



Nahuel Moreno

**Memorandum on the
activity of our delegates
at the YSA Conference
and our delegate
in Paris**

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cehus2014@gmail.com



Foreword

Between December 1971 and January 1972, the Young Socialist Alliance Conference (the youth organisation of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)) was held in the United States, and a meeting of the International Executive Committee of the United Secretariat (USec) was held in Paris. In this document, Moreno outlines the topics of discussion and the manner in which the Argentine party delegates should conduct the discussion.

For Moreno, the central objective of both meetings was to deepen the relationship with the US party, the SWP, with which an informal tendency had been formed within the USec, and later formed the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency.

All notes are by the editors.

The editors

October 2025

Memorandum on the activity of our delegates at the YSA¹ Conference and our delegate in Paris

23-December 1971

The central objective of this trip is to strengthen relationships with our American comrades. The links are not only fraternal but, much more importantly, we belong to the same tendency or current in the international arena. We believe that despite this general agreement on the international and Latin American situation, there are a series of events that cause us to disagree with our American comrades. We have the impression that the comrades are yielding to the opportunist-sectarian pressure of Pabloism-Mandelism. They must have the impression that we yield to trade unionist, nationalist and provincial pressure. With much modesty and strength, we have to put forward a thorough discussion of these differences, clarifying that they are tactical and of detail, but very important. **We have to thoroughly express everything we think, without any fear, as if we were at our own party.** The essential points of discussion are the following:

A) International tendency: they move with a scheme, are we or are we not a constituted international tendency? The obvious answer, no, allows them to reach an organisational conclusion: we do as we please. Because of this, they allow themselves the luxury of consulting us about the possibility of building a tendency and without informing or consulting us, they resolve directly the opposite, to enter with everything into the Unified Secretariat (USec). We believe that the characterisation must be dynamic: we are not a constituted tendency, but we are a de facto tendency. This requires consultation **before** any resolution with all modesty; it does not require us to adopt a resolution by majority. In other words, we are in an intermediate situation.

This difference is combined with another one: their refusal to consider the tendency headed by Mandel² as a petty-bourgeois tendency, a continuation of Pablo's³ previous one. The Mandel tendency or faction has a profound class reason. We fully accept the current tactics of the SWP for a class reason: we

1 The **Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)** was a youth group of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the United States. It was founded in 1960 and dissolved in 1992. YSA membership peaked in 1971 at 1,434.

2 **Ernest Mandel** (1923-1995), born in Belgium, was one of the main leaders of Trotskyism since the post-war period, and also a Marxist economist. Together with Michel Pablo, he pushed for the reorganisation of the Fourth International after Trotsky's assassination, and from the early 1950s, they headed the opportunist sector that pushed for capitulation to Stalinism, social democracy and the bourgeois nationalist leaderships. They were responsible for the crisis and dispersion of Trotskyism ever since. From the 1960s until his death, he headed the so-called "Unified Secretariat" of the Fourth International. Moreno has numerous polemical works against Mandel, including *Argentina and Bolivia — A Balance Sheet* and *The Party and the Revolution*, which can be found at www.nahuelmoreno.org.

3 **Michel Pablo** (1911-1996) was the pseudonym of **Michel Raptis**, a Greek Trotskyist living in France and the main leader of the Fourth International after the Second World War. Together with Ernest Mandel, they promoted a revisionist policy of capitulation to the Stalinist communist parties, social democracy and bourgeois nationalist movements such as the MNR in Bolivia. They promoted "sui generis entryism", which meant the dissolution of the Trotskyists in the Communist Parties. In the 1960s, he distanced himself from Trotskyism and was an advisor to the bourgeois government of Ben Bella in Algeria.

do not, at the moment, characterise the Krivine⁴ faction in the same way, but in a much more dynamic, positive way, as an open phenomenon. But beware of the procedures.

B) On Latin America: Here we begin to have deep differences of characterisation and tactics on the following points.

1. On the characterisation of the economic-political relations between the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. **In this regard, it is essential to destroy Mandel's lousy article on the subject, which, in fact, is the basis of all the differences.** Here, it must be pointed out that they, in fact, accept Mandel's whole conception, which helps ultra-leftism.

2. In-depth discussion of the Frente Amplio [Broad Front] at all levels, mainly at the theoretical and concrete level. Specific discussion of Hansen's⁵ article on the subject.

3. Specific discussion of Peter Camejo's⁶ article on Chile. The same about Quijano's⁷ book and the positions of Hugo Blanco⁸ on the subject. The characterisation of the freedom of Hugo Blanco himself, essentially due to the pressure of the mass movement of the world at that time, as the International and Hugo say, or a combination of the two.

4. Specific discussion with the comrades who wrote the article against Nahuel Moreno's article on China in the youth organ. Pointing out that it is theoretically the only explanation for the workers' revolution in China, why do they criticise it?

5. Reporting on the situation in Argentina. In the organisational arena, point out the truth in a not very precise way (the informant does not have the full report up to date, Arturo [Gomez]⁹ did not give it to

4 **Alain Krivine** (1941–2022) was a French Trotskyist leader. He was one of the main youth leaders of the great upsurge that began in France in May 1968 and in Paris. A founder of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), the French section of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. He was the LCR's candidate in the 1969 French presidential election, obtaining 1.05% of the vote, and served as a Member of the European Parliament from 1999 to 2004.

5 **Joseph Hansen** (1910–1979) was an American Trotskyist and the main leader of the Socialist Workers Party. In 1940, he was in Mexico, supporting Trotsky as secretary, when Trotsky was murdered by an agent of Stalin. Since the 1970s, he headed the alliance and capitulation to Mandelism, and he supported the repression of the Simon Bolivar Brigade in 1979 and the subsequent total turn to Castroism.

6 **Peter Camejo** (1939–2008). Leader of the SWP, in the early 1970s, he became quite well known as a presidential candidate and a leading public figure. He had driven solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and was part of the new youth leadership, which, along with Joseph Hansen, was leading the SWP to abandon Trotskyism and become a propaganda agency of Castroism. He joined the Green Party and in 2004 he ran for US vice president, accompanying Joseph Nader, of the Reform Party.

7 **Anibal Quijano** (1930–2018), Peruvian sociologist and Marxist thinker. A professor at the University of San Marcos and at universities in the United States, he was a central figure in the Latin American left's debates in the 1960s and 1970s regarding imperialism, dependency, and class struggle. In his work *Imperialism and Social Classes in Latin America* (1971), he critically analysed processes such as the Popular Unity movement in Chile.

8 **Hugo Blanco** (1934–2023) was a Peruvian peasant and Trotskyist politician. At the age of 20, in 1954, he travelled to Argentina to study at the National University of La Plata. In 1957, he became a member of Palabra Obrera [Workers Word], the organisation headed by Nahuel Moreno. In 1958, he returned to Lima and joined the POR (Workers Revolutionary Party). He participated in the demonstrations against Richard Nixon's visit and had to take refuge in Cuzco to escape repression. Working as a newspaper seller, he joined the Federation of Workers of Cuzco. Blanco, who spoke Quechua since he was a child, started linking himself to the many peasant delegates and their struggles. From Chaupimayo, he promoted peasant unionisation, which became massive, and led an agrarian revolution in the valleys of Cuzco and the Central Andes, with the establishment of peasant unions, land seizures and armed militias, and a strike that lasted nine months. They achieved a series of conquests that, in fact, led to an agrarian reform. He was arrested in 1964 and sentenced to death, but a vigorous international campaign prevented this from happening. After years in prison, he went into exile in Chile, Argentina, and Sweden. He was part of the LTT-LTF. In 1972, together with Moreno and other leaders, he presented *Argentina and Bolivia — A Balance Sheet*, an assessment polemicising against the guerrillaist deviation of Mandel, Maítan, and Frank (available at www.nahuelmoreno.org). He wrote the book *Land Or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru*, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1972. Upon his return to Peru, he served as a deputy in the Constituent Assembly from 1978 to 1980, as a deputy in parliament from 1980 to 1985, and as a senator from 1990 to 1992. He distanced himself from the positions of the Fourth International and, from 1994 onwards, championed Zapatismo and horizontalism. Until his death, he remained linked to the struggles and the peasant federation and maintained fraternal relations with Morenoism and other Trotskyist groups. See, among other texts by Moreno, *Peru: Two Strategies* (1961–63) and *On Bengochea's Split with Palabra Obrera* (1964), at www.nahuelmoreno.org.

9 **Arturo Gomez** (1938–1976) was one of the main leaders of the Argentinian PST. He had joined Palabra Obrera in the late 1950s in La Plata. He was a delegate to the Tenth World Congress in 1974 and later became the director of *Avanzada Socialista*. After the coup, he directed the publication of *La Yesca* and *Cambio*. He died suddenly in May 1976.

her before leaving and she did not ask): there are 11 premises, possible average of more than 50 militants per premise, we must be close to or above 600 militants, we are growing at great speed. With a printing shop and manual tasks, we have around 40 professionals. Everything “around” and insisting heavily on the provisional character of the report. We began to build a youth.

6. Reporting on Uruguay. Insist on the impossibility of entryism in the Frente Amplio because of weakness. Surprised that Hansen gives so much importance to Uruguay and not to Bolivia, where the politics was a real betrayal of a revolution and not a tactical problem. Being ambiguous about autonomy. Not pointing out the real organisational links with us, except for Peter.

7. Ask Marta for a list of books to buy. Let Juan Carlos carry it. It is essential that they make an exhaustive study of Trotsky's tactics of entryism and towards the Popular Front. Study the publications (mainly *Fourth International*, *The Militant*¹⁰ and the internal bulletins, 1935 and 1936; the same for France). Ask for duplicates of all interesting documents.

Both for France and in the United States, get all the publications that make up the history of the Fourth International, bulletins, resolutions and counter-documents of national and world congresses, as much as you can. As if we were preparing a history of the Fourth International. **Touch in depth on the importance of the Bolivian revolution of 1952.**

Take two or three copies of our Logic.¹¹ Without insisting too much, see if any specialists read it, mainly Novack,¹² and get their opinion on it.

8. Keep day-by-day notes of all the discussions or meetings you attend. Buy a notebook and be thorough in this seemingly tedious task. Don't rely on memory: take notes of everything you see or hear to prepare the final report when you return. At night, before going to bed, take notes and draw conclusions. Be Marxist to document yourselves.

9. In Paris, the problem is quite different. We are not facing comrades of the same tendency, with fraternal relations. On the contrary, we are facing adversaries whom we are trying to convince. The aim is to begin to establish good relations and, **if possible, get one or two important and open comrades sent to our cadre's school.** We will send them the invitation right now. Insist on it.

Give our full positions but make certain concessions of form. That the *combos*¹³ had been strengthened. That they are formidable people. Do not give the impression of the slightest sectarianism, but of objectivity and equanimity. But give our positions in depth. Insist on the Bolivian betrayal of 1952 and on the current Bolivian disaster. Open bridges of discussion and do not get angry at the barbarities they say. Be diplomatic in order to establish these bridges, but always give our position.

10. We should raise the Hugo Blanco problem with our American comrades. If we see them as very open, and they agree with us on some organisational aspects.

Leave him in Mexico, and with his factional positions against us, without them intervening on both grounds, it is suicidal for him and harms the movement. If he were to say half the falsehoods he says about Moreno about Peter or Hansen, we would intervene violently. It is a matter of principle. His polemic with Creuss¹⁴ is downright embarrassing: he doesn't believe Creuss that Moreno never sees him personally and

10 *Fourth International* was the name of the theoretical journal of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of the USA. In mid-1956, *Fourth International* became *International Socialist Review*. *The Militant* was the weekly paper of the SWP.

11 It refers to *Marxist Logic and Modern Sciences*, available at www.nahuelmoreno.org.

12 **George Novack** (1905-1992) was a Harvard-educated intellectual who, in the 1930s, joined the revolutionary struggle. He joined Trotskyism and, since then, has been one of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Between 1937 and 1940, he was the secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, which formed the “Dewey Commission” that examined the charges made against him by Stalin in the “Moscow trials” and in 1938 declared them a complete fraud. He was one of the leading intellectuals of the SWP and published numerous articles and several books on theoretical subjects of Marxism. His works include *Introduction to the Logic of Marxism* (1942), *The Origins of Materialism, Understanding History* (1956-1968), and *The Law of Uneven and Combined Development*, published in Spanish by Editorial Pluma in the 1970s.

13 **Combos**: militants of the PRT-El Combatiente-ERP, led by Roberto Santucho.

14 **Eduardo Creuss** was a member of Palabra Obrera, an organisation led by Nahuel Moreno. He was sent to Peru in 1961 to support the construction of the Revolutionary Workers' Party (POR) while Hugo Blanco led the peasant mobilisation in Cusco. While in Lima, he participated in bank expropriations, although he did not share this putschist tendency. In 1962, he was imprisoned alongside Hugo Blanco and spent many years in El Fronton prison. He was released in 1970 and returned to the

that he has nothing to do with the polemic. Personally, leaving him in Mexico is very bad for him and to a certain extent obeys factional tendencies because it is illogical for him to stay there: he should be close to his party, linked to its action and should not be transformed into a parachutist of great prestige. Let them not come to us with formal arguments. That is the essence of the matter.