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X: IC

- ✓ ① Letter from Otto re
Moreno's group's
physical attacks on
PSR & the dangers
thereof.
- ✓ ② Report on PSR CC meeting
- ✓ ③ PSR Leaflet denouncing
Morenista attacks.
- ✓ ④ Sánchez letter to USec
calling for Control
Commission.

✓ X / I.C.
Bogotá, julio 29 de 1979

Gus Horowitz
14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014

Querido Camarada Gus,

Antes que nada recibe de mi parte y de los demás camaradas aquí un fuerte abrazo. Esta nota es para reseñarte los últimos desarrollos de la disputa actual del FSR con el PST colombiano. Te adjunto varios materiales pertinentes a los hechos que aquí mencionaré.

Tratando de desviar la atención que sobre el PST está centrándose en estos días por los escándalos de diverso orden que están comenzando a fluir de los tejemanejes de la Brigada Simón Bolívar y de las actuaciones más generales de la Fracción Bolchevique Internacionalista, la dirección del PST colombiano, dirigido personalmente por Nahuel Moreno, ha desatado una calculada campaña de calumnias contra el FSR.

Utilizando el artículo de un periodista burgués de Cali (periodista con el cual no tenemos ningún vínculo político, y artículo sobre el cual no tenemos ninguna responsabilidad) la dirección del PST(c) ha fabricado la acusación de que los camaradas Ricardo Sánchez, Ciro Roldán y Jaime Galarza son los patrocinadores de un ataque reaccionario del periodista Valverde a la brigada Simón Bolívar. Al parecer (no tenemos aquí el texto del artículo de Valverde, estamos buscándolo, tan pronto lo obtengamos te enviaremos copia) Valverde afirma allí que tal brigada la creó el PST para lucrarse con la solidaridad con el pueblo de Nicaragua, etc.

El Comité Ejecutivo Nacional del FSR ha rechazado tales cargos del PST y también ha rechazado el artículo de Valverde. (Ver Combate Socialista, No. 12, 5 de agosto/79). No obstante, ayer los morenistas escalaron su campaña hasta límites muy peligrosos. Han publicado en El Socialista de esta semana una "Carta abierta del compañero Javier Múnera combatiente del FSLN y miembro de la Brigada Simón Bolívar, herido en combate", etc

en la que éste -evidentemente manipulado por los creadores de la insidiosa calumnia- virtualmente incita al atentado personal contra nuestros camaradas. Pide además tal "carta abierta" la convocatoria de un "tribunal revolucionario" para juzgar en Managua al periodista y a nuestros tres camaradas por sus "crímenes" y su "somocismo".

En uno de sus apartes tal carta sugiere que para el PST de nada valdrán nuestras explicaciones. "No nos pasamos por siglos y siglos discutiendo e intercambiando insultos (...) los revolucionarios tenemos, en cuestiones como éstas, procedimientos muy distintos". Y a renglón seguido la carta abierta de Javier Múnera lanza en forma oblicua la siguiente amenaza: "yo, los demás compañeros (que aprendimos a manejar algo más que alfileres) prometemos públicamente que no les daremos bala en Managua (...) En lo que a nosotros respecta, no les vamos a tocar un pelo" (a los tres citados dirigentes del FSR).

Evidentemente con este tipo de frases y con el tipo de caracterizaciones que la carta abierta hace de nuestros camaradas ("gusanos", "trío de canallas sin honor", "son peores ustedes que los chiguines con los que me tocó combatir", "gusanos de la misma calaña que Somoza", etc.) están dando vía libre a que los miembros de la brigada Simón Bolívar o del FST (c) saquen conclusiones violentas de ese texto y se lancen a atacar físicamente a los tres camaradas del FSR.

Por supuesto, las tensiones entre los miembros del PST y del FSR se están intensificando. El sábado 28 de julio, nuestro camarada Oscar Fernández, miembro del comité ejecutivo nacional del FSR, quien había ido al local central del PST a pagarles unos libros, fue despedido del mismo local sin ser atendido, pues los miembros del FSR "son enemigos de clase" del PST, según declaración de Eduardo Barragán, dirigente del PST.

Estos hechos nos hacen recordar los incidentes de México en 1975-76, donde agentes del PST argentino instigaron una escisión de la Liga Socialista en la cual incluyeron ataques físicos el 23 de enero de 1976 contra camaradas de la Fracción Bolchevique Leninista, con el apoyo y dirección de los miembros del PST argentino.

Hoy podríamos estar ante el inicio de un nuevo ciclo de violencia dentro del movimiento obrero propiciado por Nahuel Moreno directamente contra miembros del ISR, con el consabido daño para la IV Internacional en su conjunto. Pero lo de ahora potencialmente puede ser más grave que lo de México en 1976. No sólo es sumamente explosivo el factor de la composición militarista, aventurera e incontrolable políticamente de la llamada brigada Simón Bolívar, sino la calidad de proclamas publicas que El Socialista está haciendo contra nosotros. Tampoco son menos dañinos los conceptos sobre "terror rojo" vertidos por Nahuel Moreno en su reciente texto de "democracia revolucionaria del proletariado".

En Colombia, como en muchos países, existen antecedentes de asesinatos de dirigentes de izquierda, perpetrados por agentes del régimen capitalista (el caso del abogado maoista Alfonso Romero Buj es el más reciente) que han quedado en la impunidad gracias a las previas amenazas de las sectas políticas contra las víctimas.

Hemos escrito ayer mismo una declaración respondiendo lo de la "carta abierta". Al mismo tiempo estamos pidiendo formalmente la convocatoria de la Comisión de Control de la Internacional para que investigue no solo estas conductas del PST aquí reseñadas, sino los cargos que se están levantando en este país contra el PST, sobretodo en relación con la brigada Simón Bolívar, lo cual afecta no solo a esa organización sino al trotskismo en Colombia.

En principio estimamos que podríamos recoger el guante al PST llamando a la convocatoria de una comisión obrera que investigue imparcialmente los cargos que Moreno y su gente hacen contra dirigentes del ISR para terminar así con ese sucio maniobreo de la TBI. Mucho nos serviría conocer tus opiniones al respecto.

Finalmente, queremos solicitarte que se incluya en el itinerario de Peter hacia Perú una parada por algunos días a Bogotá para que él personalmente se empape de la situación y examine con nosotros la situación a seguir.

Quedamos a la espera de tus comentarios.

Cordial abrazo

Otto

cc SU

APARTADO AEREO 16496

BOGOTA - COLOMBIA

July 29, 1979

Gus Horowitz
International Office
SWP
New York

Dear Gus,

Ricardo Sanchez asked me to write you a report on the recently concluded central committee meeting of the PSR. The meet took place the weekend of July 20-22 in Bogota and included party trade union leaders as well as the regular cc members. The former had voice and a consultative vote.

It was a pretty smooth affair, democratically conducted. Although many critical opinions were expressed on different aspects of the party's work, no significant disagreements over political line emerged. Quite the contrary, almost all the votes were unanimous.

Politically the most important decision taken was to raise and champion the slogan for a Labor Party based on the trade unions. Although raised initially in Combate Socialist last spring, the slogan was withdrawn due to objections that it hadn't been voted at a previous Congress or cc meeting. Although it was only a part of the overall political report delivered by Ricardo Sanchez it was clearly the focus of the ensuing discussion. Both the concrete situation in Colombia and the theoretical aspects of ~~union~~ this slogan were discussed pretty thoroughly. The absence of a mass workers party with authority in the eyes of the working class, the continuing dominance, politically, of the two bourgeois parties over the most important union federations and over the class itself, the deepening radicalization of the working class which is beginning to express itself in a more political fashion, and the discussion which has already begun, independently of us, in some unions of the idea of labor candidates and a labor party led the party to believe that the labor party demand is ~~more~~ objectively needed and should get an increasingly good response from our class in the period ahead. The cc decided not to raise the slogan in a routine way, but to launch an all-party effort to propagandize and agitate around it. Given the party's not insignificant trade union base this could develop into a very ~~an~~ exciting political campaign worth keeping our eyes on for the international press. The SWP's discussions with Trotsky and its experience with this slogan over the decades were drawn upon heavily in the preparatory discussions before the cc and during it.

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In its balance sheet ~~in~~ the four months since the last cc that was presented to the cc several points are worth making. From the party building point of view the most significant accomplishment is the regularization of Combate Socialist. For several months it had not appeared which severely retarded the party's progress, both internally and externally. By March the leadership had agreed on the necessity to subsidize the periodical (a major point of contention previously) and of the importance of bringing it out at all costs. There was general agreement that it was quite good in its political content and in its professional appearance.

Progress was also reported in the opening of new party locals in a number of areas and the regularization of functioning of party units in the major cities. A very positive balance sheet was drawn of the party's leading role in the struggle to defend democratic rights (the Foro for Human Rights, etc.) and in the fight for trade union unity (Central Unico). The party's energetic, visible (as party members) and successful fight at the CSTC (CP led federation) Congress pointed to the growing trade union strength and influence of the PSR in the trade union movement.

The organizational report also included many self-criticisms on the organizational side of party building, to wit: the infrequent publication of the internal bulletin, the poor communication between the national office and the regional apparatus, the bad financial condition of the national apparatus, the collapse of the Organization Commission, and more.

PSR cc/2

A special point in the report took note of the weakness of the Executive Committee elected by the last cc. The EC lost a number of members due to resignations from this body (but not the party) for a gamut of reasons, mostly financial. This weakened the ~~EX~~ EC and led to the collapse of several commissions. Filling these gaps with new elections was made a central point or task of the cc.

Both the EC leaders and the cc leaders expressed numerous criticisms of the organizational side of party building in the PSR and there was agreement on the need to strengthen the national office team and its functioning. Part of this, it was agreed, was the need to strengthen the Bogota regional. Unlike other parties the Bogota region of the PSR is weak relative to the regions and to the need for a strong base for the national office. It was also agreed that the first financial commitment of all the regions had to be to ~~xxxx~~ the national office and not to their local needs. A high priority was put on bringing out a regular internal bulleting, keeping up a steady correspondence with the regionals, etc.

In a separate financial point some important decisions were made. First, the cc decided to abandon the % (table) or "tax" system of party financing in favor of a two-tiered system quite similar to the SWP's, that is, a minimum financial obligation for every member (dues) and a voluntary sustainer. It turned out, much to the surprise of several leaders opposed to the shift, that several regions and a number of financial directors had, in practice, abandoned the set tax or % system as unrealistic and unworkable and were only using it as a "guide". Part of phasing in the new system, it was agreed, would be mounting a campaign to professionalize the party bookkeeping at all levels and education around the politics of financing a revolutionary party, with detailed explanations of the national budget, the political motivation behind each budget item, etc.

In addition it was decided to launch a "1st Birthday" fund drive for \$350,000 pesos between now and the ~~xxxx~~ Congress set for October. A decision was also taken to mount a subscription drive for 500 new subscribers at "supporter prices" of \$300 pesos each for Combate.

An important report was given by the leader of the PST who led the "Tendencia Unidad de la IV Internacional". He reported on the political basis of the tendency and the events leading up to its recent expulsion (7 in total). They are preparing documents on the internal life of the PST and the Bolshevik Faction. He reported that the tendency still has supporters in the PST. They are going to fight for the reversal of their expulsion but have little hope in its eventuality.

The current dispute with the PST was given quite a bit of attention, but you'll be receiving a separate letter on this and some very serious developments in this area. The cc also passed a position on the use of marijuana, prohibiting its use, for security reasons, by members.

These are the high points of the cc. In general the party cc drew a positive balance sheet of its work, a positiveness also expressed in the high morale evident at the cc and the enthusiasm expressed for the work ahead.

comradely,

Mike
Mike K.

enclosed: Political report, Tendency (PST) document, Organization document.
cc: USec.

PS. I forgot one very important point. The cc discussed the world congress and decided to hold a PSR Congress in late October solely on international questions. The cc also set a schedule for the discussion and debate of each of the 4 documents being presented for a vote. This discussion will be held in each cell and in the regional as a unit for each document. All the documents are now available here, in book form from the PST and are being distributed to the bases.

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CONTRA LA ESTRATEGIA DE LA INFAMIA

Ayer viernes 27 de julio en un acto del Comité Nacional de Solidaridad con Nicaragua realizado en la Universidad INCA de Bogotá y con la presidencia de Ricardo Sánchez (PSR), Carlos Bula (Firmes), Luis Villar (Liberalismo de Izquierda), Alejandro Gómez (PCC) entre otros, fue repartida una carta abierta "A mis ex-amigos, los gusanos Ricardo Sánchez, Jaime Galarza y Ciro Roldán, trío de canallas sin honor" firmada por Javier Múnera. Tal distribución fue coordinada por Luis C. Valencia.

Con anterioridad el Socialista del 6 de julio publicó en términos semejantes un libelo firmado por Kemel George.

De acuerdo a la propia carta de Javier Múnera: "Pasé tres días entre la vida y la muerte" y continúa en reclusión hospitalaria. Ha leído el artículo calumniador de Kemel George y en base a él se nos ataca de nuevo, esta vez comparándonos con los gusanos somocistas y haciéndonos responsables de gravísimas acusaciones contra la brigada Simón Bolívar, acusaciones que nunca hemos hecho. (Ver Combate Socialista #12) Pero que a Javier Múnera y ahora a la opinión pública se le quiere hacer creer que efectivamente somos enemigos a quienes hay que llevar a un "tribunal revolucionario" y a los cuales, léase bien que estamos copiando textualmente: "En ese sentido, les adelanto una primera garantía (fundamental para ustedes, que SON COBARDES DE TIEMPO COMPLETO) yo, los demás compañeros (que aquí aprendimos a manejar algo más que alfileres) prometemos públicamente QUE NO LES DAREMOS BALA EN Nicaragua."

Estamos ante una estrategia de la infamia. Ante una provocación peligrosa en la que no se nos da bala porque somos cobardes. Y si no lo somos?? Ante este llamamiento público a difamar a dirigentes del P.S.R., pero no sólo a difamar sino además a propiciar AGRESIONES, el Partido Socialista Revolucionario llama a repudiar tales métodos y amenazas de las cuales hacemos responsables a Nahuel Moreno, Kemel George y Luis C. Valencia. Y agregamos: los hacemos desde ya responsables de cualquier agresión física a los camaradas Ricardo Sánchez, Ciro Roldán y Jaime Galarza. La experiencia histórica enseña que los cuerpos secretos de la reacción suelen utilizar estos tipos de ataques para agredir o eliminar a quienes son calumniados. También enseña que jóvenes ~~sectarizados~~ suelen descolgarse y hacer "justicia" por su cuenta.

LA VERDAD ES SIEMPRE REVOLUCIONARIA

Comité Ejecutivo Nacional
PARTIDO SOCIALISTA REVOLUCIONARIO

Bogotá, 28 de julio de 1979

APARTADO AEREO 16496

BOGOTA - COLOMBIA

July 29, 1979

United SecretariatInt.
Office

Dear comrades,

The Executive Committee of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario voted unanimously on Saturday, July 28, to formally request the sending of a Control Commission to Colombia for the following reasons:

1. The grave danger of physical assaults against PSR leaders Ricardo Sanchez, Jaime Galarza and Ciro Roldan by members of the PST or police agents. On July 27, the PST in Bogota began distributing a 3-page mimeographed "letter" (see enclosed) charging the above named comrades with being "gusanos" and "Son ustedes peores que los chiguines (name used for the soldiers of Somoza) con los que me toco combatir" and calling for a revolutionary tribunal to try the three comrades. The charges leveled against the comrades, the context of the letter and its tone could, in our opinion, lead to one of two dangerous situations: an assault by newer, inexperienced members of the PST against the PSR comrades, or, a police assault against the same comrades under cover of this fratricidal political assault of the PST. The letter is being circulated both to the ranks of the PST and to the public. *ver El Soc., _____, Caratula*
2. Irrespective of the danger of assault, the charges raised by the PST are a serious blow against, not only the PSR, but the IV as a whole. Related to this incident is the earlier leveling of similarly serious charges in public meetings and issues of El Socialista against the PSR, comrade Peter Camejo and against the IV as a whole, charges of "betrayal" of the Nicaraguan revolution.
3. Charges from outside the ranks of the IV against the PST, again of a serious nature, which threaten the good name of trotskyism in the workers' movement, especially with regard to the revolution in Nicaragua. There are two sets of charges. One involves the theft of journalistic materials and their alleged subsequent use by the PST in El Socialista (see enclosed journalists' letter currently being circulated in the workers' movement and journalistic circles in Colombia). The other set of charges involves the misuse of funds collected in the name of the FSLN for the Simon Bolivar Brigade organized by the PST. Essentially, a bourgeois journalist, Valverde, accused Nahuel Moreno and the PST of diverting funds intended for the Nicaraguan freedom fighters for their own use. (see articles enclosed)

We believe the immediate intervention of the International, by means of a Control Commission, or, if more appropriate, another body, to defuse the current situation with respect to the danger of assault is needed. In addition, we believe a thorough, impartial investigation of the charges made against the PSR by the PST must be conducted and a report made available to the entire trotskyist movement. With respect to the second category of charges we are not sure if a control commission is the response needed or not. We would like your opinion on how to proceed with respect to the charges leveled against the PST and the good name of trotskyism.

comradely,

10 / February 9
Ricardo Sanchez
Executive Committee, PSR