

Contents:

REPORT ON PROCEEDINGS OF TILC, SUMMER 1982.

Political Report/Discussion .....	P1
Secretariat Report .....	P4
Discussion on Lebanon .....	P7
Debate on Malvinas .....	P8
December conference/democratic centralism (1) .....	P17
Section reports: Spain/Hackney .....	P19
USA .....	P20
December Conference/d-c (2) .....	P22
Voting (December conf; Lebanon; Malvinas;) .....	P25
Summer School: Statement of protest .....	P26
WSL reply .....	P27
Resolution/vote .....	P29
Other Business: Italy, Chile, Belgium .....	P29
Resolutions: *MALVINAS WAR	
*Supplementary statement on Malvinas resolution	
*LEBANON	
*TRANSFORMING THE TILC (December Conference)	
*ON EVENTS AT SUMMER SCHOOL.	

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Work is urgently needed to reestablish the functioning of the international commissions. The main ones are: Hispanic (Spain/Portugal/Latin America); USA; French; Australian; Middle East; Turkey; Anti-Apartheid. This work is crucial to support our involvement in TILC and to promote awareness and analysis of international questions in the WSL. We urge comrades with any knowledge, or simply a willingness to learn and do serious work on these countries, to come forward and help develop this work. Please contact cde Cunliffe by letter c/o the Centre.



Trotskyist International Liaison Committee

(for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International)

MEETING, SUMMER 1982.

The meeting, 9 sessions in all, spanned the WSL 1982 Summer School.

Agenda: Attendance

Political Report/Discussion

Secretariat Report

Middle East - Lebanon resolution.

Malvinas/Falklands War - resolution.

December TIIC conference/ democratic centralism

USFI, developments in world movement.

Section reports.

Attendance: Present: TAF (Denmark); RWL (US sympathising section);  
LOR (Italy); WSL (Britain); Rigal (France);  
Spanish sympathiser; Hackney group.

Unable to attend: SF (Australia) - their written report  
arrived by post just too late for the meeting.

Observers: Cunliffe and Traven proposed that once again  
an invitation be opened to the LC(Chile) and Chilean  
cdes ex-FIT. They had been invited, but unable to  
attend Easter meeting, but since involved in several  
discussions. Agreed. (ex-FIT cdes did attend some  
sessions of meeting; LC cdes did not arrive).

Political Report: Cunliffe reported.

The economic crisis of imperialism is especially acute in the  
leading imperialist nations. Still no recovery in US where Reagan-  
omics failing like Thatcherism in Britain. In Britain record  
unemployment figures together with employers' (CBI) appeal to  
Tories for reflation, attacking false govt economic forecasts. In  
France too economic crisis has driven Mitterrand to adopt Thatcher-  
style policies.

This crisis has its impact on non-imperialist countries, which  
come under pressure to meet debt payments and interest charges while  
their chances of exporting on world market are restricted by slump.  
This sharpens need for imperialists to keep control over semi-  
colonial countries. Whatever our differences over Malvinas war,  
we are agreed it was a war for imperialist authority - to intimi-  
date Argentina - a big debtor - and any other nations that might  
consider defying imperialism or defaulting. But Galtieri of course  
had no intention of really breaking with imperialism - debt payments  
continued throughout the war. Similar phony anti-imperialism  
can be seen in other Latin American bourgeoisies, who talked of  
supporting Argentina but were used as tools for US diplomatic  
manoeuvres. Also Costa Mendes' fraudulent anti-imperialism at the  
Havana non-Aligned Conference, promoted as genuine by US SWP.  
to maintain this pose, Galtieri forced to withdraw 1,000 Argentine  
troops from Honduras and El Salvador.

Aftermath of Malvinas war has seen rise in struggle in El Salvador  
with seemingly big guerrilla victories met by dispatch of Honduran  
troops to back up regime. Reports of secret talks between D'Aubuis-  
son and FMLN involving also Cuban representatives. Meanwhile in  
Nicaragua troops from Honduras together with ex-National Guardsmen  
have crossed border in what seems a substantial move. Little sign  
that imperialists genuinely want a negotiated settlement.

In Middle East, Begin exploited last days of Malvinas war as  
an opportunity to stage his long-planned invasion of Lebanon.  
Despite expressed reservations of US imperialism, we must consider  
that the invasion was discussed beforehand with US leaders and  
that US imperialists are in effect co-aggressors. The EEC bourge-  
oisies have denounced the invasion - but continue to supply arms  
to the Zionists.

2)

Another factor prompting Begin must be victory of Iran against Iraq. It has substantial implications for stability of Gulf area. We have no illusions of possible progressive elements in the Iranian regime, but we should recognise that were it to defeat Iraq and threaten Kuwait it would be disruptive for imperialism. It well suits imperialists to prolong the Iran/Iraq conflict; the longer it goes on the more the forces at least nominally opposed to Zionism are weakened. If either regime were overthrown by right wing forces that too would be welcome to imperialism. TILC position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides remains correct.

Note abstentionist position of Kremlin on both Iran/Iraq and on Lebanon. Stalinists continue to back existence of Zionist state and play a counter-revolutionary role in seeking "stability" in Middle East.

But Moscow also heavily preoccupied with Poland. Not been able to stabilise internal situation. Note cancellation of Pope's visit - fear of masses on streets - and its endorsement from Glomp. Jaruzelski's "concessions" an admission of failure: still cannot release all prisoners for fear of resurgence of underground Solidarnosc. Church leaders however backing the bureaucracy, and Solidarnosc clandestine leaders also seem to be advising compromise and "moderation". This does not necessarily reflect rank and file.

In South Africa we see a renewed strike wave - carworkers, miners, metalworkers, etc, plus Rowntree. At the same time South Africa aiding reactionary guerrillas in Angola and Mozambique.

Note that US SWP has discovered a new Grenada/Nicaragua ... in Ghana!

In the imperialist countries, important conflicts over sliding scale of wages in Italy. Also major bosses' offensive in Britain - Tebbit Bill to be followed by further anti-union laws governing union rulebooks. Tory confrontation policy in public sector - rail, NHS. ASLEF historic betrayal by TUC, almost direct repeat of BL betrayal last year. This will have severe consequences and fits in to a right wing offensive in the labour movement which also includes wht witch-hunt in the Labour Party and imposition of the register. In response to this we are trying to group opposition. Outcome of this struggle not yet clear. Sections of the reformist left are looking for ways to compromise, but strong resistance in the rank and file. Mood of working class indicated by strength of ASLEF strikers and NHS dispute - with the biggest development of solidarity strike action for decades developing round the NHS. In response to this, WSL began again agitating for "prepare a General Strike".

Jette (TAF): Islamic caste in Iran expect big problems if they end the war. They have taken no steps towards land reform - they cannot do so. The poor masses from the countryside and towns have been used to form the Pasdaran - used in the war by the hundreds and thousands, while the bourgeois army has been reformed with a new caste of military leaders. It would create an unstable situation if these thousands of unemployed poured back into the cities, and a new layer of self-confident officers having won the war return to find civil society in chaos. This must be seen as one reason why the war has gone on into the invasion of Iraq.

We should question Soviet policy in Iran with the Stalinist (Tudeh) Party supporting Khomeini. Does this suggest Kremlin might want a Khomeini-like regime in Afghanistan?

Fall of Galtieri has brought layers of military leadership to see the need for some kind of formal democracy to prevent danger of mass overthrow of the regime.

Fernando (LOR): The disarray of the Argentine junta has strengthened the pro-imperialist forces within the junta.

We should be careful in dealing with Begin's invasion of Lebanon. Imperialists were forced to support Begin - but this does not mean prior agreement was given.

Khomeinis' regime in Iran is not simply an expression of the national bourgeoisie. Nor was Bani-Sadr. Khomeinis can be described broadly as a petty-bourgeois movement, balancing between the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the power of the army - a bonapartist regime.

The Stalinist capitulation to Khomeini is part of the same phenomenon in other reactionary regimes - for instance Latin America. The Soviet bureaucracy is not particularly committed to Khomeini, but is tied to policy of class collaboration.

Ali (Hackney gp): Sharp turn in Turkish economic crisis - resignation of Turgut Ozul, the architect of the junta's Friedmanite policies. Collapse of Castelli, who in last 3 years became the biggest banker in Turkey, threatening major banks with bankruptcy. Castelli made his fortune from the monetarist strategy, attracting masses of small savings, hoping to create a pool of native finance capital. Now gone bust owing nearly \$1 billion - leaving junta to pick up the pieces, needing to find £300 m. Shareholders worst hit were mainly officer caste of army - but victims over 5 million (1 in 8 of population). But junta held responsible for economic failure, facing political repercussions.

A couple of weeks later the regime came out with draft constitution offering supposed basis for a return to "democracy". Civilian politicians may be needed to preserve military structure intact.

On Iran, there is no chance that Khomeini can establish a stable regime. He is against everyone - even development of capitalism in Iran.

Inge (TAF): I am not sure Jaruzelski is offering real concessions in Poland. He has freed some internees - as in April - but as soon as a struggle erupts he throws as many back in jail. Censorship has been decentralised. The Church offered negotiations in March - their formula is to blame both Jaruzelski and Solidarnosc for the crisis. Solidarnosc accepted this formula - effectively inviting Jaruzelski to make a move to split the militants from the more moderate forces.

In Bydgoszcz, 112 workplaces have rejected his proposals for a "union" without regional organisation, politics or opposition to PUPP. In Warsaw too workplaces have responded with a coordinated rejection. But the leadership is still offering concessions.

Organisation in Poland still seems strong. In Warsaw, 63 workplaces are organised in a coordinating committee giving out their own paper. There is also a paper produced for use among soldiers. This is a break from the old KOR position.

Franco (LOR): Schultz/Haig switch: the Reagan administration marked a strengthening in the leadership of imperialism. In general terms this met with two problems: the force of the masses, and the sharp conflicts among the imperialist leaders provoked by the economic crisis. Plus internal contradictions of Reagan admin.

I don't agree the US wants a right wing government in Lebanon. They want a bourgeois reactionary government - but not Christian fascist government.

Iran: we should remember that the clergy is a social force based upon the plebeian sub-proletariat. Bourgeoisie still not decoded which way to move. Most logical plan would be for a coup; but not possible today.

Important to grasp moves in France. Workers trying to find a way out against the government - their level of disaffection growing every day. This may not lead to an upsurge - Mitterrand may lead workers' to defeat.

Smith (WSL): Central question for imperialism in the Middle East is the Palestinians, and the radicalisation and instability they represent - as expressed by the link-up of PLO with Lebanese Left. Imperialists need to smash both PLO and Lebanese Left. No division