

DEC 21 1978

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MINUTES OF THE UNITED SECRETARIAT MEETING

November 6-9, 1978

PRESENT: Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Manuel, Marline, Martinez, Otto, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

IEC PRESENT: Alfonso, Dunder, Edgardo, Mogens, Peterson

GUESTS: Allio, Amilcar, Antonio, Argos, Bonner, Cannon, Corbiere, Ellis, Franco, Gabriel, Greco, Holden, Jorge, Maria, Mario, Pedro, Roberto

AGENDA:

1. European Elections Platform
2. Draft Resolution on Capitalist Europe
3. Information Reports on Latin America:
Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia, Panama, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Combate
4. Draft Resolution on Latin America
5. Bureau Reports
6. International Meeting of the Bolshevik Tendency (Faction)
7. World Congress Preparations

Chairpersons: Allio, Aubin, Celso, Stateman

1. European Elections Platform

No introductory report was given since a report had already been made to a meeting of representatives of European Political Bureaus on November 3.

Discussion

Summary by Walter

MOTION: To approve the general line of the summary and draft platform and refer the final editing to the bureau.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

2. Draft Resolution on Capitalist Europe

Duret reported.

Discussion

MOTION: To approve the general line of the resolution and to refer all amendments to the drafting commission.

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Martinez, Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Kiel, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: Greco

Abstentions: none

Not voting: none

CARRIED

Explanation of vote by Manuel:

My vote in favor of the resolution should be clarified in the following way:

1. I have disagreements with important aspects of the document (on the analysis of the situation, the trade-union orientation, the orientation concerning certain democratic slogans...) whose importance it is difficult for me to judge at this time.

2. At this time, these differences do not justify a negative vote. Nor does it seem to me appropriate to abstain on a text whose political content is known and which has been discussed, even if only briefly.

3. That is why I consider that a "yes" vote is the "lesser evil."

3. Information Reports on Latin Americaa. Peru

Report by Martinez on the political situation in Peru, the founding congress of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT), and the need for an international campaign to counter the slanderous attacks on Comrade Blanco in the press and the growing attacks by right-wing terrorists.

He also reported on the conditions surrounding his expulsion from the PST (see Attachment A).

Counterreport by Roberto.Discussion.Motions by Riel:

No. 1: The United Secretariat of the Fourth International insists that the Peruvian PST should immediately stop the public attacks in its journal Bandera Socialista against the Fourth International and its leadership.

Moreover, these attacks contain characterizations (" the United Secretariat devotes itself to the construction of centrist organizations around the world") that are inadmissible from comrades claiming to adhere to Trotskyism and to the Fourth International itself.

The broadest possibilities to wage a political debate exist within the Fourth International. Thus, the comrades of the PST are able to defend their positions within this framework and they have no justification for engaging in a public debate with the International in Peru, a debate whose content can only be detrimental to the forces claiming to be Trotskyist, in particular, to themselves.

Vote on Motion No. 1:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Martinez,

Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Riel, Stateman, Susan,
Therese, Walter

Against: Greco

Abstentions: none

Not voting: none

CARRIED

No. 2: The United Secretariat condemns the scandalous public attacks made against Comrade Hugo Blanco by the Peruvian PST, in particular, published in its newspaper Bandera Socialista (No. 1 of September 9, 1978. See, for example, the article entitled, "A Reflection for Comrade Hugo": "...this orientation, comrade, can lead not only to the destruction of the embryo of the revolutionary party, but also opens the door to class capitulation.")

These attacks have no other objective than to justify the factional maneuvers against Comrade Blanco which culminated in his expulsion from the PST. These attacks give the bourgeois press an opportunity to expand its campaign of slanders against Comrade Hugo Blanco. Today, these attacks have been picked up by the Peruvian bourgeoisie, hungry for slanders and arguments. They feed its campaign against our comrade and against the Peruvian revolutionary militants.

The United Secretariat asks that the comrades of the Peruvian PST immediately stop these inadmissible attacks which do great harm to the Trotskyist forces in Peru and in all of Latin America.

Vote on Motion No. 2:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Martinez, Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Roman, Riel, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: Greco

Abstentions: none

Not voting: none

CARRIED

No. 3: After having heard the report of Comrade Martinez and having discussed the overall Peruvian situation, the United Secretariat:

1. Greets the birth of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT). A result of the unification of five organizations of the Fourth International, the founding of the PRT represents a decisive step towards the construction of a unified Peruvian section of the Fourth International. In the current context of an intensification of the class struggle, and of the

development of the mass movement, in particular that of the working class, the possibilities for the intervention and implantation of Peruvian Trotskyists will be expanded by the creation of the new organization.

The weight of the Trotskyist militants in the activities of the FOCEP, as an instrument for the political independence of the working class, will also be reinforced.

2. Calls on the comrades of the PST--a Peruvian organization of the Fourth International--to join the process begun by the creation of the PRT, so that, following the unification of the PRT-PST, all the forces of the Fourth International in Peru will be grouped in one and the same section.

3. Considers that the upcoming election campaign will give the Peruvian Trotskyists the possibility to wage an unprecedented campaign for the independence of the working class and for the strengthening of the mobilization of the working masses. This campaign can also be an opportunity to advance the process of unification between the PST and the PRT.

However, the United Secretariat has taken note of the public campaign launched by the PST for the presidential candidacy of Comrade Hugo Blanco. This campaign was launched without prior consultation with either Comrade Blanco or with the other Peruvian Trotskyist forces.

This initiative can only appear as a maneuver to the Peruvian left as a whole and to the members of the FOCEP. In the absence of political clarification in the FOCEP and more generally in the working class on the reasons for this, rather than for some other candidacy, it risks appearing as the product of sectarian concerns or of personal ambitions.

Such results would be in contradiction with the apparent objectives of the PST campaign.

The United Secretariat asks the comrades of the PST to stop the public campaign and to engage in discussions with the PRT and in particular with Comrade Hugo Blanco to determine what common initiatives should be taken for the upcoming elections in Peru.

4. Decides to elect a subcommittee of the United Secretariat, empowered to organize all the tasks posed for the Fourth International by the situation in Peru and to act in the name of the United Secretariat.

The subcommittee will function according to majority rule and its activities in Peru will be developed at the request of the Peruvian comrades and in close collaboration with them.

In the immediate future, this committee will work in particular toward the unification of Peruvian Trotskyism and the organization of political and material solidarity with the Peruvian comrades.

The committee is composed of the following comrades: Alfonso, Maria, ~~Pepo~~, Galois, Martinez, Riel, Fernandez, and Tuco.

Pedro

Vote on Motion No. 3:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Martinez, Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: Greco

Abstentions: none

Not voting: none

CARRIED

No. 4: To support a solidarity campaign against the rightist terror attacks in Peru.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

Motion by Greco: Given the political situation in Peru and considering:

1. that there is a grave danger that the bourgeoisie will divert the workers movement into the dead-end of popular frontism in the next elections;
2. that key to this effort by the bourgeoisie is the attempt to dilute the character of the FOCEP as a front for class independence in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, pushing it toward the constitution of a popular front;
3. that this is the direction indicated by the candidacy of Genaro Ledesma, a personality who is being built up by a whole campaign in the bourgeois press, which presents him as a "serious and sensible" leftist in contrast to the "irresponsible extremism" of the Trotskyists and in particular of Comrade Hugo Blanco;
4. That it is necessary to meet this manoeuver or others which might occur by putting forward a candidate who represents class independence and puts forward the Trotskyist program;
5. that no one is more clearly indicated to assume this candidacy and advance this program than Comrade Hogo Blanco;
6. that the unification of the Peruvian Trotskyists in one section of the Fourth International is necessary, in order to wage this battle to the death against popular frontism--the greatest danger which threatens the Peruvian workers today--and to build a powerful party of our International in Peru.

The United Secretariat recommends to the Peruvian PRT and PST:

1. that they should begin right now to do everything possible to win the FOCEP to the candidacy of Comrade Hugo Blanco, and to a program of class independence and a workers and peasants government, in order to prevent the utilization of his name to fool the masses and lead them toward a popular front;
2. that in case they do not succeed, and given the legal monopoly that Genaro Ledesma has on the name of the FOCEP, they will continue to promote this candidacy and this election program through other organizational norms;
3. that they should immediately form a parity commission charged with carrying out this task through a common campaign of the two parties;
4. that this parity commission and the leaderships of the

Vote on Motion No. 3:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Martinez, Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: Greco

Abstentions: none

Not voting: none

CARRIED

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4. That it is necessary to meet this manoeuver or others which might occur by putting forward a candidate who represents class independence and puts forward the Trotskyist program;

5. that no one is more clearly indicated to assume this candidacy and advance this program than Comrade Hogo Blanco;

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2. that in case they do not succeed, and given the legal monopoly that Genaro Ledesma has on the name of the FOCEP, they will continue to promote this candidacy and this election program through other organizational norms;

3. that they should immediately form a parity commission charged with carrying out this task through a common campaign of the two parties;

4. that this parity commission and the leaderships of the

c. EcuadorReport by Pedro

Motion by Pedro: The United Secretariat welcomes the request of the Movimiento Revolucionario de los Trabajadores of Ecuador to have increased contact and exchange of information with the Fourth International and decides to send the MRT the international internal discussion bulletin.

The existing groups which already have relations with the Fourth International, the Movimiento Socialista de los Trabajadores (Guayaquil) and the Movimiento Socialista de los Trabajadores (Quito) will be informed of this decision and encouraged to participate in helping to bring together all the forces attracted to the Fourth International, with the aim of establishing a unified section of the Fourth International in Ecuador.

The Bureau will organize a United Secretariat delegation to Ecuador to discuss with the three groups.

Vote on the above motion:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Martinez, Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Kiel, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: none

Abstentions: Greco

Not voting: none

CARRIED

d. Brazil

Report by Galois and Alfonso on the recent developments in Brazil and on the situation of the Liga Operaria (now the Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores), the Partido Operario Comunista (POC) and the Organizacion Socialista Revolucionaria (OSR) (affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International). The government has made further arrests of Socialist Convergence leaders and is moving to maintain the detention of those being held in prison, accusing them of being connected with the Trotskyist movement. (See Intercontinental Press/Inaprecor, November 13, 1978.)

It was reported that Comrade Sa Leal would reply publicly to the article in the São Paulo paper Folha da Tarde, September 11, 1978, as false and slanderous.

Motion: To urge support for the broad defense efforts on behalf of the imprisoned Socialist Convergence activists.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

e. Bolivia

Report by Alfonso on the coming congress of the POR(Combate).

Motion: In accordance with the request of the Bolivian POR (Combate), the Bureau will send a delegation of the United Secretariat to the upcoming congress of the POR(C).

Carried unanimously

f. Panama

Report by Pedro on the founding congress of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (ex-LSR) and on the split among the Trotskyists in Panama.

Motion: The United Secretariat notes with disappointment a division in the Trotskyist forces in Panama.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International considers the organizational measures taken by the leadership of the LSR of Panama leading to the split as unjustified.

The political differences over questions of policy in the class struggle do not justify two separate organizations. Under normal conditions of democratic centralism, the existing differences could coexist in a united framework. The United Secretariat will maintain fraternal relations with the comrades of the new PST, and with those who were recently expelled from the LSR, with the aim of establishing a united organization of the Fourth International in Panama.

Vote on the above resolution:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Martinez, Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Riel, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: Greco
Abstentions: none
Not Voting: none

CARRIED

g. Costa Rica

Report by Alfonso. The Organizacion Socialista de los Trabajadores (OST) voted, at its first congress, to apply for recognition at the next world congress as the Costa Rican section of the Fourth International.

Motion concerning Comrade Amador:

The United Secretariat notes that during the last year, Fausto Amador has carried out his political activity in accordance with the norms required of members of the Fourth International.

Henceforth, the United Secretariat considers his status in relation to the Fourth International to be the same as that of all other members in good standing of the OST of Costa Rica.

Vote on the above motion:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Frej, Galois, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Martinez, Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Riel, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter.

Against: none

Abstentions: Claudio, Georges, Greco, Marline.

Not voting: Fourier, Roman.

CARRIED

Explanation of vote by Fourier:

I am not taking part in the vote on this motion (see my explanation of vote on the same affair during the meeting of the United Secretariat of October 1977 which is included in the minutes). In doing this I am in no way putting into question the activity of the OST or of Amador since this meeting. I still consider that the procedure followed in this affair was incorrect and that it is necessary to find a means of rectifying this without creating a bad precedent.

Explanation of vote by Roman:

I am not taking part in the vote on this resolution concerning Comrade Amador because I have not been able to take part in the debate on this subject.

h. Puerto Rico

Report by Galois on the situation of the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT).

i. Dominican Republic

Report by Galois on a group of sympathisers of the Fourth International.

j. Combate

Report by Riel

Motion: That the Bureau will write a document concerning our work among Latin American exiles.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

k. Counterreport on Latin America by Greco

Motion on Nicaragua by Greco: In view of the recent events in Nicaragua, the United Secretariat decides:

1) To declare its support to the struggle of the Nicaraguan masses, especially to the heroic fighters of the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional, without supporting the politics of this organization or any of its tendencies;

2) To call on the workers, peasants, and exploited masses of Nicaragua to struggle for the following program:

* For overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship

* For the full application of democratic, political, and trade union rights and liberties

* Freedom for all political prisoners

* For a provisional government of the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional and of all the workers, peasants, and popular organizations, demanding that they break from the bourgeoisie and put forward the following program:

-Nationalization of all the property of the Somoza family and of the large imperialist and national companies;

-Agrarian reform;

-A break with all political, economic, and military pacts with imperialism and immediate federation with the Cuban workers state;

-Dissolution of the National Guard; immediate formation of summary courts, without appeal, exclusively composed of fighters against Somoza, in order to rapidly liquidate those who in one form or another have participated in the repression, tortures, and assassinations of which the Nicaraguan people have been the victim for forty years; generalized arming of the proletariat and peasantry;

-The convocation of free and democratic elections and a sovereign and democratic constituent assembly;

3) To mandate the Bureau to edit a definitive resolution based on the above points.

Counter-motion by Celso: To refer to the Bureau the drafting and publishing of a public declaration of the United Secretariat on Nicaragua along the lines of past statements.

Vote on counterresolution

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Martinez, Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Riel, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter.

Against: Greco

Abstentions: none

Not voting: none

CARRIED

4. Draft Resolution on Latin AmericaReport by Alfonso.Discussion.

Motion: to refer all amendments to the drafting commission.

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Duret, Dunder, Edgardo, Fourier, Galois, Georges, Holden, Maria, Martinez, Otto, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter.

Against: Brewster, Peterson.

Abstentions: none

Not voting: none.

CARRIED

Statement on Method of Vote on General Line Documents by Brewster, Claudio, and Peterson:

1. The practice of referring all amendments to a drafting commission and then taking a vote on the general line of documents presents big problems if there are important political differences. It works against the principle that any member of the body can put any position relevant to the topic under debate to a vote. Whilst recommendations can be made, it finally is the individual decision of comrades themselves to decide when and how to divide leading bodies on the matters under debate. This is the only way to obtain political clarity.

2. The present procedure prevents comrades from voting on clear positions in some cases, and obliges comrades to vote for a general line of a document when it can contain important positions with which they disagree.

3. Although comrades can make statements in these cases, this is cumbersome, and does not facilitate clear statement -- in terms of votes -- on clear political positions.

4. We request that the Bureau discuss this question with a view to making a recommendation to the next United Secretariat meeting.

Motion: To adopt the general line of the draft resolution on Latin America.

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Edgardo, Galois, Georges, Holden, Maria, Martinez, Otto, Peterson, Riel, Roman Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: Greco

Abstentions: none

Not voting: Claudio, Fourier, Marline, Mogens

CARRIED

Explanation of the vote of Marline: I did not take part in the vote on the resolution on Latin America because I only received the text during the meeting of the United Secretariat.

Explanation of the vote by Peterson: I vote for the general line of the draft document on Latin America with strong reservations on two points.

The drafting commission rejected amendments that I made on these questions.

1. Concerning the positions taken on the Ninth World Congress. Firstly it is not clear to me why the procedure of "rescinding" is necessary. I would have thought that the extensive self-criticisms which have been made -- in such contrast to the way other trends handle their past mistakes -- would have been sufficient. I do not know what "rescinding" adds to this.

Secondly, I do not think it correct to imply, as section 24 of the submitted text does, that all the ultra-left and guerillaist mistakes made by sectors of the Fourth International in Latin America arose from them applying the line of the Ninth World Congress documents, I do not think that this was the case in relation to the positions taken by the ERP/PRT of Argentina, for instance.

2. Concerning the position taken on the Cuban role in Africa. The passages as submitted dealing with this question appear to put an equal sign between Cuban involvement in Angola and Ethiopia. I do not think that we can take the position that Cuban defense of the MPLA government from a South African invasion is equivalent to its intervention on the side of Mengistu against Somalia. Neither should we appear to give unqualified support to the Cuban role in Angola -- today the Cubans are actively engaged in helping to build a bourgeois state apparatus in that country.

I think it all the more important to be clear on these questions because Castro seems to be moving towards the position of justifying the Mengistu offensive against Eritrean liberation

movements (see Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, Vol.16, No. 38 for a statement in which he accuses these movements of "trying" to "destroy the Ethiopian Revolution".)

N.B., Point 2 above should also be seen as qualifying my vote on the World Political Resolution.

5. Bureau Reports

a. Relations with the OCRFI:

Report by Aubin on recent developments concerning the OCRFI, including the exchange that took place between the OCRFI and the United Secretariat representatives during the "Days of Study" on the Fourth International sponsored by the French OCI on October 21-22, 1978.

Discussion

Motion: The United Secretariat mandates the Bureau to meet with a delegation of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International in order to consider how best to pursue the political discussion between the United Secretariat and the OCRFI.

The United Secretariat mandates the Bureau, in collaboration with the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the LCR (French Section of the Fourth International), to prepare a United Secretariat discussion on relations between the United Secretariat and the Organizing Committee.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

b. Relations with the Workers Socialist League (WSL) of Great Britain:

Information report by Brewster on recent developments.

c. Eastern Europe:

Report by Georges on new repression in Czechoslovakia against Petr Uhl, and on the upcoming congress in defense of Rudolf Bahro.

Motion: to launch a campaign in defense of Petr Uhl.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

d. Composition of the Bureau:

Report by Duret on recent changes. Sylvain has returned to full-time work in the leadership of the French LCR. Aubin has been made available to work with the Political Bureau of the French LCR in preparing the coming congress of the LCR while remaining a member of the Bureau. Riel has returned to the center. Propose to integrate Maria and Alfonso into the Bureau.

Motion: to ratify these changes in the composition of the Bureau.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

e. Iran

Report by Stateman on the progress of fusion discussions between the Sattar League and the Organization of Iranian Supporters of the Fourth International in the Near East and Europe. They are working on a common article and resolution on the recent revolutionary upsurge in Iran.

Motion: The Bureau is mandated to issue a brief Fourth International statement on the events in Iran.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

f. Dates of the Next Meetings of the United Secretariat

Motion: The next meetings of the United Secretariat will be held January 26-27-28 and March 23-24-25, 1979.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

g. Portugal

Report by Duret on the unification congress between the Liga Comunista Internacionalista and the Partido Revolucionario dos Trabalhadores which resulted in the founding of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR). He also drew attention to an interview with Comrade Sa Leal published in A Luta, September 19, 1978, in Portugal.

Motion by Celso: to refer to the Bureau to decide, in collaboration with the PSR, how best to rectify publicly the contents of the interview with Comrade Sa Leal.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

(Comrade Greco, present, did not vote.)

h. Turkey

Report by Claudio

Motion by Duret: The Bureau will send a circular to all sections on the problem of repression in Turkey.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

i. Spain

Report by Walter on a request by the Liga Comunista (Public Faction) of Spain to participate in the next world congress and in the pre-world-congress discussions.

Discussion.

Motion by Walter: To reply to the comrades of the LC (Public Faction) that in order to participate in the pre-world-congress discussion, they should address themselves to the LCR, which, following the LCR-LC fusion, became the Spanish section of the Fourth International.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

6. International Meeting of the Bolshevik Tendency (Faction)

Report by Antonio (see attachment B, letter from the Bolshevik Faction to the United Secretariat).

Discussion: The comrades of the Bolshevik Faction announced that they will try to present several counterresolutions for the world congress before the end of the year.

Motion by Walter: The United Secretariat asks that Comrade Greco or another comrade of the Argentine PST become a member of the Bureau, residing at the center, and participating in the work of the center, and act in the framework of the elected leadership bodies of the Fourth International.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

(Greco was not in the room at the time of the vote.)

Brewster informs the United Secretariat that the British section has received no reply to its letter to the Bolshevik Faction protesting the fact that the Bolshevik Faction invited the Workers Socialist League of Britain to participate in its international faction meeting without prior consultation with the International Marxist Group (IMG).

Motion by Celso: The United Secretariat requests that the Bolshevik Faction respond to the letter from the IMG and decides to place this question on the agenda of the next United Secretariat meeting.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

(Greco was not present at the time of the vote.)

Motion by Greco: In answer to the request presented to the United Secretariat by the leadership of the Argentine PSI, the United Secretariat decides:

1. To immediately send a delegation of the United Secretariat to Argentina in order to investigate fundamentally and exhaustively the real situation of this party;

2. That this commission should remain in Argentina until it has been able to have direct knowledge of each and every one of the cells and parts of the apparatus of the PSI;

3. To mandate this commission to make a report in order to make known the results of its visit to the entire International. This report should include, at the very minimum, the following figures:

*the number of members

*the number of dues-paying members

*the number and type of publications

*the press run and circulation of the newspaper

*the number of workplaces in which the party is doing work

in addition to all the political and organizational matters which the commission would feel necessary to act on.

Counterresolution by Duret: To refer the motion of Comrade Greco to the Bureau to consider the concrete possibilities for responding to the invitation contained in the motion.

Vote on counterresolution:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Edgardo, Fourier, Galois, Georges, Holden, Maria, Martinez, Otto, Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: Greco

Abstentions: none

Not voting: none

CARRIED

7 World Congress Preparations

a. Date of the world congress

Motion by Celso: To postpone the world congress from June to October.

For: Adair, Alfonso, Aubin, Celso, Crandall, Dunder, Frej, Galois, Honden, Manuel, Maria, Mogens, Otto, Riel, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Against: Brewster, Claudio, Georges, Peterson, Rudi, Walter

Abstentions: Greco, Martinez

Not voting: Duret, Roman

CARRIED

Statement by Brewster, Claudio, Fourier, Georges, Marline, Rudi, Walter:

We believe that the new postponement of the world congress is a serious error. Coming after the decision of the United Secretariat of July 1978, which fixed a definitive date for the congress and which called on the sections to immediately arrange their schedules for organizing the discussion and holding national congresses or conferences to pre-

pare for the world congress, this new postponement can only have a disorganising effect for those sections which acted in a disciplined way in regard to the United Secretariat decision. It will produce sceptical and even cynical reactions among many section leaderships concerning the seriousness with which the leadership of the International treats its own commitments and the importance it gives to respecting the statutes and even the holding of the congress.

We appreciate the argument that we must have the time necessary for a political discussion in the sections to prepare the world congress and that the time for this is very short in view of the number of questions to be discussed.

But these successive postponements of the congress -- especially the one which was just decided -- does not improve the situation in this respect. In particular, its consequences will be:

a. to delay for many months the opening of the discussion in many sections, which will be inclined to give priority to other pressing tasks. This, together with the "downturn" during the summer months in the Northern hemisphere, reduces to almost nothing the amount of time that will be gained in comparison to a congress held in June.

b. to strongly decrease the pressure for immediate translation, publication, and distribution of the draft resolutions that are ready. This, in turn, will slow down the opening of the discussion in the ranks of the sections.

c. to make it more difficult to have an adequate spacing-out of the discussion on the five points on the agenda for the world congress. Remember that for one of these resolutions, the draft has been available for over a year, that the second has been available for months, that the third has been available since August-September in the three languages. Therefore, nothing stands in the way of discussion beginning immediately on these questions. With the new postponement of the congress, discussion will begin on all five points at the same time, which will mean burying the militants under an avalanche of very long texts. This will in no way help the debate.

We believe that behind the error made in again postponing the world congress there is an error in judgement on the part of some comrades regarding the necessary relationship, at the present stage, between the tasks of the international leadership and those of the sections. To the degree that our movement develops, with some sections achieving rapid growth, pressures from the national context -- both related to the tasks of intervention linked to the exigencies of the class struggle, as well as to burning organizational questions that need to be resolved -- will continue to grow. This means that the cohesion of the International will be weakened if there is not a clear understanding of this danger and conscious countermeasures on the part of the international leadership to neutralise it, both through an improvement in our political elaboration, and through a strengthening of the organizational structures of the International and the development

of international initiatives to coordinate external actions.

To submit to the internal needs of some large sections -- which, moreover, are always in contradiction with those of other sections -- by adopting easy solutions such as repeated postponements of the world congress, without taking into account the negative effects of these postponements in many countries and the need to solve the problem of strengthening the cohesion and the structures of the International, is to act in a direction opposite to that which today should be the principle priorities for the leadership of the International.

b. International Internal Discussion Bulletins

Report by Dunder on the situation of production of the international internal discussion bulletin. Concerning the French-language bulletin, it was proposed that the Bureau discuss with the French comrades the possibility of having the bulletin sold at cost to comrades of the French section, instead of being given free, in order to overcome financial difficulties involved in production.

It was proposed from the Bureau that the backlog of unpublished French-language bulletins should be published in the following order: from the beginning of 1978 until the present, followed by 1977, 1976, and 1975 working backwards, the exception being that precedence will be given to all line resolutions. See Attachment C for list of contributions that have been published in English but not in French since 1975.

Motion: The United Secretariat reaffirms its decision to take responsibility for the appearance of the international internal discussion bulletin in English, French, and Spanish. It also reaffirms the decision that line resolutions must be submitted six months prior to the date of the world congress and other contributions four months in advance of publication if translation into three languages is to be guaranteed.

Because of the limitations of our resources, the bulletin will be limited to forty-eight pages per month of the English language format and the equivalent space in the other languages. All submissions from this time onward will count toward this total.

At its meeting of January 1978, the United Secretariat outlined guidelines on procedures for submissions to the bulletin and determined that priority should be given to discussion contributions on the points that will definitely be proposed for the world congress agenda. The United Secretariat has now submitted five resolutions -- the women's liberation resolution, the resolution on socialist democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the draft resolutions on the world political situation, Europe, and Latin America. These five subjects should now take priority in the discussion bulletin. In determining the contents of the bulletin, the attempt should be made to achieve a balance between submissions from the sections, from international tendencies or factions, and from individual leaders in the International, given the limited space available in the bulletin.

As the pace of the discussion accelerates, it will be necessary to speed up the publication of contributions. The United Secretariat accordingly delegates to the Bureau the right to approve submissions to the bulletin within the above guidelines, between meetings of the United Secretariat. Of course, in the case of differences, the Bureau decisions can be appealed to the following United Secretariat meeting.

Motion: To approve the report and the motion by Dunder:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Aubin, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Crandall, Dunder, Duret, Frej, Galois, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Maria, Martinez, Mogens, Otto, Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter.

Against: none.

Abstentions: Greco

Not voting: none.

CARRIED

Meeting adjourned.

ATTACHMENT ALetter to the Comrades of the PST(Peru) by Hugo Blanco

Several comrades who are active in the PST have told me that it is my duty to write a clarification of why I am no longer a member of the PST. I believe that they are right and that is why I am writing this letter.

Many comrades of the PST, including myself, are no longer members of the PST because the Bolshevik Tendency has prevented our membership. The apparatus of the Bolshevik Tendency has taken over the PST and prohibited our membership since September 3, because since that day we have not accepted its ultimatums.

It would have been good if, before we were expelled, the ranks of the PST had been able to at least hear our positions, but the apparatus of the Bolshevik Tendency did not want us to participate in the membership meeting which was to discuss the unification and the political divergences. The apparatus of the Bolshevik Tendency said that this would be discussed in the party without us. We do not know if the party really held this plenary meeting or if the Bolshevik Tendency felt that after getting rid of us there was no longer a need for a plenary.

What was the process used in expelling us from the PST?

We were forced to submit to a vote without discussion.

There were three tendencies in the PST with different positions. According to Trotskyist norms, each of these tendencies should have gone to the meetings of all the local units of the party to present their views and discuss them. The Bolshevik Tendency, which had taken over the apparatus of the party, had not done anything to assure this. Once we saw that this discussion was not taking place (only the Bolshevik Tendency had presented the positions, according to its own interpretations of them) we presented a motion of order that the plenary not have a decision-making role, but only a consultative one. The leadership of the debate, which had been taken over by the Bolshevik Tendency without consulting the leadership of the party or the plenary, refused to discuss the motion of order and decided to expel us before discussing it.

The expulsion procedure consisted of the arbitrary decision of the Bolshevik Tendency to ask the participants in the plenary, one by one, whether or not they would submit to the discipline of the plenary. We were obviously against the procedure of the Bolshevik Tendency and demanded that our motion be discussed and that we should see whether the conditions had been fulfilled for a plenary with full decision-making powers on questions which had not been democratically discussed among the ranks.

In addition to this objection there was the problem of who should have the right to vote. On the one hand, the Bolshevik Tendency refused the right to vote to at least one delegate that it knew would not vote for it.

On the other hand, it gave the right to vote to new comrades who were not members. What a sad sight to see, the dramatic tone of

the Bolshevik Tendency in asking the comrades with a theatrical air: "Comrades, aren't you active day after day? How can Comrade Blanco not recognize your right to vote?" Those comrades who really worked day after day for the party were of course very indignant at us. But, comrades, there is one thing that the Bolshevik Tendency has not told you: in the Trotskyist movement it is not sufficient to have worked two months in a support committee for the FOCEP to have the right to decide the line of the party, or, as in this case, to serve as the excuse for the expulsion of one sector of the party, including me, among others.

These are the comrades who very honestly said: "But yes, we have discussed the three positions in our ranks, and the comrades of the leadership have shown us which were correct and which were incorrect." These are the comrades who today ask me, "Why did you use to belong to the PST and now you belong to the Fourth International?" This is the level of the "members" who were used by the Bolshevik Tendency to expel us.

Who broke discipline?

One of the main arguments of the Bolshevik Tendency to justify our expulsion is that we broke discipline. What is certain is that those who have broken discipline, both on a national and international level, are the comrades of the BT.

International: We Trotskyists belong to the Fourth International, the world party of the socialist revolution.

Inside the Fourth International tendencies and factions representing currents of opinion are allowed to exist. They do not have an organizational function.

However, the Bolshevik Tendency, breaking the discipline of our world party, acts as a party within a party.

We think that in certain cases it is correct to send material and human aid to a national section, but this should be discussed by the International leadership.

The Bolshevik Tendency does not bother to explain this to the International leadership and sends comrades and material aid on its own account wherever it wants without even telling the leadership after the fact.

This is a rupture of the discipline of the Fourth International.

National: It has been a long time since the Bolshevik Tendency took over the leadership of the PST, breaking its discipline. It is certain that the comrades of the Bolshevik Tendency held a majority in the leadership of the PST. It is certain that according to the rules, they could have their positions approved even though we of the minority in the leadership were opposed. But they haven't done simply this. It was the Bolshevik Tendency which decided on and carried out measures without consulting or even informing the leadership of the party.

For example, there was the transfer of leaders to various parts of the country, the assignment of cadres to different fields of intervention, and the receiving and disposing of finan-

ancial aid.

None of this was ever reported to, or discussed in, the formal leadership, the real leadership having been usurped by the Bolshevik Tendency.

For this reason, the leadership did not know how much money the party had or what the money was for.

And this is why a single comrade had control of the secretariat and finances of the organization, since he was in the BT.

This is the rupture of discipline.

Thus, if we broke discipline, it was that of the Bolshevik Tendency, which was the only discipline which remained and to which we never committed ourselves.

The unification process

The true reason for speeding up our expulsion was our real interest in the process of Trotskyist unification. Some of the aspects of this process are unknown to the ranks of the PST. That is why we will repeat them:

--The Fourth International is one world party to which are affiliated all the Trotskyists who are in the process of unification. Thus the unification is not between strangers but between members of the same world party.

--Normally only one section of the Fourth International should exist in each country. That is why there have been international efforts to end the abnormal existence of two or more sections per country through unifications.

--In Peru, all the current groups come out of one party. Since we belonged to one organization in the past, the current process is one of reunification of the Peruvian section. We were one party and we will go back to being one party, and it is to this reunified section that we owe our discipline and loyalty, not to one of its pieces and even less if it is a loyalty to divisionism.

--Obviously, when important political differences exist, unification is not possible, but when the differences are not very deep, unification is possible. The united party will resolve these differences by discussion and vote, applying democratic centralism. If necessary, tendencies will be organized.

--In the case of Peru, the differences have not been great for a long time. That is why the United Secretariat, that is to say, the leadership of the Fourth International, decided more than two years ago to encourage reunification in Peru. Toward this end, I wrote a resolution which was accepted by all the groups in Peru, including the PST.

A few months ago, the Fourth International sent another message showing its surprise at the delay in the unification in Peru while other sections which had begun the unification process much later had achieved concrete results already, as in Mexico,

Canada, Spain, and Australia.

--During the election campaign, this reunification was certainly obstructed because some of us were in the FOCEP and others were in the UDP. But all of us in the leadership of the PST agreed that this obstacle would disappear after the elections. Thus it was through the process of unification that all of us agree today to work in the FOCEP.

--In July we all agreed to reactivate the process of reunification, and as a result a lot of progress was made in this direction, for example, the decision to edit a joint journal where the common positions would occupy the bulk of the paper and the differences in the remainder. Another result was the plenary of August 20 which showed to the majority of the groups and tendencies that reunification was really possible.

This is why we held a subsequent meeting, one which the Bolshevik Tendency did not want to attend even though it was held in its headquarters. (Comrade Tuco gave out a resolution of the "PST" stating that it would not attend. However, as usual, the leadership of the PST did not know about this resolution. Once more, the Bolshevik Tendency was substituting itself for the leadership of the PST.)

During this meeting, the majority of the groups felt that the conditions were ripe to take another step forward towards reunification. We decided to form a joint leadership and to put out the journal on which we had previously agreed in the name of the regroupment commission. The provisional leadership was to be formed on a parity basis and on October 8 the unification congress was to be held.

What the BT did not like was the real progress being made in the process of reunification. The Bolshevik Tendency had shown and was showing in practice that its words in favor of unification were just that: words. That is why the comrades of the Bolshevik Tendency became furious when other comrades made real steps forward towards unification, without letting themselves be obstructed by the Bolshevik Tendency. That is why they expelled us from the PST, because they saw that they could not hold back our desire for reunification.

What to do now?

We have been and we are for reunification, not only in words but also in practice: we have already put out two issues of the journal Revolution, and we are unifying our work on all fronts (in the shops, neighborhoods, among the students, etc.)

For the moment, our effectiveness has not been what it should be with the quantity and quality of the members that we have. We should understand that this is the way it is in a period of transition from one form of functioning to another. We are going from a period where we worked in many groups to one where we work in one united party. In spite of the natural pitfalls, the results have made us optimistic. We believe that in this process there is room for the comrades of the Bolshevik Tendency. We want them to be at our side during the congress on October 8. Unfortunately, it

seems that they will not be there because they do not want to be.

However, the story does not end on October 8. If they want to join us later, they can do so. We will await them with open arms and without prejudice. This is not demagoguery but comes from our conception of the party. The comrades of the Bolshevik Tendency can verify the sincerity of our attitudes towards them in any area of work at any time: we are for unity.

We hope that we will soon be together in one big party, the fruit of the unification of the Peruvian Trotskyists in one Peruvian section of the Fourth International.

It is possible, comrades. We are waiting for you.

s/Hugo Blanco
Lima, September 1978

ATTACHMENT B

Bogota, November 4, 1978

United Secretariat of the
Fourth International

Dear Comrades,

The Bolshevik Faction, which was established at the world conference of the Bolshevik Tendency in July 1978, would like to give you a report on this conference and its decisions.

The world conference decided to present to the next meeting of the United Secretariat the main documents that were approved at this conference. Events that we are all aware of prevented us from having this material prepared by the time we had proposed. The imprisonment of Hugo, Kita, Antonio Sa Leal, and eighteen members of the Socialist Convergence on August 22 obliged us to immediately throw ourselves into organizing an international campaign to free all of them. At the same time there was the kidnapping of Roberto on September 3, which made the situation even more complicated, since we had to give immediate support to the measures taken by the Peruvian comrades to get him back alive. This general situation was made even worse by the fact that both Hugo and Roberto were specifically assigned to participate in writing some of the main documents and it was impossible for them to do this, first, because they were being held, and, second, because afterwards they had to spend time taking care of many formalities that were necessary to allow them to maintain their legal residence in Colombia. The problems continued in Brazil and became worse at the end of October with the most recent arrests.

These are the factors which, unfortunately, prevented us from presenting our corrected and finalized documents to this meeting, according to the decisions made at our conference. We are well aware that this delay is detrimental, in a temporary but real way, to the launching of the discussion in preparation for the Eleventh World Congress. But we are sure that all the comrades on the United Secretariat will understand the weight of the circumstances that explain this delay. While making these excuses and explanations, we ask that the Bureau of the United Secretariat be authorized to receive the documents of our faction, which we hope will be ready during the months of November and December, and to arrange for their publication directly with the Parity Commission so as to begin a discussion on them in the International as a whole.

Report on the world conference

It was held in Bogota July 17-24, 1978. Attending were comrades of the Fourth International who were full delegates from fifteen countries and fraternal delegates from two additional countries. Delegates from three other countries had the right to participate but could not attend. This was also the case for comrades invited as sympathizers from five countries. The criteria adopted for voting was the following: delegates from groups with more than 1,000 members of the BF, seven votes; between 500 and 1,000, five votes; between 100 and 500, two votes; less than

100, one vote.

On the basis of these criteria, the conference recognized: seven delegates from the Argentine PST; five from the Brazilian party and from the Colombian PST; two from the Portuguese PRT, the Italian LSR, the Mexican PRT, and the Venezuelan PST; one from the French LCR, and PRT of Costa Rica, the LSK of Panama, the LOK of El Salvador, the MST of Ecuador, the PST of Uruguay, and the Peruvian PST. If they had been able to attend, one vote would have been given to delegates from Greece, Bolivia, and the Cape Verde Islands. Also invited but not able to attend was a category of firm sympathizers not recognized as organized groups in Sweden, Germany, England, Israel, and Angola.

Invited as fraternal delegates with voice but no vote were Comrade Joaquin of the Nicaraguan LMR and Comrade Bob of the Workers Socialist League of England.

Also invited to attend with voice but no vote were other comrades of foreign delegations, members of the CC of the PST(C), and other members present from the CC of the Argentine PST.

The following agenda was adopted:

1. Election of presidium
2. Agenda
3. Reports on the work in various countries
4. Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
5. Eurocommunism
6. World Situation
7. European Situation
8. Situation in Latin America
9. General Activities Report
10. Miscellaneous
11. Voting on resolutions
12. Election of the Leadership

A presidium was elected including comrades Antenor (Brazil), Antonio (Portugal), Greco (Argentina), Julio (Argentina), Miguel (Colombia), and Pedro (Argentina). LIT (")

Under the point "Reports on the work in various countries," brief national reports were given on the political situation, the activities of the Trotskyist movement, and in particular the activities of the BT. The conclusion from these reports is that at the present time the BT already has some 6,000 members.

Under the fourth point there was a broad discussion on the United Secretariat resolution "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," on a counterreport by Comrade Capa, and on his document, "Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat." It was decided to reject the document of the United Secretariat as revisionist, and to approve the counterreport and the document cited. It was further decided to rework the form of this document so that it could be published publicly as was the document of the United Secretariat.

Under the fifth point there was discussion of the United Secretariat resolution on Eurocommunism, and a counterreport by Comrade Antenor. The conference rejected the United Secretariat

document and approved the counterreport.

Under the sixth point the political resolution of the majority of the United Secretariat was discussed. Comrade Andres made a counterreport, and the vote was to reject the draft and approve the counterreport.

Under points seven and eight, reports on the situation in Europe and in Latin America were discussed, presented by Comrades Enrique and Camilo, respectively. These reports were approved, and it was decided to hold off voting on the documents of the United Secretariat until counterdocuments could be written. These will be presented for consideration of the Eleventh World Congress if the documents written by the United Secretariat are not in accordance with them.

Under point nine, one of the most important points in the meeting, there was discussion of a full, written report, presented by Comrade Eduardo, on the situation of the Fourth and in particular of the Bolshevik Tendency, including the political, organizational, theoretical, and moral aspects. The final conclusion under this point was the need to transform ourselves into a faction and to set ourselves the goal of arriving at the world congress with at least 10,000 members.

As to the platform of the faction, it was decided to approve the general lines of the program presented in the Declaration of the Bolshevik Tendency, with the addition of a point that says: "In view of the worsening of the crisis of leadership of the Fourth, as manifested on the theoretical, political, organizational, and moral levels, the BT constitutes itself as a faction to fight at the next world congress for changing the leadership of the Fourth and its present orientation." Similarly, it was decided that, in view of the changes in the situation of the class struggle and inside our world party, the above-mentioned program should be brought up to date in order to serve as the definitive platform of the BF.

It was further decided to approve the performance of the BT since its formation.

Finally, it was decided to adopt as documents of our faction:

- All the basic documents of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction for the Tenth World Congress
- the following works of N. Moreno: "A Scandalous Document," "Angola, Black Revolution on the March," "Revolutionary Democracy of the Proletariat," "Document of the BT."
- The previously mentioned documents.

Under miscellaneous, several organizational problems were briefly discussed.

ATTACHMENT D

The following statement by Comrade Antonio Sa Leal was given to the United Secretariat after the November 6-9 meeting. It is the one referred to in point "D" (Brazil) under Information Reports on Latin America.

"In regard to the information published in Folha da Tarde of Sao Paulo of September 11, 1978, noting my affiliation to the Fourth International and referring to possible 'identifications' from an 'album of photographs,' this is a falsification and a police provocation which I deny and denounce totally."

(29)

December 10, 1978

From: United Secretariat Bureau
To: Leaderships of sections and sympathizing organizations
Subject: Relations with the OCRFI

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are three items: (1) a letter from the United Secretariat Bureau to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International; (2) a joint account by delegations from the Bureau and the OCRFI of a recent discussion between the two organizations; and (3) a circular of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, French section of the Fourth International, concerning relations with the Organization Communiste Internationaliste, French affiliate of the OCRFI.

We would like to draw comrades' attention to a series of developments over the past two months that led up to the situation described in these documents.

In mid-October the public discussion bulletin on Eurocommunism between the United Secretariat and the OCRFI was published in French (it can be ordered from the Librairie la Breche, 10 impasse Guemenee, Paris 75004, France). It will be published soon in English by the SWP (USA) and in Spanish by the Mexican PKT.

On October 13 a discussion took place between delegations of the Political Bureaus of the LCR and the OCI. At this meeting the delegations agreed that both organizations would participate in the public meetings being organized by each organization to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International. The LCR and the OCI also agreed to exchange internal discussion bulletins in preparation for the congresses of the two organizations (the OCI's is in December, the LCR's in January).

The OCI's "Days of Study on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Fourth International" took place October 21-22 before around 2,000 people in the Paris Mutualite. At the invitation of the OCI, representatives of the United Secretariat, the French LCR, and the Socialist Workers Party of the United States participated. The OCI comrades arranged the agenda so that a real discussion could take place, allowing the comrades of the United Secretariat to speak on any points they wished.

Just prior to the "Days of Study," the September issue of the OCI's magazine, La Verite, had appeared. It contained a long article by Stephan Just on the history of the Fourth International that included a restatement of the reasons why the OCI comrades did not join in the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963: that is, because they thought that the differences leading to the split in 1953 had to be resolved before there could be a principled reunification.

A major theme of the article was the claim that the Fourth International was and is marked by "Pabloite revisionism". It contained a number of slanderous misrepresentations of past and present positions of the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, etc.

In the face of this article, as well as an initial presentation by Gerard Bloch at the "Days of Study" along the same lines,

the representatives of the United Secretariat intervened along the following lines:

1. They proposed that the discussion between the OCRFI and the United Secretariat should center not on which side was correct in the 1953 split or the 1963 reunification, but on the key political issues of today, and, specifically, on the draft resolutions submitted to the pre-world-congress discussion in the Fourth International.

2. They explained that the OCRFI should have taken this same approach in 1963 and joined in the reunification. Our comrades explained how the reunification was the product of a real political convergence concerning the big political questions--the Polish events of 1956, the Khrushchev revelations, the Hungarian revolution, and later the Cuban Revolution. This political convergence was summarized in the Document "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," which was the statement of principles upon which the Fourth International reunited.

3. They drew attention to the contradiction between the OCRFI's view that the Fourth International is "revisionist," and its desire to conduct discussions with us that leave open the possibility of reunification. The United Secretariat comrades stressed the need to determine whether the possibility of fusion exists by probing the agreements and disagreements between the forces of the OCRFI and the United Secretariat on three levels: on the programmatic level, the level of the major political tasks of the period and the main axes of party-building, and on the level of organizational conceptions (democratic centralism on the national and international levels).

The subsequent interventions of the comrades of the OCRFI contained a welcome clarification of the OCRFI's stance toward the Fourth International. Comrade Just said on the second day that he accepted, in the name of the OCI, the proposal to enter a discussion around the documents for the coming world congress, and that he thought the OCRFI would also agree to this proposal. Comrade Just also stated that "we / the United Secretariat and the OCRFI/ form the two branches of one and the same International."

At the "Days of Study," a serious discussion with the OCRFI comrades began over a whole series of topics: analysis of the situation in Spain; a balance sheet of the revolutionary process in Portugal; how to pose the call for reunification of Germany; the campaign for rehabilitation of Trotsky and the other old Bolsheviks; the women's liberation struggle; the character of the Cuban state, the Castro regime, and Cuba's role in Africa; Eurocommunism, and the present stage in the crisis of Stalinism.

On November 22, the LCR held its "Six Hours for the Fourth International," also commemorating the fortieth anniversary. Again, before about 2,000 persons, representatives of the United Secretariat and the OCRFI participated in a panel discussion on the problems of construction of the Fourth International. Lutte Ouvriere, the other organization in France that states its adherence to Trotskyism, was invited but refused to participate. A lively discussion took place, which was a continuation of the discussion at the OCI's "Days of Study."

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Another important development in relations between the OCRFI and the United Secretariat is taking place in Peru. The POMR (Partido Obrero Marxista Revolucionario), which is affiliated to the OCRFI, has proposed discussions with the two organizations adhering to the Fourth International in Peru--the PRT and the PST--to investigate the possibilities for a fusion. When he was in Paris in November, Comrade Hugo Blanco of the PRT met with leaders of the OCRFI to discuss this proposal, as is explained in the attached joint account.

The enclosed letter from the Bureau to the OCRFI, asking to be invited to the OCRFI's International Bureau meeting, was written at the suggestion of the comrades of the OCI who formed the OCRFI delegation at the November 14 meeting. They told us that the question of whether the United Secretariat should be invited would most likely be the first item on the agenda and would be hotly disputed. They also informed us that a serious internal dispute will take place at the International Bureau meeting concerning relations of the OCRFI with its affiliated organizations in Argentina (Politica Obrera) and Bolivia (POR-Lora).

At the same time, Politica Obrera and also the OCRFI group in Brazil have expressed their interest in stepping up the discussion and exchanges between them and the forces of the United Secretariat.

Given these new developments, the November United Secretariat meeting decided that the Bureau should prepare for a United Secretariat discussion on relations with the OCRFI as soon as possible.

A further stage in the discussion will occur at a National Committee plenum of the SWP (USA) in mid-December. The OCRFI has indicated that it will send one of its leaders, who will participate in discussions on the world political resolution and women's liberation resolution for the coming world congress.

Comrades should note that there is a difference of formulation that appears in the attached joint account concerning the transitional norms necessary in the case that a fusion with forces of the OCRFI in a particular country could be achieved prior to a fusion on an international scale. The delegation of the United Secretariat took the position that members of the fused organization would have to agree to accept democratic centralism of the fused organization and of the Fourth International, while at the same time the comrades from the OCRFI could maintain relations with the OCRFI. The OCRFI delegation used a more ambiguous formulation, saying that the two components of the fused organization could maintain their present "international affiliation."

This difference is something that would have to be cleared up at the time, if there were an evolution toward fusion in a particular country.

Comradely,

Susan, Duret

Duret, Susan
For the Bureau

cc: OCRFI

Ys. IO, Jack, Doug, NO, Peter C, Gus
[being printed for PC]

15 January 1979

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are pages 29 to 34 of the minutes of the last meeting of the United Secretariat (November 6-9, 1978). These pages make up Annex C of the minutes. There are two separate attachments which make up this part of the minutes: Attachment C-1, "Documents Not Yet Published in French"; and Attachment C-2, "International Documents Published In French". They were not enclosed in the English language version of the minutes sent out several weeks ago.

Comradely,
U. Sec. Bureau

This list is in chronological order, starting from the most recent as they appeared in the IIDB.

<u>IIDB</u>		<u>number</u> :: <u>number</u>
<u>Vgl. No.</u>		<u>charact</u> :: <u>pages</u>
<u>1978</u>		
XV - 3	Notes on the 'Draft Theses on the Tactics of the Fourth International in Europe' by International Commission, International Communist League, Dutch section <u>to be translated.</u>	20,000::1.5pages
XV- 3	The Coming Revolution in Europe, by Letourneau Nemo, Seldjouk, and Ulysse already typed	:::6 pages
XV-2	Report to the January 28, 1978 meeting of the United Secretariat on the Situation in the Colombian PST, by J.-P. Riel; plus the appendices A to V already typed	:::22pages
<u>1977</u>		
XIV-7	Two articles on Portugal by Charles Michaloux, already published in <u>Cahiers de la Taupe</u> , April 1977	80,000:: 5 pages
XIV-7	A Reply to the 'Declaration of the IMT', by Barry Sheppard already translated	65,000:: 4.5pages
XIV-6	The 'Draft Resolution on the Indochinese Revolution for the Eleventh World Congress' - Where it Goes, Wrong, by Fred Feldman	100,000:: 6 pages
XIV-5	Appendices to "The Meaning of the IMT's Self-Criticism on Latin America", by Jack Barnes (These texts do not appear in the minutes of the United Secretariat as having been published in the IIDB)	50,000::
XIV-3	Correspondence U.Sec./OCRFI, a number of texts have not yet appeared in French (March 1977) and a motion of the CC of the LCR (August 1976) and two letters U.Sec/LO partly translated	35,000:: 2 pages
XIV-2	Key Issues in the Portuguese, Italian and Mexican Elections, by Sheppard already Translated	100,000:: 6 pages
	Appendices <u>to be translated</u>	150,000:: 9 pages

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<u>IIDB</u>		<u>Number</u>	::	<u>Number</u>
<u>Vol-No.</u>		<u>Charact.</u>	::	<u>Pages</u>
XIV-2	Wprld Movement Report, by Mary-Alice Waters already translated	100,000		6 pages
XIV-2	Appendices: Declaration of the Steering Comm. of the IMT (Oct.-Dec. 1975) and of the Steering Committee of the LTF (Dec. 1975) <u>to be translated</u>	25,000		1.5 pages
<u>1976</u>				
XIII-8	Resolution on Angola, Draft Resolution of the LTF, (The resolution of the IMT was published in <u>Inprecor</u> No. 46, March 1976) <u>to be translated</u>	35,000		2 pages
XIII-8	Statement on the Self-Criticism on Latin America by the IMT, by Livio			
XIII-6	How the United Secretariat Majority Mishandled the Fraternal Approach of the OCRFI, by Jack Barnes <u>to be translated</u>	100,000		6 pages
Appendices:				
	Motion U.Sec., August 1976	3,000		
	Correspondence OCRFI/U.Sec. 1973-5	200,000		12 pages
	Correspondence Walter-LSA/LSO 1975-6	30,000		2 pages
	Correspondence on OCRFI/Varga 1975-6	60,000		4 pages
XIII-5	Letters and Motions Concerning the Invitation of the OCRFI to the Convention of the SWP partly translated	60,000		4 pages
	A Few Observations on Comrade Barzman's 'Evaluation' of the February 1976 IEC Plenum, by Joseph Hansen	35,000		2 pages
	Note by Jones on the Invitation to the Congress of the SWP <u>to be translated</u>	60,000		4 pages
	Report of the United Secretariat Bureau Concerning Relations With the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency	3,000		
XIII-4	On the International, by Sakai; and "For A Class Line in the Portuguese Revol- ution! Democracy or Proletarian Dict- atorshup?" Resolution of Japan Revolu- tionary Communist League <u>to be translated</u>	120,000		8 pages
XIII-1	Correspondence concerning LTF Resolution on Portugal plus Hansen Moreno correspondence <u>to be translated</u>	160,000		10 pages

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Charact. Pages1975

XII-3 "The Need for a Special World Congress",
by the LTF Steering Committee plus
letters on IT, IMT and Kompass
to be translated 180,000 10 pages

XII-6 The Issues in the Portuguese Revolution, by
Barry Sheppard plus Documents and
Correspondence Concerning the OCRFI and
their Request for Discussion with the
United Secretariat 200,000 12 pages
partly translated

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Total number of pages to be printed (in the format
of "Documentation Internationale").....150 pages

Total number of pages to translate..... 60 pages
.....
.....

The International Socialist Review also published a text by
Couturier on Indochina
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remark: I have tried to make detailed calculations but they
are necessarily only estimations. One page equals
approximately 17,000 characters - about the same as a
full page of Rouge)
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TEXTS TO APPEAR IN "DOCUMENTATION INTERNATIONALES"

1. Resolution on Europe.....	385,000	24 pages
2. Latin American Resolution.....	380,000	24 pages
3. Exchange of Letters Mandel-Moreno.....	130,000	8 pages
4. IMG contribution on 'Caucuses'.....	30,000	2 pages
5. Mexican contribution on Womens Resolution....	100,000	6 pages
6. Commentary by Jones on the World Resolution..	?	
7. Response to the Bolshevik Tendency, by Walter etc.	200-300,000	12-18 pages

approx. Total 80-85 pages

Documents et Information de Sociologie:

No. 1:

- Minutes of the Tenth World Congress (see English IIDB vol.XI, No.5, April 1974 and Vol. XII, No.1, Jan. 1975)

No. 2:

- Report of the Control Commission of the Socialist Workers Party, July 2, 1974, (IIDB, vol. XII, No.2, January,1975)

Documentation Internationale

No. 1 (January 1976):

- The Key Issues in the Portuguese Revolution, by the steering committee of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction, adopted August 31, 1975; (IIDB, vol.XII, no.6, Oct.1975)
- The Portuguese Revolution and the New Problems that Face the Fourth International, statement of the Steering Committee of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction, adopted August 31, 1975; (IIDB, vol. XII No.6, October 1975)
- The Portuguese Revolution and Building the Fourth International, by Jack Barnes (IIDB, Vol. XII, No.6, Oct. 1975)
- The Differences Between the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the PST, by the IMT Bureau, May 31, 1975; (IIDB, Vol. XII, No.4, Oct. 1975)

No. 2 (June 1976):

- Draft Theses on the Tactics of the Fourth International in Capitalist Europe, submitted by Aubin, Claudio, Duret, Fourrier, Frey, Georges, Ghulam, Jones, Kurt, Otto, Roman, Walter, and Werner (IIDB, Vol. XIII, No.3, Nov. 1976)

No. 3 (August 1976):

- Conclusion of the Report by Jack Barnes on the Revolution in Portugal and the Construction of the Fourth International. (see Documentation Internationale No.1 above);
- The Test of Lines in the Portuguese Revolution, minority resolution proposed to the February 1976 meeting of the International Executive Committee by the Leninist Trotskyist Faction (IIDB, Vol. XII, No.2, April 1976)
- Theses on the Portuguese Revolution, draft resolution by the International Majority Tendency, adopted by the February 1976 meeting of the International Executive Committee (IIDB, Vol XII, No.2, April 1976)

No. 4 (August 1976):

- The Erosion of Peronism and the Central Task of Revolutionary Marxists, IMT Resolution adopted by January 1975 IEC (IIDB, Vol. XII No.5, Oct. 1975)
- In Reply to the IMT's Open Letter Number 2, Leninist Trotskyist Faction Resolution submitted to the Jan. 1975 IEC (IIDB, Vol. XII, No.4, Oct. 1975)

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED IN FRENCH

No. 5 (October 1976):

- For a Change in our Position on Cuba, by David Keil, Socialist Workers Party, (IIDB, Vol. XII, No. 5, Oct. 1975)
- Program and the PST's 'Specific, Limited Agreements', by Berta Langston and Bob Langston, Socialist Workers Party; (IIDB, vol. XII, No.5, Oct. 1975)
- Draft Resolution on Argentina, by Jose Valdez, submitted to January, 1975, IEC (IIDB, Vol. XII, No.5, Oct. 1975)

No. 6 (November 1976):

- Exchange of Correspondence between Lutte Ouvriere and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, (Lutte Ouvriere February and May 1976; United Secretariat March and July 1976); (IIDB, Vol. XIII, No.5, Nov. 1976)
- The Fourth International and Organizations Claiming to be Trotskyist (motions of the United Secretariat, July 1976; Declaration of the Political Committee of the SWP, July 1976; Declaration of the United Secretariat, Sept. 1976; Alan Jones on SWP invitation to OCRFI); (IIDB, vol. XIII, No. 5 and 6, Nov. 1976)
- Annex: Letter of the SWP to various organisations claiming to be Trotskyist, July 1976

No. 7 (December 1976):

- Self-Criticism on Latin America, by the Steering Committee of the International Majority Tendency; (IIDB, Vol. 8, Dec. 1976)
- Draft Resolution on the Indochinese Revolution for the Eleventh World Congress, submitted by Aubin, Duret, Roman and Walter; (IIDB, Vol. XIII, No.7, Nov. 1976)

No. 8 (March 1977):

- Letters and Texts Relating to the OCRFI (September-December 1976); (IIDB, Vol. XIII, No.6, Nov, 1976)

No. 9 (March 1977):

- For an Intervention by Sections of the Fourth International Against the Oppression of Women, submitted by Allio, Darmelle, Ellis, and Nina (IIDB, Vol XIV, No.4, May 1977)
- Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation, submitted by Mary-Alice Waters; (IIDB, Vol. XIII, No.9, Dec. 1977)

No. 10 (May 1977):

- Declaration of the Bolshevik Tendency; (IIDB, Vol .XIV, No.1, Jan. 1977)

No. 11 (June 1977):

- Declaration of the IMT (IIDB, Vol. XIV, No.2, April 1977)
- Critical Notes on 'The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe', by Wilcox; (IIDB Vol. XIII, No.4, Nov. 1976)
- Some remarks on 'Draft Theses for Detailing the Tasks of the Fourth International in Capitalist Europe (Second Edition)', by Sakai; (IIDB, Vol. XIII, No.4, Nov.1977)
- Annex: Excerpts from the Resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern; Resolution by the Japan Revolutionary Communist League on 'The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe; (IIDB, Vo. XIII, No.4, Nov.1977)

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED IN FRENCH
.....No. 12(May 1978):

- The Accomplishments of the LTF: A Balance Sheet, by Jack Barnes. Report adopted by the LTF Steering Committee, August 17, 1977 (IIDB, Vol. XIV, No.8, Sept.1977)
- The Responsibilities of the LTF in the New Stage of the International Debate, by Melan, Nemo, and Sarah (IIDB, Vol. XV, No.1, March 1978)

No. 13(May 1978):

- Dissolve the International Fractions! by Barry Sheppard (IIDB, Vol.XIV, No.8, Sept. 1977)
- For the Immediate Dissolution of the LTF, by Barry Sheppard (IIDB, Vol.XIV, No.8, Sept. 1977)

No. 14(May 1978):

- Call for the Formation of an International Tendency,
by Letourneau, Nemo, Seldjouk, and Ulysse;
- The Debate on Europe and the Responsibilities of the LTF, by Carmen, Gabriel, Letourneau, Melan, Nemo, Raul Seldjouk, Ulysse; (IIDB, Vol. XV, No. 1, March 1978)
- After the IMT Declaration: Against Factionalism, For the Correction of the International's Course, by Nemo and Melan (IIDB, Vol. XV, No.1, March 1978)
- Letter to the Members of the LTF, by Gus Horowitz (IIDB, Vol. XIV, No. 8, Sept. 1977)

No. 15(June 1978):

- The Meaning of the IMT's Self-Criticism on Latin America, by Jack Barnes (IIDB, No.5, May 1977)

No. 16(June 1978):

- The Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation, Draft Resolution for the Fifth World Congress Since Reunification (11th World Congress), Submitted by the United Secretariat; (IIDB, Vol. XV, No.4, May 1978)

No. 17(September 1978):

- The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International, Draft Resolution adopted by the United Secretariat for the XI World Congress
- Excerpts from the minutes of the United Secretariat, March 31- April-1-2, 1978; (IIDB, Vol.XV, No.4, May 1978)
- For a Change in the position of the Fourth International on Cuba, by Massion, Andres, Rodrigo, Sara, Cooper, Keil
- Exchange of letters between the GCR (Lebanon) and the Bureau of the United Secretariat (April-June, 1978)