

We've come to the end of the road, the end of 23 years of collaboration with the SWP

Portugal is the key ~~to~~ turning point. PST rejects line of ~~document~~ document published in name of LTF.

He outlines 7 key points of difference. He appeared to be reading excerpts or summarizing from a written, mimeographed circular. The first four points are also presented at USec meeting.

1. Portugal: dual power. LTF doc^{Ujust}umentations, but has no line to building dual power. This is key.
2. Relation: democracy and workers revolution. SWP raises question of democratic rights in an evolutionary way. The SWP reasons thus: the bourgeoisie is against democratic rights, therefore the struggle for democratic rights goes against the ruling class, and the struggle for the workers revolution gets reduced to the struggle for democratic rights. LTF document lays basis for a democratic, not a transitional program. This theory changes the relative contradiction between democratic rights and the bourgeoisie into an absolute one. This forgets that both bourgeois democracy and fascism are dictatorships of the bourgeoisie. This forgets that the highest point of revolutionary struggle is insurrection and civil war.

After the proletarian revolution ~~comes~~ what comes is not workers democracy, but proletarian dictatorship, which will be more or less democratic depending on the ~~resistance~~ resistance of the bourgeoisie.

3. Problems of strategy and tactics. For the SWP there is only one strategy, the strategy of party building. But each stage has its own strategy. In Portugal ~~is~~ today, we are in the stage of the strategy of dual power. Everything else is subordinate in relation to this central strategy of dual power. (e.g. democratic rights, industrial unions, etc.) For example, in Russia in 1917, demands for bread, land peace, for the constituent, were subordinate to the strategy of Soviets. In Spain, Trotsky talked of Soviets as the key thing, even when there weren't any.

In response to a question about whether this strategy is applicable only in Portugal, or also elsewhere in Europe, Mario said that in his personal opinion it did have a more general application, particularly in Spain.

4. The Workers and Peasants ~~is~~ government. In 1917 this was used to unmask the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. The Bolsheviks said to them: base yourself on the Soviets to carry out peace, land, bread. If we base workers and ~~the~~ peasants government only on constituent assembly, we will fall into opportunism. We need to base it on organs of workers power. We need a program in Portugal today, to take power.
5. The SWP has a propagandist conception of the party. We were surprised to see in the published document on Portugal reference to the necessity to publish an attractive paper and to translate and publish Trotsky's works. We will be able to publish many works of Trotsky -- in gold -- after

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taking power. This is not a new debate. We had it several years ago in Chile, with regard to the perspectives for the tendency. There was a big discussion between the PST and SWP, because Hugo Blanco had asked for a line for Chile. We were in favor of giving a line for Chile, and had a hard polemic with the SWP over this. The SWP said we were too weak, and therefore could only do propaganda work and hold classes. But to build the party you must study objective reality, apply the Transitional Program, and intervene concretely in the class struggle in each country, not just repeat what Trotsky said.

We next had this polemic over Venezuela, then Portugal, and now, Mexico. In Mexico there are two concepts of party building.

- We have given sufficient aid to the Trotskyists in Portugal to set the stage for really building the group. And the discussion in the FI is on that question. If the IMT is changing its orientation away from ultraleftism in Portugal, and putting the brakes on the ultralefts, that is because a strong Trotskyist group has appeared in Portugal (especially in comparison with the LCI in crisis). Will there be a unification in Portugal? Can't say, but we are heading towards the construction of a real Trotskyist nucleus that will be a real challenge to the ultralefts. It is clear that there is a coming closer of the Trotskyists -- with all factions
6. Conception of international democratic centralism. This is of LCI not a new debate with the SWP; there is an old letter from Moreno to the SWP on this. For us, the FI should be a centralized international, and not a federation of parties. We disagree with Pablo's and Mandel's bureaucratic concept of centralization. But the SWP has a federalist concept of the FI.
 7. Angola. We oppose characterizing the war as a "fratricidal war." We should take sides. To be able to say that a new liberation movement should be built in Angola we must take sides. It is a civil war, like the Spanish civil war, but in a colonial country. So we have the same tactic as in Spain: to be in the camp of the republic, without supporting the leadership of the republican camp.

The PST ~~will~~ will ~~draw~~ draw up a document along these ~~lines~~ lines, and hopefully will have it ready for the IEC.

What will the PST do now? Form a new tendency? Form a new faction? We don't know. But the differences are too deep to remain in the LTF. We don't have identical views with the IMT, but the main differences we have are with the SWP, and we will have this out even more profoundly at the IEC. Today we don't have a precise characterization of the course of the IMT, but there is a new stage.

We don't think we have a triumphalist line on Portugal when we say that we are in the stage of building dual power, and that the seizure of power is on the agenda. It will be difficult, we know. Just as we have divided on Angola, we will divide tomorrow on Portugal.

Angola discussion at USec. PST will study majority document, perhaps will make amendments. Awaiting result of this, IMT decided not to put the document to a vote.

Portugal discussion at USec. Mario rejects LTF document. Will study IMT draft, may possibly make amendments or another document. On the FUR, the comrades of the LCI are criticizing the FUR now, and we don't want to rehash questions of past history.

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some notes from/discussion

LCI comrade: the workers movement has not suffered a decisive defeat that would put it in a period of reflux. It is a partial defeat for the working class, primarily affecting the vanguard. This has led to a deep distrust of the revolutionary organizations. There are more "nonparty" elements in the vanguard now. The workers commissions are weak, the unions are the only organisms capable of giving a national response now. The neighborhood commissions are moribund. The "far left" is weak, and weakly implanted in remaining viable workers commissions. Outflanking of the reformists is almost impossible now. CP weakened, but still maintains hegemony over the vanguard of the working class. The SP undoubtedly has a majority in the working class now, but this is not reflected in a big capacity for mobilization.

On ruling class side, the CDS is growing, but the bourgeoisie does not have a homogeneous view on respective use of CDS, PPD, on how much to collaborate with SP.

Divisions in SP. SP is contesting and winning union elections. Sections of SP calling for tendency rights within Intersindical.

Effects of govt. publishing report on Nov. 25:

1. attack on CP. Compels CP to measure its next steps.
2. opens way for more legitimized attacks on workers and neighborhood commissions, as is indicated by how much they are mentioned in the report.
3. justifies attacks on far left, particularly PRP

"far left" is in crisis, especially MES, LUAR

PRT comrade: many points of political convergence on situation now. dual power in army has disappeared, but there is still dual power in workers commissions. Previously, stage was acute prerevolutionary, or revolutionary sui generis; now it is just prerevolutionary.

LUAR has disappeared, MES in crisis. UDP influence diminishing. Overwhelming majority of working class, 70-80%, backs the SP.

both agree that there are signs of new life again in working class after initial blow of Nov. 25