

I N T E R N A L B U L L E T I N

---

4 X

- Contents :
- 1 TAF (Denmark) Statement.
  - 2 Extract from TILC minutes April 11th 1982
  - 3 Statement of International Cdes at the WSL Summer School July 31st 1982.
  - 4 INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY Resolution on TILC democratic centralism.
  - 5 Malvinas: Epitaph - Julio N Magri (P.O.) Trans. M.J. Introduction, Morrow.
  - 6 Extract from ICL NC Minutes 4.5.80.
  - 7 INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY Resolution on Palestine.
  - 8 INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY Resolution on Ireland.

PRODUCED BY THE WSL INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY FEB 18th.

FOR DETAILS OF THE TENDENCY OR DATE OF NEXT MEETING  
CONTACT: EVINGTON Tel 0533 . 552314

**TAF RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF:  
THE INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY IN WSL.**

In principle TAF supports the founding of the Internationalist Tendency in WSL. We recognise the founding as an important step further in the fight against the revisionist tendencies and the centrist degeneration of the majority in the WSL leadership.

We support this Tendency as internationalists in TIIC, because we see the political fight against and the victory over the revisionist tendencies as an inevitable step in the efforts to construct TIIC as a genuine International Tendency lead by democratic centralist principles.

But definitely we also support the Internationalist Tendency on its own premises, that is to say, the published Tendency platform, which in the main lines we agree with.

We want to watch the developments in WSL carefully, and obviously we expect that the minority tendency will get fair political treatment in the organisation. This includes the political right for the Internationalist Tendency in spite of the standpoint of the majority, to join the " DC Tendency " in TIIC. If not this would be the negation of genuine internationalist principles.

Carried unanimously by a National Meeting in TAF.  
6 . 2 . 83.

Copy received by the Internationalist Tendency 11.2.83.

MINUTES OF THE TILC APRIL 11th 1982

BRITISH REPORT

In line with reports circulated in monthly letters. Major successes included intervention at Labour Party YS conference (100 youth supporting our tendency) 300 strong conference of women trade unionists convened by WF; and SC Conference at which platform indicated developed relationship with key militants, WSL only force on the left fighting seriously on Tebbit anti union Bill. Important work done on Poland, including intervention into Polish Solidarity Campaign.

FRANCC: I want to raise some Questions over work in the Labour Party. We have strong doubts on some of this work. we agree with critical support to Benn, but danger of adaptation. We don't support Benn for his policies but because of the new broad left current which has not yet gone beyond reformist conceptions. We must regard Benn as the enemy.

T. It would be useful if Franco's points could be written down and replied to in writing.

LELAND I share Franco's concerns. Nobody in RWL would have written a series of articles like those of John C Mahoney on Socialism and Democracy. But we recognise that he was writing to reach an audience..

S. We have to encourage reciprocal open criticism within the TILC. I urge cdes to spell out their disagreements. We have criticisms of RWL press which we wish to discuss..

\* \* \* \* \*

NB As this brief extract indicates the Question of LP work was raised a long time ago. The LCR produced a detailed written statement of their views, while the RWL produced a critique of the Socialism and Democracy series. Both of these were presented to WSL at the 1982 Summer School. To date neither has been circulated inside WSL. Nor has any written reply been forthcoming on behalf of the WSL.....so much for reciprocal criticism.

**STATEMENT OF PROTEST OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS  
AND INDEPENDENT INDIVIDUALS ATTENDING THE 1982 WSL  
SUMMER SCHOOL**

The undersigned organisations and individuals, having met on July 31st, 1982 in the course of the Workers Socialist League Summer School, address the TILC as a whole with the following protest.

1

During the crucial stage of the Summer School political debate, namely the discussion of the Malvinas War, the WSL Executive Committee decided to impose a number of artificial limitations on the international comrades participating in the discussion: to restrict the speaking time of the international delegations and observers to five minutes for any delegation or observer; to segregate the international contributions from the regular discussion; and in effect to limit the statements by international comrades to positive statements of their own positions..

2

Having been free to participate with full rights in all the other plenary sessions and workshops which have taken place at this summer school, as at the previous ones, we regard this procedure adopted in this particular instance as being in stark contrast to the procedures which have been traditional at previous TILC/WSL Summer Schools.

3

We insist that procedures and practices which are thoroughly internationalist and promote fully international discussion are essential to the development of a democratic centralist tendency, as well as a consistent effort towards establishing democratic centralist methods nationally and internationally. This should be all the more true for organizations committed specifically to the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

signed :

RWL/US

LCR/Italy

TAF/Denmark

French TILC member

Hackney Group

Chilean Trotskyist militants

Belgian Observer.

## INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY RESOLUTION ON TILC DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

This national conference of WSL endorses the political line of the document "Towards an International Tendency - Problems and Tasks" by Morrow and instructs the National Committee to take all steps necessary for the transformation of TILC into a democratic centralist International Tendency in the Autumn of 1983.

To this end the NC is instructed:

- 1 To write to all the TILC member and sympathising sections formally proposing that the April TILC Conference be regarded as an International Pre-Conference.
- 2 To press for the circulation internationally of the internal bulletins and perspectives perspectives documents of all the sections, for circulation within the sections, and to implement this in WSL.
- 3 To circulate for amendment within WSL the founding documents of TILC, "The Transitional Programme in Today's Class Struggle" and the "Nine Points - Programmatic Basis."
- 4 To organise as necessary area aggregates to discuss these and any other TILC documents submitted as the basis for the International Tendency.
- 5 To organise a National Pre-Conference in WSL for the election of our delegation, to the International Conference in the Autumn and to ratify the documents of the International Tendency. This Conference to take place in June 1983.
- 6 To establish from the next NC an administrative sub-committee of the TILC Secretariat consisting of comrades (not necessarily NC members) with language skills, a detailed knowledge of the world Trotskyist movement and a consistent commitment to international work. This sub-committee to be made responsible for the gathering and circulation of TILC internal material, maintaining regular contact with the member and sympathising sections, and for assisting Cunliffe in the preparation of materials for and the organisation of the TILC Conferences. International work to be the main priority of these comrades.
- 7 To vote, at the April TILC Conference, to rescind the decision taken at the December meeting to reject the FIT proposal for a joint bulletin beginning with a discussion of the differing assessments on the Malvinas. To press that this project is now pursued as a matter of urgency.
- 8 To propose at the April TILC Conference the publication of a regular TILC bulletin as the international theoretical journal of TILC.
- 9 To propose at the April TILC meeting that the 1983 Summer School be focussed on the task of transforming TILC into a democratic centralist international tendency, and the establishment of the necessary political basis for that.
- 10 To prepare and submit to the April TILC Conference, as part of that discussion, a detailed document on entry work as the basis for the discussion proposed by the TAF comrades at the December 1982 TILC Conference.

\* \* \* \*

## INTRODUCTION TO JULIO MAGRI'S DOCUMENT "MALVINAS: EPITAPH"

The publication of that classic of Marxist erudition, "The Galtieri gang rides again" by a group of comrades in Scotland has provided the Tendency with a much needed opportunity to draw to the attention of members the critique of the line in SO on the war produced by the FIT. In it Julio Magri, a member of P.C. in Argentina examines the political implications of the SO position in terms of both its anti-imperialist and internationalist content. He finds it woefully lacking in both respects and relates its failure to the tendency of SO to operate within the ideological framework of left reformism.

At the time of the war - and in the Galtieri Gang document - much fuss was made of the "capitulation to Argentine nationalism and Peronism" of those of us who opposed the SO line. It is therefore quickly noting some recent developments in the situation in Argentina and the way in which the "nationalists" of P.C. have related to them.

Since the end of the war, the continuing political crisis of the Junta has created new conditions of struggle for the Argentine masses. P.C. for example now enjoys semi-legal status, as the capacity of the military to suppress the left has crumbled. The bourgeoisie has attempted to check the movement of the masses by negotiating a return to "democracy" - in reality a pseudo democracy operating within the new statutes of Parties which definitively ends the 1853 constitution of the Republic. For ~~what~~ revolutionaries this situation of crisis has posed, in particular, the breaking of the working class from Peronism which on three separate occasions has been used by the bourgeoisie to control the workers.

P.C. have related to this task by posing - against the Multipartidaria - the building of a Workers Party. As a part of the task of organising the forces for this and assembling the necessary signatures to establish a legal workers party, they have joined with other layers of militants to produce "Prensa Obrera" (Workers Press) a fortnightly paper agitating for the construction of a workers party which can represent the independent revolutionary tasks of the class.

The programme of Prensa Obrera (the Action Programme) is short but precise:  
A minimum wage for all workers linked to a sliding scale.  
100% pay rises for all to restore wages.

Restoration of all cuts - occupation of unused facilities.

Workers control of production.

Suspension of the foreign debt - a workers enquiry into its origins.

Immediate satisfaction of the demands of the mothers and families of the Disappeared.

Rescinding of all treaties conditioning national sovereignty on the continental shelf and mainland.

Freedom of organisation for unions and political groups.

Destruction of the Dictatorship, liquidation of militarism.

For a constituent assembly.

Despite being centrally involved in this BROAD paper with its more than adequate programme of immediate class demands, P.C. have continued to produce their own regular party press which promoted the struggle for a Trotskyist Party and for the Re-construction of the Fourth International. P.C. is used within the workers party caucuses.

It is, therefore, under conditions where P.C. themselves are carrying out broad work in the class and operating within groups much broader than themselves, that we should consider their severe criticisms of the political product of our own broad work. That their criticisms of us should come at a time when they are sharply taking up the struggle to break the Argentine masses from Peronism is perhaps a lesson to those who attack the tendency to cover their own retreat.

Socialist Organiser & the Malvinas war: an Argentine evaluation.  
MALVINAS: Epitaph - Julio N. Magri (Politica Obrera - Argentina).

The organisations claiming to be Trotskyist and of the 4th International in Britain had a tremendous responsibility (it isn't necessary to say it!) regarding the Malvinas war: to practise proletarian internationalism against the imperialist chauvinism of the metropolis; and this was only possible by defending unconditionally the whole Argentine cause. Lamentably, one of the organisations of which one could have hoped for more in this sense, headed the squad of those who capitulated before the nationalism of their own country. We refer to the "Socialist Organiser Alliance" grouping, which curiously, poses itself the reconstruction of the FI. This organisation had the idea, no more no less (and in fact it was all a great "inventive trick"), to proclaim, against Thatcher and Galtieri, the self-determination of the kelpers, exactly the official position of the Foreign Ministry of her very gracious majesty!!!

A principled difference.

For the "SOA" (ex-WSL) it wasn't a war of an imperialist character against Argentina. In its paper, the "Socialist Organiser", it was maintained that "Argentina is not an imperialist big power like Great Britain, but on its side too the war continues reactionary policies both nationally and internationally" (SO 86). What one can deduce from here is that, as the Galtieri regime is a "pillar of capitalist and imperialist control" in the region, the character of the war is not derived from a rigorous characterisation of the countries in dispute, oppressors and oppressed, but of the character of their regimes. We have to conclude therefore that if the British state had been in the hands of the Labourites, 'SO' would have mobilised in the streets to support the fleet? It is precisely the character of the regimes in dispute which is not relevant here, because Thatcher did not launch the war, as said, to get rid of a dictatorship, but to smash the timid independence of the country led by that dictatorship. To erase the difference between nations, and to supplant it with that of the regimes leads us to pure subjectivism, and the international relations between states is emptied of its class basis. Trotsky alerted us against this capricious characterisation, insisting on not allowing oneself to be deceived by the wrappings in analysing phenomena from the viewpoint of the international class struggle. The fundamental dividing line of modern nations and states is that some are imperialist and others their victims, in spite of whoever finds themselves in power among the latter. The incredible criterion of 'SO' would lead us very far indeed: to denying the proletarian nature of the states dominated by the bureaucracy, as this is also pro-imperialist.

It is evident that Galtieri occupied the islands with the objective of strengthening the Argentine dictatorship and bourgeoisie within the global strategy of imperialism in the region and whole continent and vis-a-vis the internal crisis. For this reason Politica Obrera did not support the occupation of the islands and denounced the proposal of negotiations with imperialism. But this objective of the military junta failed, and the occupation of the islands by Argentine troops gave way to a war against a bloc of imperialist nations.

'SO' 83 falls into the superficiality of saying that "the war is to save the face and the prestige of Thatcher" (Reply to Morenists). But what does Thatcher represent? British imperialism. Or is it now suitable for Marxists to explain wars by the size of the nose of those in government? The fact is, since 1833 British imperialism under a whole range of governments defended the colonial possession of the islands. And in this war, the Labourites not only did not oppose Thatcher in parliament, but neither did they hesitate in aligning themselves with Thatcher and the bourgeoisie against Argentina.

Naturally the position of 'SO' must have provoked deep "remorse", because in No 81 it says that "if the conflict goes so far as British military attacks on Argentina itself (ie. the mainland - JNM), we should support Argentina's legitimate right to defend itself" (Editorial, 22/4/82).