
- determines relations in crisis

unemployment ^{today} / not such a depressing factor
on struggle as in past - e.g. Naples -
a revival of unemployed struggles ^(most affected city in Europe)

↳

trade union &

- doc. = work on this

4 considerations

1) nature of crisis as a whole

2) nature of the period:

~~pol.~~ political openings

⇒ ~~the~~ t.u. independence = key

3) growth of t.u.'s + w.c. pres
grow

dual process { growth of advanced layers

• possible for development of
oppositions

4) ∃ a "dialectic" - t.u. opps
& debate in w.c. pres.

we can present our whole
program on t.u. level

④

need a section on youth

→ youth orgs
= complement to party body

M-A-

clarifications needed

- "advanced workers"

→ Fed in w/cslw

→ "bureaucratic apparatuses"

→ women

→ "increasingly anti-capitalist character of the demands
not correct

add → (struggle for)

= OK

(5)

Rudi -

doubts proletarianization turn

reluctant to give up "broad vanguard" term

"advanced wks" = exactly
same thing as 1602

Pierre F. -

terminology = too obtuse

"reformist" & "counter revolutionay"

They aren't "counter-rev"
at every ~~moment~~ moment

can't make a u.f. w/ cat.'s

Q - is there room for 2 mass
reformist parties in one country

(6)

Mamill (Sp.)

t.u. Q -

confused + weak

social part forces us to respond



can't allow strict def of
c.s.l.w. to cause us to lose
sight of the uneven + confused
way that oppositions arise
in real life



problem of ultra-leftism with a
base in masses - e.g. as
in Egypt

- must fight them politically
- can win them



u.f. - is a Q of relation of forces

TB - ^{has} a propagandistic approach
to u.f.

(7)

elections -

can't just say = opportunity for propaganda

→ - voters don't see it that way - but as
a way of changing things
we must ^{begin} ~~start~~ from

nature of the period -

rise of
should rule out spontaneous events

that is meant by saying the
period is marked by pre-war crises

- & by saying control of reforms
is weaker today than in past // not true

- can't ^{describe} ~~say~~ a period of no defects
as a period of rise

⑧

Can't raise today, as in past period
of offensive, equal wage increases for all

LCR policies

- 1) t.u.
- 2) constitution -

- see LCR amendments to constitution
our goal was not to introduce changes
in the constitution, but to unmask illusions
of u.c. in the constitution - not simply
denounce

destruction of repressive apparatus
of state

we put forward struggle for reforms
(as in T.P.)

vs reformists - we don't say they
only defend democracy, not socialism.
we say they don't consistently defend
democracy

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Living

sectors of unemployed are controlled
by wt. wing

— Is a phenomenon of anti Marxism

— new vanguard
— agrees w/ Rudi

~~Question~~
term "class struggle left wing"
is not adequate everywhere
— e.g. France, Italy

— absolutely false to say CP's are determined
fundamentally by Moscow

— e.g. CPI - wants to go into govt.

Tom -

re: proletarianization -

objectively would appear ^{to be} more difficult
in northern Europe, where level of
class struggle is lower

prob. - could occur in an
economist way

change of competition
- where to invest etc.

- not counterposed to other pol. goals

e.g. ~~the~~ dismantling the apparatus

in Sweden -

we changed our position -

to vs. discriminatory layoffs

Brian -

nucleus of rev. pt. concept - mostly
in programmatic terms



Brian -

I distraction - as Lenin began to develop
- [revs - centrists
- [revs - ~~centrists~~ communists

demands & racism are not
stressed enough

Caroline -

answer to Rudi, who said that the
main radicalization taking place
was in areas peripheral to the
working class

but industrial w.c. = center of struggles

Georges (Prouzel)

(2)

Jacqueline -

basically agree w/ Caroline's
response to Rudi

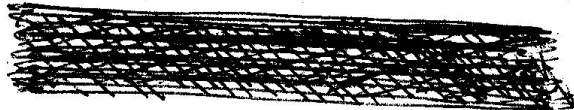
document doesn't mention
homosexuals -

Edgardo Pellegrini (Italy)

(13)

vote on Europe res.

T.B. agreement



Latin America



Peru - Hugo

miners strike was defeated

constituent

many people thought they were
electing a legislature

our functioning - raise demands in
C.A. for needs of people

FOCEP

only had a few activists

pressure to name FOCEP via Ledesma

PST - there wasn't a broad debate on @ of
unification

main diff bet. PST + PRT is
organizational, not on pol Q's
of class struggle
altho PST says ~~so~~ so

PRT - we haven't yet had complete
dissolution of old lines

€ Lenin J ~ 120
in premises - very little

security +
security Q

(15)

Pem - Roberto F. (TB)

don't disagree w/ 90-95%

cause of non-unity in Pem was
actin of USFT, especially Camero's

upsurge still ~~going on~~^{exists} in Pem
but in obedience

Agree w/ HB proposals vs pay fund

but - HB props are abstract

need HB → presidential candidate

no unit without a balance sheet of UDP

party Q -

HB led off by saying he
couldn't accept discipline

HB wasn't expelled - he
withdrew from the party for not
accepting discipline

(16)

TB is in favor of unification

reads a motion -

set up a comm. of unification
around a H. B. election app.

J.P.

re fight vs Leveson
H.B. candidacy

- has to be around
program - otherwise we
fall into candidism

- populism line = a file
because earlier in July the
PSTers said UDP @ was tactical
& couldn't prevent unification

- PST-POC unit -
paper published 11 pts
but leader told J-P there were 12
- the 12th said - I rt. of tenders, except on @ of unification.

(17)

motions: —

Peter C. —



key = wage pres oppn on basis
of political line

~~the~~ pol. Q (not clear
(diffs in FOCEP))

not clear to masses

to raise HB pres now →
HB must answer

1) if he says yes → split in FOCEP

2) ~~the~~ _{oo} forces him to say no —
tactical disadvantage

oppn — not just on 3-4 pts — but
on Trotskyist program

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Greco -

Canyo was first to make a public
attack

could "hypothetically" consider
PT attacks vs FE as a grave error

Ernst

- all slogans a la "all power
to the constituent" was
dead wrong

- wrong to pose constituent as an
alternative govt.

Colombia
Ecuador
Brazil

(19)

Livio -

vs. candidates EIMDB

~~Global~~
Counter Report = Greco

against ^{orig} (Armador motion)

abstain or tie

of all ~~Legis~~ delegations to L.A.
none had Argentine PTes on them

all (exc. Brazil) have been factional

always supported special personalities
above party - Beaud, Blamo, Socorro,
Antonio (Venez.)

a fractional use of numbers of members

- e.g. Mexico
- PRT claims 1,000 - 1,200
but - dues = _____
signature oppn = _____

Brazil - 360 || = the party that has
grown the most

Venez - have close leadership
of t.u.'s

Arg - 3 ~ 3,500 + 1,000 close
a use delegation could visit

PST stronger than PSOE ~~was~~
under transition

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report ^{to} ~~of~~ USSR was part of the int'l
fraud for w.c.

Usher doesn't discuss Nicaragua
but spends time on Bernal

~~BT is~~ for a govt of Sandanistas
together w/ w.c. orgs that break
w/ r.c.

Sa Leal -

BT has 6,000 today
we aim for 10,000 by w.c.

disagree w/ L.A. doc & will
present an alternative

Latin America document

Manuel -

✓ org books - as important as proletarianization

Divisio structure = n.g.

not necessary to rewrite

OK - Marxist approach / social focus

leitmotiv = alt development

=> classical model

tr. role of party = correct

text = propagandist + abstract
general affirmations

e.g. pts

(Industrial)

W.C. struggles

- discrepancy between potential
& actual
- + exaggeration of strength of
vanguard

e.g. Dem Tendency in Mexico
doesn't mention how it turned out

- If correct to reaffirm classical model,
but should leave door open for
exceptions in some places

→ To present Cuba rev as classical
model = wrong

role of armed struggle in Cuba
disappears

→

many phenomena existed prior to 10 yrs
intro ~~p. 4~~ ^{ago} impuise re defeats
of southern cone

II

p17 Sp. imprecise
to say either defeat or success

any
precise
proposals
to editing
comm.

re Social Democracy -
(do Soc. Demos play)
what role is reactionary

will only grow by including
bourgeois sectors

- need to clarify re BT

nat'l Q.-

~~can't~~ can't confound racial +
national Q's

never has the Q (since time
of 3rd int'l) been
posed like that

[This is a key Q for L.A.

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Cuba -

burmeseget in - has gone far

Angola today - Cuba role = n.g.

~~_____~~
to call for f.u.'s to form
w.c. parties -

in some countries = OK

but not in most

~~_____~~
Cap 7 43 (Sp.)

formulation re alliances -

~~_____~~
last part -

Jim - electoral tactics

needs some improvement

107-Encyc -

programs re labor ptg

pt 35

re FOCEP

seems vague unless you know more about it

tasks - g -

lack of rigor

could have critical support

"rigorously support + popularize"

re electoral alliances -

not with CP

Hugo B. -

generally agree w/ doc

rescind = absolutely necessary

3 still "undergroundist" decisions

e.g. a.o.s. units

small cells

HQ.



pro soviet forms - e.g. Chile
Peru

should be mentioned, ^{not} not exaggerated



~~vs - sectarian "red union" tendencies -~~



seizure of land as a form of struggle



~~barriadas - marginal to industry
a new form of artisanry = e.g. auto tinkers
also - peddlers~~

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epoch of populist nationalism is not
over - e.g. Velasco

Cuba ~~is~~
formulations
not completely impartial

Cuba in Africa -
anti imperialist

but not quite correct to say
this

Cap 10 page 11

since \exists f.t.u.'s by factory

some t.u. left =

dec'y of t.u.

Cap 5 p. 1

\exists pre columbian forms

VS Livio pt on agrarian reform
(i.e. only soc rev. can solve)

(29)

HB -

> For this pt on nat'l oppression
but not all are
minorities

Cap 5 p. 18
p. 20-20

we aren't only ones who
struggle

>

re police :

agree || diff - soldiers / police

*

^(it is)
but / too one-sided to say we
don't try to win the police

=

experience of
need more on [cordones industriales
= organized by ^{industrial} zones
not branches

cap 6 - p. 9

struggle to eliminate middlemen
ch. ~~forge~~ alliance / w.c. / peasants

Edgardo Pellegrini -

agree w/ doc

except -
re Cuba

pt) 31

p. 121

in Africa

~

Idisciplinary - prob. rest of this

re

Ernest -

concrete parts are good

synthetic parts are weak -

tend to obviate concrete parts

Amendments:

- 1) introductions must summarize main changes + line

31

not true = to say dependence ^(on imperialism) is
bigger than in the past

- bleaker and bleaker

lack of dealing with - what
will happen to dictatorships

- objective basis starts
to appear for them to
disappear

- e.g. Venezuela
possib - Mexico

~~oil~~ oil - Ch I

easy prey to bankers
- Mexico (?)
- Brazil not true

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Cuba -
agree w/ Eduardo
re contra w/ pol. res.

add
in section
re guerrillas

[Castro gives support to Videla regime
in line w/ alliance w/ CP's

class struggle left wing
= one-sided

need to distinguish between

1) class struggle left wing
as goal

2) classista tendencies existing

rescind
p96 - Chile

cordones could become organs
of self-defense

Blacks

- This is a new idea

do we need a vote on this?

Pat

- amendments -

rescinds ~~the~~ -

re PAT/ERP = 9th w.c line

rescinds &

recognize that it adopted
an incorrect line

pt. 30 -

diffs "will" take place

"major components"

↑
delete &

p. 120 Cuba in Africa

delete all after "class struggle"
to Ethiopia

Peter -

- Colombia

- Costa Rica

Bicy?

Peter cont'd
nat'l Q

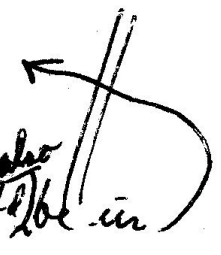
M-A
nat'l Q

- Sandor -
- Cuba
 - 9th w.c.
 - self-defense
 - w.c. pty.

Guo -

Brian -
- mass self-defense

tasks - pt. 35 -
 p95 - correct ^{also} should be in



J-P

rescind

The line of this is contradictory to
9th + 10th

all developments in L.A. have been
made in contra to 9th + 10th w/c line

rescind = necessary in Latin America

Cuba - amendment solves
some problems (new version)
~~it is~~ important to stress
the old position

re Hugo B -

all OK except re
rebirth of natist song, movements

re self-defense tasks

- wrong to give impression
that there are key tasks today
Today, basically, our tasks are propaganda

(36)

Soccom -

psa ~~to~~ exec. comm
completely in agreement

proletarianization

- we agree w/ dtd
pol
us

but in order to achieve
this we first have to
strengthen the leaderships

but agree that we have to be
in w.c. to lead in period
of rise

anti-imp tasks

- agree w/ Ernest re
conjunctural agreements
rather than alliances

anti-imp front - we put
off discussion until
after this doc. comes
out // but Q is important

37

Black -

this is one of 1st Q's we discussed
at the congress

so it should be left in to
facilitate the discussion + educate

~~ones~~
T's in Colombia are only
ones to have a position on this,
just as we're the only ones with
a position on women's liberation

labor party -

discussion on this
in Colombia

L.A. - Summary + Vote -

1) we don't accept ^(removal of) revocation

2) Cuba -

pt. 30 clearly indicates
past positions

pt 31. include from Cuba
part of pol. resolu.

3) Brian -

reject amendment as a task

include more on self-defense
on Chile pt.

4) Inter

we accept many of EM pts
- shows new text

(39)

5) ent.-imp. alliances

& alliances

~~instead~~ || ~~concrete actions~~
instead || - agreements
- concrete actions

6) clearly differentiate

class struggle left wing

+ - existing classista

tendencies

7) Venezuela - oil → industrialization

OK

Mexico - despite econ ↑
austerity strong
w/ conditions ↓

is more complex

8) 2nd Int'l

- to attack w.c.

(40)

9) Keiro should present any
concrete proposals.

10) Jini
independence
labor party
elections

11) Hugo - OK
a) being nationalists -
can come a

b) police -

Key = no strategy to
win police as
a ^{social} sector

12) Blacks -

discuss it, but include

≠ nations, nationalities
in sense of Russ Rev.

but 3 dimensions national

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Editing Commission - J.P, Mand, GUS

1) amendments → ^{editing} ~~drafting~~ commission

2) vote on general line

3) ches can reserve vote

nat'l Q - Blacks

at this time not proposed
for a definite decision
at world congress -

Amendments for a vote:



(42)

Brian -

rejection of amendment \Rightarrow
changes in conclusions

resubmitting \Rightarrow reject analysis

Peterson -

wants a vote on two:

1) PRT-ERP -

2) delete ref to Cuban
role in Africa

Livio -

need to take a stand on Cuba
for w.c.

OK -

Sander -

- disagree w/ reject of Brian

✓ Self-defense -
 - expand - g-war,
 - include on Chile pt
 - ~~planned~~ ^{say} Chile, ^{guerrilla} in print under
 propaganda tasks
 under 35
 e.g. Tacna speech

motion to refer: USFI
 for: all
 against: Brewster
 no vote: ~~all~~: Jeanette

IECAUSB
 - all
 - Peterson

vote on general line:
 Livio - reserves vote
 - who's votes based on
 t.u.'s - not in
 majority of case

vote on general line

for: all incl Brewster
+ Peterson

opposed: Greco

[Latin American Biers were not present during the discussion]

not voting: Pierre Frank
Lirio
Mans
Janette
Franco

45

USB Report -

- OERFI



WSL - split

~ 1/2 went to Spartacists



Latin America =

Pem #1

against

abst.
on U.V.

~~Graco~~
Graco

Pem #2

Graco

Pem #3

Graco

(Pem - for materials)
aid

unanimous



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BT motion

HB asks - is H.B. for president posed
vs. or together w/ Ledesma

because PST ^(same)
asks

HB - pres.

Ledesma - vice-pres. -

Em asks -
1

3 will greco accept an amendment
to stop ~~the~~ HB for pres. pending
disc. in party commission

Jack: motion to table:

carries:

against Greco, Brewski

abst. Claudio Edgardo
Peterson

(47)

	For	Against	Abst.
<u>Bolivia</u>	unan	.	
<u>Ecuador</u>	unan		
<u>Panama</u>		Greco	
Fausts Amador	all except		Meleni Sindon Greco Mauril Claudio
			N.V. Fournier Roman
general part line of Blanco report on few			N.V. Greco
Brazil - solidly	unan.		

Nicaragua
(BT) motion -

counter: refer to USB the
continuation of implementation
of line, including a public statement

USB (cont'd)

- Europe
- attacks vs Peter Uhl
accused of being a
"terrorist" - a much
more serious charge

- Composition of USB II
- Iran
refer statement to USB
- Next USB Mtgs.

Jan. 26-28

March 23-25

49

Portugal - unification -

important, in view of collapse of far left

(unified) new/gp = PSR

~~PSR~~ strongest, aside from GOP

Sachal interview to A Luta

pro-2nd Intl

not registering a vote: Greco

Turkey
=> F go



50

Report on Bolshevik Faction -

because of Brazil arrests we
couldn't get docs to USFI

reasons for forming a faction
false to say BF has no political
positions

- old LTF 10th w.c. docs
- BT platform

Why TB → FB

1) banality of leadership

2) no pol platform of new
leadership bloc // no balance
sheet

3) Theoretical level
 ↳ and moral

↓

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method of new majority = diplomatic
consensus

reject doc: soc democracy + dict of prol
- concessions to imperialist pressure
- soviet presented as organs in
which all pties participate,
even counter-revs.

opposed to giving counter-revs. the opportunity
to organize

dict. of prol.

- one party or multi party acc to
conditions
- organized repression organized
by pty



The party exerts this
dictatorship

gives the broadest possible
to discuss - but these freedoms
combined w/ strict social discipline

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will implement terror where necessary

→ against abstract norms

= a revisionist document

Eurocommunism

→ no proposals for a.f.
or social pact

w.c. - 1st pt should be a
pt- org. balance sheet

French LCR PB criticized Sp LCR
for a "leadership crisis"

great fraud for 1st w.c.

proletarianization -
use LT criteria of 1930's

docs

1) Soc. Demot Dict. of Prod.

2) Wld Pol. Res.

3) Eurocommun

4) Latin Amer.

5) probably on Europe

6) balance of FI

7) women
prob not counter doc,
but amendments

Leadership:

arg: Ernesto, Aldo, Martin, Pedro

Briz: Antonio, Antonio, Luisa

Col: Camilo, Eduardo, Julio

Esp: Enrique

Italy: Dario

Mex: ~~_____~~ Nava

incl "at large" of Moreno, Dario Guzman, ~~_____~~, ~~_____~~, Greece

Peru: Turo

Port: Antonio

S.A. (Emilio (Peru), Jorge (Ur))

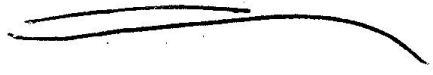
Lat Am: 1

(54)

were invited to conf. -
- Escobar - Bolivia - couldn't come
- WSL - England - came
Bob Sutcliffe

motion:

- 1) BF should integrate in center
Grew - not present
- 2) Uwe requests BF leadership to
respond to IMG letter prior
to next USFI mtg
Grew - not present



World Congress Preparation

- Spain - LC public faction

reject request for disc

- date for w.c

Jack proposes October -

Ernest - opposes

Brian - opposes

Roman - opposes

Livio - opposes

Charles M. -

can't make docs really available prior to Feb. -

need to gain "adhesion" of members to line - to assimilate -

Cresco - for postpone in principle, but abstain

Gree -
we don't really know what's behind the date question
we suspect there are political d's behind this - so we want to abstain rather than take a position that might not be in interests of our faction

Manuel - (Sp) agree w/ Charles
does won't really get to ranks - until end Feb, Mar in Spanish
need to be serious in organizing disc in ranks
we don't have the docs in Spanish -

J-P -

Manuel (Mex) - October
Francis Ver - ~~proposed for January~~
for January 1980
but will vote against October

Oct - wins

June

IIDB -

propose: USB has right to
approve submissions to
IIDB

- Alan Jones
- Nemo on Eurocommunism
- OST - G.H. // Fr. elections
- Hugo Blanco vs. BT
- BT statement

Soc. Dem. & Diet of Prob