

OCT 29 1979

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UNITED SECRETARIAT MEETING

September 29-October 4, 1979

PRESENT: Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Capa, Claudio, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Ghulam, Jones, Manuel, Marcel, Marline, Melan, Otto(KAF), Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Walter

IEC PRESENT: Alfonso, Ahmad, Karl(LMR), Marcela, Mario, Nemo, Otto(PSR), Peterson, Segur, Thinville

CONTROL COMMISSION: Lars

GUESTS: Allio, Amador (for points on Nicaragua), Azar, Banner, Bernard, Biggs, Bijan, Bourgueil, Cannon, Dario, Dundee, Eduardo, Elahe (for Iran point), Ellis, Franco, Gabriel, Hojabr, Holden, Inglefield, Janne, Jorge, Maria, Marlowe, Ollivier, Pedro, Phil, Theo

AGENDA:

1. Attendance at United Secretariat meeting (closed session of United Secretariat and Bureau members only)
2. Security Commission
3. Brazil
4. Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
5. Nicaragua
6. Simon Bolivar Brigade
7. Reports on world congress resolutions
8. World congress invitations
9. Iran
10. Bolshevik Faction
11. Bureau reports

Chairpersons: Stateman, Therese, Bourgueil, Aubin, Allio

1. Attendance at United Secretariat meeting

Motion by Susan for the Bureau:

That the meeting be open only to United Secretariat and IEC members and delegations from leaderships of sections or sympathizing organizations that there be no special provision for attendance by representatives of tendencies or factions, given that the LTT and Bolshevik Faction will be assured representation in the framework of the above categories. This would mean that comrades Jerome and Ulysses are not invited. Comrade Dario of the LSR of Italy should be invited, as requested by the Italian section, which is conducting fusion discussions with the LSR.

Motion by Capa: That all leaders of international tendencies and factions who are in a position to attend should be invited.

Vote on above motions:

For Capa motion: Capa, Manuel

For Susan motion: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Bourgueil, Claudio, Dundee, Jones, Marcel, Maria, Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Walter

Abstentions: Frej, Otto (KAF), Rudi

Not Voting: none

Susan motion CARRIED

Motion by Stateman for the Bureau: That Comrade Amador should be invited to the points on Nicaragua, both as a leader of the Costa Rican OST, which will be directly affected by motions adopted on Nicaragua, and be-

cause the Bureau plans to propose a special motion concerning Comrade Amador himself under the points on Nicaragua.

Motion by Claudio: That Fausto Amador should not be invited to any part of the meeting.

Motion by Jones: That Comrade Amador be invited to the entire meeting.

Vote on Claudio motion:

For: Claudio, Otto(KAF), Peterson, Rudi, Walter

Against: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Bourgueil, Dundee, Frej, Jones, Manuel, Marcel, Maria, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan

Abstentions: Capa

Not Voting: none

DEFEATED

Statement by Claudio: I consider it a scandal that the United Secretariat should discuss the problem of Nicaragua with a person who cannot go back to his country since he is considered a deserter by those who led the fight for the overthrow of the dictatorship. The decisions concerning him can be communicated to him by a delegate of the United Secretariat.

Vote on Jones motion:

For: Capa, Jones, Manuel, Riel, Susan

Against: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Bourgueil, Dundee, Frej, Marcel, Maria, Peterson, Roman, Rudi, Walter

Abstentions: Stateman

Not Voting: none

DEFEATED

Vote on Stateman motion:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Bourgueil, Dundee, Frej, Jones, Marcel, Maria, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan

Against: Claudio, Peterson, Rudi, Walter

Abstentions: Capa, Manuel

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

Motion by Capa: To reconsider the question of inviting Ulysses to the meeting.

DEFEATED

(end of closed session)

Motion by Capa: That Comrade Antonio be allowed to attend the meeting until Comrade Gabriel from the delegation of the PRT of Portugal arrives.

Vote on above motion:

For: Alfonso, Capa, Riel

Against: Adair, Allio, Bourgueil, Claudio, Dundee, Georges, Jones, Manuel, Marcel, Maria, Peterson, Roman, Stateman, Susan

Abstentions: Frej, Ghulam, Marline, Otto(KAF), Rudi, Walter

Not Voting: none

DEFEATED

Motion by Nemo: To reconsider the question of inviting Ulysses to the meeting.

DEFEATED

Motion by Capa regarding Simon Bolivar Brigade (see later in minutes for text of this motion).

Chair rules out of order, since point on Simon Bolivar Brigade comes later on the agenda

Capa challenges ruling of the chair.

CHALLENGE DEFEATED

Capa, Nemo walk out.

## 2. Security Commission

Stateman reported that the Bureau established a commission to deal with a security problem, composed of Stateman, Duret, and Claudio.

Motion by Stateman: That a commission of the United Secretariat be established to consider the problem, composed of the above three comrades plus Allio and Walter.

CARRIED

## 3. Brazil

Maria gave an informational report on political situation in Brazil following the trip by a United Secretariat delegation, as decided at the last United Secretariat meeting.

## Discussion

## 4. Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

### Motion by Nemo:

Considering that the document "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (SDDP) has already been adopted by a previous meeting of the United Secretariat;

Considering that this document has been broadly publicized and has been presented in France as one of our basic programmatic positions in the discussion with the OCRFI;

Considering that two international tendencies (Bolshevik Faction and the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency) have characterized this document as containing serious elements of revision of our program;

Considering that since the vote in the United Secretariat, members of the "caucus" have presented profoundly different appreciations of the validity of this document (comrades Walter and Camejo);

Considering that the proposal of a new document on the same subject without previous clarification of the status of the document already adopted and without any vote proceeding from the discussion of contradictory positions that it has given rise to for two years would amount to an administrative maneuver and an unacceptable obstacle to a responsible and democratic discussion on this decisive question;

The United Secretariat decides that a preliminary vote should be taken on the fate of the SDDP document that was previously adopted by

the United Secretariat and that only if it is rejected should the discussion on a new document be opened up.

DEFEATED

Report by Walter on amended draft of document on Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Report by Stateman on new alternative draft.

Discussion

Motion by Walter: The United Secretariat approves the general line of the amended draft presented by Comrade Walter, which is in continuity with the original draft adopted by the United Secretariat. A committee will be set up to incorporate all amendments compatible with that general line.

Motion by Stateman: To support the general line of the Stateman draft.

Note on motion by Walter:

For: Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Ghulam, Jones, Manuel, Marline, Otto(KAF), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Walter

Against: Adair, Celso, Claudio, Dundee, Stateman, Susan, Therese,

Abstentions: Ahmad

Not Voting: Galois, Marcel

CARRIED

(Vote of U Sec members is 15 for, 6 against, 2 not voting)

Note on Stateman motion:

For: Adair, Allio, Celso, Dundee, Galois, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Against: Brewster, Claudio, Duret, Fourier, Ghulam, Jones, Peterson, Riel, Walter

Abstentions: Ahmad, Alfonso, Aubin, Bourgueil, Frej, Georges, Manuel, Marline, Otto(KAF), Rudi

Not Voting: Marcel

DEFEATED

(Vote of U Sec members is 7 for, 8 against, 7 abstentions, 1 not voting)

Statement by Roman and Allio:

We voted for the general line of the two documents on socialist democracy presented to the United Secretariat. Since it is somewhat unusual to vote in such a way, and since only a small number of comrades did so in this case, we wish to explain exactly why we did this. The reasons for our votes are the following:

\* Clear differences in general line were not apparent either from a reading of the draft resolutions, or from listening to the introductory reports, whatever might be the differences in structure, emphasis, approach, or details (which obviously have a political meaning).

\* It is impossible to vote on the general line of documents on the basis of what one side or the other might imagine to be the debates

to come, hidden motives, or this or that individual intervention in defense of the documents presented. Votes can only be determined on the basis of the content of the proposed documents.

\* Moreover, the vote does not concern a choice of which document is "better written," but the general line of each document. However, there were many comrades who spoke at the United Secretariat meeting to say that the documents did not appear to be contradictory. A vote for the two documents logically registers this position. It means that theoretically it should be possible to work out amendments (major ones) on the basis of the two documents. It also means that the goal of the United Secretariat should be to again achieve a proposal of a single document, unless more important differences appear than those that have come out up to now. Any other approach would be irresponsible.

The working out of amendments was not possible prior to the United Secretariat for practical reasons. On the two documents, major changes will need to be made. It is this work of clarification that must now be tackled, beginning from the draft that receives a majority vote, since this will be the majority draft. Unless this is done, there is a danger that the United Secretariat will open a major discussion in the ranks of the International under conditions of the greatest possible confusion.

Motion by Ghulam: That this United Secretariat recommends to leave open the question of whether or not there should be a decisive vote on the theses "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" at the next world congress. This should be decided at the world congress itself after the conclusion of the discussion.

Vote on above motion:

For: Fourier, Ghulam, Jones, Marline

Against: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Frej, Galois, Georges, Manuel, Marcel, Otto (KAF), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

DEFEATED

Motion by Nemo containing six points (see later in minutes for text).

Chair rules out of order.

Nemo challenges ruling of the chair.

CHALLENGE DEFEATED

## 5. Nicaragua resolution

Duret reported on draft resolution from the Bureau.

Counterreport by Capa for the Bolshevik Faction.

Counterreport by Amador for the Leninist Trotskyist Tendency.

Motion by Amador for the LTT:

The United Secretariat declares that it is its most elementary and principled duty to unconditionally defend the physical integrity and democratic rights of any current of the workers movement in face of repression by any bourgeois state.

Consequently no member of the Fourth International can for any reason associate themselves with the Sandinista Front or with the Government of National Reconstruction in repression or attacks on the democratic rights of any working-class current in Nicaragua; the International will unconditionally defend the Trotskyists that are persecuted or threatened by the Sandinista Front and the Government of National Reconstruction.

Counterreport by Jones on amendments to Bureau draft resolution, which constitute a counter line. (See Attachment A for counterline amendments by Jones.)

Brewster presents Jones amendments plus three others as amendments within the general line of draft resolution. (See Attachment B for Brewster amendments.)

Vote on first set of Brewster amendments (No. 1 and 2, concerning dual power):

For: Brewster, Ghulam, Marline, Rudi

Against: Adair, Ahmad, Celso, Dundee, Galois, Riel, Stateman, Susan,

Abstentions: Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Claudio, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Jones, Manuel, Maria, Melan, Roman, Walter

Not Voting: Capa, Marcela, Mario, Nemo, Peterson

DEFEATED

Statement by Claudio, Duret, Fourier, Walter:

We are abstaining on this amendment, although we consider that the overall situation described in the resolution corresponds in its fundamental features to a special situation of dual power, which explains not only the "transitional" dynamic to which the resolution refers, but also puts the question of the government in the correct framework.

Moreover, the document says on p. 13 of the French version: "Une dualité de pouvoir prend forme au Nicaragua."

Vote on second set of Brewster amendments (No. 2-9, concerning the FSLN)

For: Brewster, Ghulam

Against: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Celso, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Frej, Galois, Maria, Marline, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Walter

Abstentions: Fourier, Jones, Manuel, Melan

Not Voting: Capa, Marcela, Mario, Nemo, Peterson

DEFEATED

Vote on third set of Brewster amendments (No. 10,11):

For: Brewster, Ghulam, Peterson

Against: Adair, Celso, Claudio, Dundee, Galois, Roman, Susan, Stateman

Abstentions: Alfonso, Allio, Bourgueil, Fourier, Frej, Jones, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Riel, Walter

Not Voting: Aubin, Capa, Duret, Marcela, Mario, Nemo, Rudi

DEFEATED

Statement by Roman: I voted against the last two amendments to the resolution on Nicaragua proposed by Brewster because the fundamental idea that they put forward was already contained in the resolution, and in addition, their formulation was unclear.

Vote on general line of draft resolution from the Bureau:

For: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Celso, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Georges, Maria, Marline Otto(KAF), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Walter

Against: Jones

Abstentions: Brewster, Ghulam

Not Voting: Capa, Marcela, Mario, Nemo

CARRIED

Statement by Brewster:

It was impossible for me to cast a positive vote for the Nicaraguan resolution presented by Duret for the Bureau. The rejection of the amendments signified a refusal to take a clear political position on the central points which have come up in the discussion on the Nicaraguan revolution. As a consequence there is a big danger of the ranks of the Fourth International being miseducated, an unnecessary opening is given to the dogmatists and ultralefts (both the LTT and the BF), and there is real danger of disorienting Trotskyist forces in Nicaragua itself.

The project of amendments (as opposed to presenting a counter line) was taken because many of the questions are empirically dealt with in the resolution, but in a descriptive and "objectivist" way. The purpose of the amendments was to clarify whether there was simply a problem of drafting.

(1) It is clear that for a number of comrades the rejection of the amendments flows from their view that the FSLN leadership will automatically of itself lead the masses to the destruction of capitalism in Nicaragua. In particular, the comrades of the SWP see this resolution as an endorsement of the line which they have argued in the Militant and IP/I. This goes much further than not placing a priori limits on how far the FSLN will go, but puts political confidence in the FSLN. The resolution is totally ambiguous on this crucial question.

(2) Dual Power. The resolution refuses to clearly state that a situation of dual power exists in Nicaragua today. The FSLN does not "have the power" in Nicaragua. The bourgeoisie has many important points of power in the economy, through the press and media, in the state apparatus, and in the government. Refusing to characterize the situation as dual power obscures the number one task: the construction of a workers and peasants government.

This is where the question of the GRNN arises. We must clearly characterize this as a bourgeois, coalition government. Most important of all that the construction of a workers and peasants government will necessarily mean the removal of bourgeois ministers from this government. Whilst the resolution is correct to reject the slogan today of "out with the capitalist ministers," it is totally wrong to endorse the credibility which the FSLN is giving to the GRNN with talk about the FSLN "buying time" (page 19, first paragraph) to organize the masses.

(3) Centralization of committees of self-organization. The fight for the centralization of the CDSs is not posed politically in the resolution because it is not posed in relation to the fight for a workers and peasants government. Instead, the vital task of the centralization of the CDSs is left to the good offices of the FSLN-- who to be sure have gone a long way on the road to developing the CDSs. We cannot, however, assume that they will see the need to construct a government which derives its authority from these organizations of the masses, i.e., a workers and peasants government. Indeed the orientation to the construction of a workers and peasants government is reduced to one phrase in the resolution (page 29).

(4) The fight for a workers and peasants government is not today concretized in the ultraleft call for "down with the GRNN" or "out with the capitalist ministers," or worse, through the call for a constituent assembly. The resolution is right on this. The resolution, however, does not present clearly how a fight for such a government is taken forward. Specifically the resolution should outline what the tasks of a workers and peasants government are today. The clarification of the role of capitalist ministers in the GRNN would be made in relation to their response to these tasks.

These tasks would include: centralization of CDSs, the building of youth and women's organizations, arming of the masses through workers militias, the land reform, the generalization of workers control, the promulgation of a national economic plan, and so on.

Many of these things are indeed being undertaken by the FSLN. But one important area is the question of workers control.

It is correct to reject the call for the immediate socialization of industry. Room should be given to private capital that remains in Nicaragua to begin the reconstruction. But we must present a complementary proposal for generalized workers control: at the governmental level, at the level of the plants. For, as the resolution points out, reconstruction in a capitalist framework would simply mean austerity for the masses.

At a national level the ministries must exercise veto over capitalist enterprises which take anti-working-class measures. A good example of this is the decision of the Ministry of Labor that all redundancies be first ratified by them. This approach should be extended by demanding the opening of the books and beginning the promulgation of a national economic plan. This approach must also be encouraged at the level of the plants.

This apparently is to be put into the resolution but it was not agreed to additionally present this as a way of clarifying the role of the capitalist ministers in the GRNN.

(5) Role of Cuba. We cannot just remark on the Cuban aid to Nicaragua. This is the central point to be sure. But as Trotskyists hoping to influence the FSLN we must also criticize Castro's orientation to Latin American bourgeois governments. This orientation to these governments cannot be characterized as "internationalist."



Vote on general line of Jones resolution:For: Brewster, JonesAgainst: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Celso, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Galois, Maria, Marline, Otto (KAF), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, WalterAbstentions: Ghulam, ManuelNot Voting: Marcela, Mario, NemoDEFEATED5. Simon Bolivar BrigadeMotion by Mario concerning expulsion of Simon Bolivar Brigade (see later in minutes for text of motion).Chair rules out of order, since decision was to begin with information reports.

Capa, Marcela, and Mario walk out.

Statement by Manuel and Melan:

Monday night, before the beginning of the discussion on the "Simon Bolivar Brigade," Comrade Mario read a draft resolution wherein he states that the members of the brigade were tortured in Panama, and that the responsibility for this falls jointly on the Sandinist and Panamanian police. They stated that it was a question preceding the vote on the motion, and when it was decided that the vote would take place, they left the room.

This whole thing is a farce, which, moreover, has been repeated twice during this United Secretariat meeting, each time with the same purpose: on the one hand, not to be present at discussions of fundamental importance for the International, in which the BF is directly involved (as in the discussion on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the debate on the brigade); on the other hand, to try to whip up a campaign of agitation within the International, which would hide the political debates and substitute for them campaigns to denounce the torture of members of the brigade, and, above all, to denounce the United Secretariat for its supposed "refusal" to condemn these tortures. The BF wants to substitute a discussion on the tortures of the brigade for a balance sheet of the brigade's activities.

The best way to combat this farce is for the United Secretariat to make a prior declaration concerning any torture that the members of the SBB may have suffered, leaving a statement on all the concrete circumstances of the expulsion, as well as the existing responsibilities thereof, to the end of the discussion.

We consider it an error that the United Secretariat majority voted against the above-mentioned statement; this facilitates the factional, demagogic, and irresponsible activity of the BF.

Information reports on Simon Bolivar Brigade by Manuel, Pedro, Duret, and AlfonsoStateman reported on motion from the Bureau:

In August the leadership of the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN)

expelled the non-Nicaraguan members of the "Simon Bolivar Brigade" from Nicaragua. The world capitalist press has portrayed the Simon Bolivar Brigade as "Trotskyist." The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the worldwide Trotskyist organization, is issuing this statement to clarify its relation to the Simon Bolivar Brigade.

The Simon Bolivar Brigade was formed in June of this year by the Colombian Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST--Socialist Workers Party). Its ostensible purpose was to recruit a military brigade to fight with the FSLN in the final offensive against the Somoza regime.

Although individuals who passed through the Brigade found their way to the front and were integrated into the FSLN units, the Brigade as a unit entered Nicaragua after the fall of Managua. Sections of the Brigade went to Managua, Bluefields, and other cities.

The Simon Bolivar Brigade not only presented itself as part of the FSLN, but claimed to be acting for the FSLN and its leadership. However, it never in fact accepted the discipline of the FSLN, but instead set its own course. Falsely posing as an armed unit of the FSLN, the Brigade endeavored to impose its own leadership on workers involved in organizing unions in various factories, in some cases through authoritarian and manipulative methods. It even introduced the outrageous rule of "double affiliation" of these unions to both the CST and the SBB! This activity received broad notoriety in Nicaragua. In Bluefields, a town on the east coast largely cut off from the rest of the country where there were few FSLN cadres, the Brigade presented itself as the FSLN leadership of the city and surrounding area. The FSLN was obliged to send in an armed unit to Bluefields to establish its authority.

Faced with this situation, the FSLN leadership publicly called for a meeting with the Simon Bolivar Brigade. The Brigade responded by organizing a demonstration of workers near the meeting site. The workers involved were brought to this demonstration under the false pretense that they were there to discuss their problems with the FSLN leadership.

The FSLN leadership held two meetings with the Simon Bolivar Brigade, lasting many hours, to try to resolve the situation. They proposed that the Brigade become a disciplined and loyal part of the FSLN, as an international brigade. But the Brigade leadership refused to place itself under the discipline of the FSLN, despite its public stance that it is a military, and not political organization.

After the FSLN leadership expelled the Brigade's non-Nicaraguan members they were sent to Panama, as a first step on their way. When the Torrijos regime utilized the opportunity to arrest and beat members of the Brigade before sending them on, which we condemn and denounce, the FSLN leadership issued a statement that it had not arrested or mistreated any member of the Brigade, and that its intention was solely to expel them from Nicaragua.

\* \* \*

The Colombian PST is a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. However, the entire project of setting up the Simon Bolivar Brigade was not done under the guidance of, or in collaboration with, the elected leadership bodies of the Fourth International. It set its own course, against the policies of the Fourth International.

The disregard for and contempt of the Fourth International on the part of the leaders of the Simon Bolivar Brigade was exemplified by their refusal to allow a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International who was present to attend the meetings between the FSLN and the Simon Bolivar Brigade, although this was agreeable to the FSLN.

Documents of the Colombian PST state that the project of the Simon Bolivar Brigade was largely conceived and executed as a factional operation against the FSLN and the majority of the Fourth International. The Colombian PST placed its own factional interests above those of the Nicaraguan revolution.

This behavior of the Brigade could provide a pretext to forces opposed to the advance of the revolution to advocate the use of repression in the workers movement to settle political differences, against the policy of the FSLN.

The Fourth International condemns and repudiates the Simon Bolivar Brigade and its activities.

Walter reported on amendment to Bureau motion:

In addition, the Fourth International considers that the expulsion of the Simon Bolivar Brigade from Nicaragua was a mistake. Naturally, the FSLN has the right to politically expose those falsely utilizing its name and the masses the right to prevent actions contrary to the interests of the revolution by means appropriate to the actions involved. However, in the course of the revolutionary process like the one unfolding today in Nicaragua, many conflicts arise between different sectors of the workers movement not only around legitimate problems of tactics, but also involving ultraleft and adventurist acts or groups. These conflicts are of a different nature, and need to be dealt with by different means than acts of counterrevolutionary classes or groups. It is vital to maintain workers democracy, which alone can guarantee the fighting unity and strength of the masses. This means differences among the different sectors of the workers and mass movement should be resolved by political means and not by repression. The interests of the revolutionary forces and the strength and unity of the masses are best served if mistakes like those committed by the Simon Bolivar Brigade are dealt with through political clarification and agitation and not through administrative means.  
(to be added at end of motion)

#### Discussion

Walter withdraws above amendment in favor of Walter-Marline amendment:

(to be added at end of resolution)

At the same time the Fourth International considers the expulsion of the Simon Bolivar Brigade from Nicaragua to be a mistake. We don't want to minimize the fraudulent and irresponsible character of the Simon Bolivar Brigade operation. However, we believe the prestige and political authority of the FSLN is sufficiently great to have enabled it to solve the problem of the Simon Bolivar Brigade by using public criticism and condemnation.

Amendment by Manuel and Melan:

Under point 4, after "on their way" and before "When the Torrijos..." add the following:

"; this meant leaving the members of the Simon Bolivar Brigade in the hands of the Panamanian National Guard, which detained them and beat them savagely."

Motion by Nemo:

1. The United Secretariat has taken cognizance of the statement by the SWP(USA) Political Committee and the article on the Simon Bolivar Column, both of which appeared in the August 31, 1979 Militant. The statement by the SWP PC says that "the unfortunate episode of the Simon Bolivar Brigade was just what the Carter administration was waiting for," while, along the same lines, the Militant article talks about a "provocative confrontation."

Independently of the political discussion that must be initiated in the Fourth International about the lines that have been put forward with respect to the Nicaraguan revolution, the United Secretariat condemns this statement by the SWP leadership as constituting an open break with the elementary principle of solidarity with members of the Fourth International and political support to the repressive measures taken by a bourgeois government.

2. The United Secretariat has taken cognizance of a statement signed by Comrades Camejo and Udry and given to the FSLN leadership (published in the September 24, 1979, issue of Intercontinental Press). This statement is presented as a "statement by the United Secretariat delegation." It states, for example, that "all activities which seek today to create divisions between the mobilized masses and the FSLN are contrary to the interests of the revolution," and publicly condemns the SBB for having "tried to separate the workers from their vanguard." The statement closes by saying: "The FSLN was right to demand that the non-Nicaraguan members of this group...leave the country."

The "delegation" in whose name Comrades Camejo and Udry thus expressed themselves had no mandate other than to make contact with the Trotskyists in Nicaragua. The United Secretariat condemns this statement, which improperly cloaks itself in its authority, as a rupture of democratic centralism. As to the content, the United Secretariat condemns this statement for giving political support to repressive measures taken against members of the Fourth International by a bourgeois government contrary to the most elementary principles of our movement and using arguments reflecting chauvinism and opportunism toward the FSLN.

These objects to procedure agreed by the meeting earlier, when she was absent, of counting votes of comrades who were not present for any of the discussion on this point.

Motion to maintain the procedure of counting the votes of comrades who had to leave the meeting before this point but left written votes.

Vote on above motion:

For: Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Claudio, Duret, Manuel, Marline, Otto(KAF), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Walter

Against: Adair, Ahmad, Dundee, Galois, Jones, Maria, Otto(PSR), Susan, Stateman, Therese

Abstentions: Nemo

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

Motion to reconsider the above vote, since it would mean written votes could not be accepted for the Walter-Marline amendment, given that the comrades who left early did not see it.

CARRIED

Motion by Claudio; To recognize the votes only of comrades present at the time of the vote, plus that of Fourier, who was present for much of the discussion.

Counter-motion by Therese: To recognize written votes from all members of the United Secretariat through taking a poll.

Vote on above motions:

For Claudio motion: Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Duret, Jones, Marline, Otto(KAF), Riel, Roman, Rudi, Walter

For Therese motion: Adair, Galois, Susan, Stateman, Therese

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

CLAUDIO MOTION CARRIED

Vote on Manuel amendment:

For: Manuel, Melan

Against: Adair, Ahmad, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Jones, Maria, Marline, Otto(PSR), Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: Nemo, Peterson

DEFEATED

Amendment by Roman:

The expulsion of members of the Simon Bolivar Brigade from Nicaragua does not in itself pose a question of principle. Moreover, the United Secretariat is not in a position to say what was the best way of handling this question. It does not adopt the position supporting the expulsion taken by Comrades Duret and Camejo in their letter of September 3. Nor does it renounce this position.

Motion by Aubin: Not to take any new motions or amendments into consideration, including Roman's.

Vote on above motion:

For: Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Duret, Manuel, Marline, Melan, Otto(KAF), Riel, Rudi, Walter

Against: Roman, Susan

Abstentions: Adair, Galois, Jones, Stateman, Therese

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

Vote on Walter-Marline amendment:

For: Alfonso, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Fourier (written vote), Jones, Manuel, Marline, Melan, Otto(KAF), Peterson, Rudi, Walter

Against: Adair, Ahmad, Allio, Bourgueil, Dundee, Galois, Maria, Otto (PSR), Riel, Roman, Susan, Stateman, Therese

Abstentions: Duret

Not Voting: Nemo

CARRIED (U Sec vote is 11 for,  
7 against, 1 abstention)

(continues on page 14)

Vote on Bureau motion as amended:

For: Alfonso, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Fourier, Jones, Manuel, Marline, Melan, Otto(KAF), Peterson, Rudi, Walter  
Against: Adair, Ahmad, Allio, Bourgueil, Dundee, Galois, Maria, Nemo, Otto(PSR), Stateran, Susan, Therese  
Abstentions: Duret, Riel, Roman  
Not Voting: none

CARRIED

(U Sec vote is 11 for, 5 against,  
 3 abstentions)

Statement by Duret and Riel:

1. The point of departure for defining a position on the so-called "Simon Bolivar Brigade" must be the relationship of the Fourth International to a revolution in progress. Any revolutionist can understand the extremely difficult situation that the Nicaraguan revolution is in, and the political responsibility of revolutionary Marxists toward that revolution deriving from this situation.

We can only be firmly opposed to a political orientation that is based on the particular interests of a faction, and not on the interests of the Nicaraguan revolution. The entire policy of the Bolshevik Faction, of the PST(Colombia), and of the SBB is determined by this sectarianism in the strictest sense of the term, which can be reflected in adaptationist maneuvering as well as in ultraleftism.

In Internal Bulletin No. 86 of the Colombian PST of July 6, 1979, the fundamental motivation for the SBB's phony operation is explained in this way: "Calling for the formation of the SBB helped activate nationwide and continentwide solidarity in the development of the Nicaraguan revolution. This was a big political success for the leadership of the BF, legitimizing it as a real leadership alternative for the Fourth International in face of the disastrous policy of the majority. We have an opportunity to strike very hard at all sectors of the left that have a policy of betrayal...in this sense, we should use the present situation to the fullest to strike at the CP, FIRMES, Maoism, and the PSR."

This merits several considerations.

a) In Panama and Costa Rica, the BF polemicized harshly against the formation of international brigades after September 1978. It waited until June 12, thirty-five days before the victory, to launch its operation, while at the same time pretending that this operation was at the center of the international solidarity campaign.

b) The entire operation was mounted with two goals: to try to scroce factional points within the International, and to hurt the Colombian PSR, and all of this prior to a world congress for which the BF has no counter political resolution, particularly on Latin America.

c) This policy is based on the characterization of the leadership of the International and of many sections that is made in the BF's documents, a characterization that is even more of a caricature in the way it educates cadre. In Appendix No. 3 to the BF bulletin of June 1979, the "Greco memorandum" which is supposed to orient members of

the BF, describes the European document as follows: "Taken as a whole, the majority document can be defined as a vanguardist, syndicalist document that capitulates to the proimperialist labor aristocracy and its political expressions: Social Democracy and Eurocommunism....The document is proimperialist." The attacks on the PSR leadership spring from the same method.

2. In June and July, when it was fully possible to grasp the political disaster for the Fourth International that would be caused by the SBB operation, the rejection of the motion submitted by the BF did not imply a clear questioning of the SBB adventure. There should have been a clear demand that this international operation, which was taking place outside any decision-making and control by the elected bodies of the International, cease. This error placed the International in a situation that made any intervention difficult, while it became more and more obvious--at the end of July--that the swindle was going to take the form of a political catastrophe for the International and for Trotskyism, a catastrophe that the Stalinists have exploited and will exploit, above all in Central and Latin America, but also within the international solidarity movement with the Nicaraguan revolution.

3. The SBB's entire activity in Nicaragua, as is shown by the report attached to the United Secretariat minutes [this was sent separately from the minutes], was based on the fraudulent use of the FSLN's logo and prestige, whereas the brigade as a unit did not arrive until two days after the victory. It was based on a manipulative conception of the mass movement, on an explicit intention to fool the masses, on a dishonest attitude toward the leadership of the FSLN, on the dishonest use of an ex-member of the FSLN (Plutarco Hernandez), to try to legitimize the swindle.

All of this is contrary to an orientation that could make it possible to raise the ideas of revolutionary Marxism; to develop cadre who can win the confidence of the advanced workers, to build a revolutionary party in Nicaragua. The SBB more or less carried out entryism in a revolution!

4. The leadership of the SBB always presented the SBB as a military unit. They claimed that it was placed under the military authority of the FSLN (see the BF's special internal bulletin of July 28, 1979). They were summoned as a military unit by the leadership of the FSLN, even if, through manipulation, the SBB tried to give a different coloring to its activity (organizing a demonstration to go to the meeting).

It is not the task of the International, which was incapable of disciplining the BF and publicly clarifying its political relations with the SBB, to make a public criticism of the tactical methods with which the FSLN leadership settled the question of the SBB.

5. It was wrong to take a public position, as we did in our letter from Managua, outside of a meeting of the International leadership bodies.

It was politically wrong to publicly state that the expulsion measure was justified, even if it is completely farfetched to say that this measure opens the way to an attack on democratic rights, as the BF and LTT claim.



The fact is that the very developments of the revolution will raise many problems having to do with the relations between the FSLN leadership and political currents tied to the workers movement. A statement supporting the measure taken by the FSLN leadership against the SBB is contrary to the need to begin a discussion on workers democracy with members of the FSLN leadership, a discussion that should bring out the difference in the way we approach these problems in comparison with Stalinist currents or those directly influenced by Stalinism.

6. It is the responsibility of the United Secretariat to take all adequate measures to see to it that such an adventure by the BF is not repeated, either in Nicaragua or in Central America, and to make its position on the SBB publicly known in Nicaragua.

Statement by Manuel and Melan:

Our party's executive committee, in its letter to the United Secretariat that was delivered to the Bureau and communicated to this United Secretariat meeting, stated, among other points, the necessity of investigating and taking decisions at this meeting on:

1. The facts contained in the letter from Comrades Sara, Felix, and Galene, with respect to Comrades Manuel(PRT) and Peter(SWP).

2. The letter signed by Comrades Udry and Peter that was published in Bandera Socialista and IP/I.

We consider that the first point has not even been clarified before this United Secretariat meeting. If problems concerning the agenda prevent doing so now, the Bureau should be authorized to organize the investigation and to take the measures that it may consider necessary, informing the organizations of the International of the results of its work.

With respect to the second point, we think that the statements by Comrades Riel and Duret, with which we agree, should be accompanied by statements by the other comrades involved, and that the United Secretariat should request statements from these comrades. We think that the United Secretariat should adopt the assertion in the statement by Comrades Duret and Riel:

"It was wrong to take a public position, as we did, in our letter from Managua, outside of a meeting of the international leadership bodies."

This, in our opinion, will be the best way to avoid errors like these being repeated in the future, which were the subject of the motions adopted by our executive committee.

Vote on Nemo motion:

For: Nemo

Against: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Melan, Otto(KAF), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Therese, Walter

Abstentions: Jones

Not Voting: none

DEFEATED

Motion by Capa:

## WHEREAS:

1. The Simon Bolivar Brigade was expelled from Nicaragua in a joint operation by the Sandinist and Panamanian police;
2. This joint action by the Nicaraguan and Panamanian police against the revolutionists is proved, in the case of the Simon Bolivar Brigade, by the following facts: they were taken out of Nicaragua by the Panamanian National Guard; a Panamanian armed forces airplane was used; they were brutally beaten by the Panamanian police with the complicity of the Sandinist police;
3. This close collaboration between the Panamanian and the Sandinista police is shown by the following facts as reported in the daily La Prensa of Managua:

--"The high Panamanian military official pointed out that they had been collaborating with our Sandinist police for just twenty days, and that he felt pride, satisfaction, and pleasure at the successes that had been achieved."

--"He praised the ability of the Sandinist revolutionary, who in just a few days had managed to grasp the instructions of the Panamanian police advisers. Yesterday, he explained, one hundred Sandinists left for Panama to take an intensive police course; the course will be specialized, and those returning will become instructors for our students at the police school."

--"The program drawn up by the Commander of the Sandinist Police Federation, Ing. Edgard Zapata Chaves, included the participation of Lieutenant Colonel Ruben Dario Paredes, assistant chief of staff and GN-L of the Panamanian National Guard.

"After the swearing-in ceremony, Father Carlos Villalobos, chaplain of the Panamanian army, spoke. He is providing spiritual assistance to the Panamanian military officers in Nicaragua";

4. The persecution of the comrades of the Simon Bolivar Brigade by the Sandinist police, and the complicity of the latter with the Latin American bourgeois police and armed forces is continuing, as is shown by the brutal persecution to which the S. Bolivar Brigade was subjected in Colombia. The coordinators and organizers of the Brigade, Comrades Valencia, Rita, and an important Sandinist Commander, were brutally tortured in the Colombian BIN by way of support to the "friendly FSLN government in Nicaragua."

5. Intercontinental Press and the SWP, among other organizations of the Fourth International, have denounced the brutality and proimperialist character of the Panamanian armed forces, especially their police and National Guard;

## THE UNITED SECRETARIAT RESOLVES:

1. To repudiate the brutal methods used by the Sandinist and Panamanian police against members of the S. Bolivar Brigade;
2. To carry out a worldwide campaign against those methods;
3. To denounce the unity of both police forces in the service of the counterrevolution;
4. To publicly express solidarity with the members of the S. Bolivar

Brigade who were brutally beaten by that united front of the police and government in Nicaragua, Panama, and in Colombia.

Vote on Capa motion:

For: Capa, Nemo

Against: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Maria, Marline, Otto(KAF), Otto (PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: Manuel, Melan

DEFEATED

Motions by Nemo:

1. The document dated August 15, 1979, and published in several journals of the International (The Militant, Intercontinental Press, Rouge) was neither discussed nor adopted by the United Secretariat, which is the only regular leadership of the International between meetings of the International Executive Committee.

The United Secretariat reaffirms that the only document binding on the Fourth International and reflecting its line on the proletarian revolution in Nicaragua is, to this day, the statement regularly adopted by the United Secretariat and dated July 4, 1979 (Inprecor No. 56-57).

A correction along these lines will be made in the publications of the International which published the "August 15 Statement."

2. The United Secretariat has taken cognizance of the article by Comrades Murphy, Camejo, and Rodriguez entitled "Workers and peasants fight for a new Nicaragua" and published in the August 24, 1979 Militant.

This article writes about the "government of national reconstruction": "So in form it is a coalition government with the Sandinistas in a minority. The reality is different. The reality is that Nicaragua today is being run by the Joint National Directorate of the FSLN, made up of nine Sandinista commanders. All nine are Fidelistas....Real power is in the hands of the FSLN."

While stating that "a workers and peasants government has not yet been established," this article concludes: "The power that exists today in Nicaragua is a revolutionary power." The August 31 Militant draws the conclusion from such a characterization: political support to the government in power and to its activity of "national reconstruction": "We think that the Sandinist government that is trying to get Nicaragua back on its feet is doing a good job."

The United Secretariat affirms that this analysis, which marks the beginning of a revision on the bourgeois nature and counterrevolutionary role of coalition governments, and leads to politically supporting the government of national reconstruction, is contrary to the program of the Fourth International with respect to the revolution in Nicaragua, as it was outlined in the United Secretariat declaration of July 4, which correctly stated: "The government of national reconstruction is a card played by the bourgeoisie to try to prevent the overthrow of Somoza from leading to the break-up of the socioeconomic structures of capitalism and the bourgeois state apparatus," and which closed by

calling for the formation of a government that "excludes all representatives of the ruling class and imperialism."

3. The United Secretariat has taken cognizance of the articles that appeared in The Militant and Intercontinental Press concerning the "conference of nonaligned nations" and the Cuban policy at that conference. Besides publishing Castro's speech without taking any political distance, these articles characterize Cuban policy as "a stinging setback for U.S. imperialism" (IP, September 24, 1979, p. 890), and compares it, word for word, to the Yugoslav position, which is analyzed as "maintenance of the nonaligned movement's 'traditional' stance--that is, a policy of acquiescence to imperialism" (IP, September 17, 1979, p. 883). Moreover, it is stated that "Cuba's foreign policy is the opposite of Moscow's 'detente' policy" (IP, September 24, 1979, p.891).

These analyses are a travesty of the real Cuban policy as it is openly expressed in Castro's very speech. This speech expressly offers political solidarity to a number of bourgeois regimes (including Iran, Bolivia, Ethiopia, Algeria, and the government of national reconstruction in Nicaragua) or imperialist regimes (Spain); appeals for the "friendship" of the "industrialized countries of Western Europe"; solidarizes itself with the bureaucracy in the name of the Stalinist slogan of the "socialist community"; gives active support to "peace, detente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament"; expresses its "satisfaction" with the "SALT II accords between the USSR and the United States, as well as with other steps taken in these areas."

4. Furthermore, the IP articles, which characterize as "anti-imperialist" a Cuban policy that falls expressly and completely within the very framework of the "movement of nonaligned countries," are thereby led to make an analysis of this movement that abandons the most elementary class criteria: "The coming together of these countries reflects the realities of the laws of the world capitalist market and the resulting economic and political conflicts with imperialism, even among the most overtly proimperialist member governments. It is these realities, rather than alignment or nonalignment, that defines this grouping of nations."

Such an analysis leads to denying the elementary necessity for the Fourth International to denounce this grouping as such as a reactionary body, an association of neocolonial bourgeois states dominated by imperialism with the endorsement of the bureaucracy and the participation of some bureaucratic governments, constituting, by that token, one of the axes of class collaboration and defense of the worldwide status quo.

From both these standpoints, the United Secretariat declares its complete disagreement with the line of these articles.

Vote on Nemo motions:

For: Capa, Nemo

Against: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Jones, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Otto(KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: Melan

DEFEATED

Statement by Jones:

I vote against the resolution not on the basis of agreement with the articles in The Militant, with which I strongly disagree, but because it is the right of national leaderships to express their positions in their press. It is an utterly fake method for the United Secretariat to go around passing resolutions condemning particular such articles in press of national sections which are clearly signed as expressing the views of individuals or national organizations.

Motion from the Bureau regarding political activity of members of the Fourth International in Nicaragua:

In several countries of Central America where the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship has created an entirely new framework for the class struggle there is no section or sympathizing organization recognized by a world congress of the Fourth International. In light of this, the United Secretariat decides that in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras all political activity by members of the Fourth International, or those who look to the FI for leadership, shall be carried out under the direct control and leadership of the United Secretariat, on the basis of the political line adopted by that body.

The OST of Costa Rica and the Bolshevik Faction in particular are instructed to cease all activities in Nicaragua, including the building of organizations there, and to limit themselves to activities undertaken in collaboration with the United Secretariat and on the basis of the line of the International.

As projected in the resolution on the Nicaraguan revolution adopted by the United Secretariat on October 1, 1979, all Nicaraguan members and supporters of the FI are to act "as loyal militants in the framework of the organization which led the overthrow of Somoza and leads this revolution...to defend the fundamental ideas of revolutionary Marxism"

Amendment by Melan: At end of second paragraph, add the following:

"The United Secretariat will discuss this political orientation regarding Nicaragua with the comrades of the OST in order to convince them of the need to apply this line. The same will be done with the comrades of the LMR.

Melan amendment is accepted by makers of the motion.

Jones calls for division of the motion, with one vote on the first two paragraphs, and one vote on the last paragraph.

Vote on first two paragraphs of Bureau motion as amended:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Jones, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Melan, Otto(KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Against: Capa, Nemo

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

Vote on last paragraph of Bureau motion:

For: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Manuel, Maria, Marline, Otto(KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Against: Capa, Jones, Nemo

Abstentions: Melan

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

(continues on page 21)

Motion from the Bureau concerning Fausto Amador

In order to carry out the political line adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the United Secretariat instructs Comrade Fausto Amador to immediately contact the leadership of the FSLN in an appropriate manner and inform them that:

1. He recognizes the gravity of the political errors he committed in the past, as he has already publicly affirmed in 1977 at the request of the United Secretariat.

2. He is ready to take steps proposed by the FSLN leadership to overcome whatever problems his past errors have caused.

This step must be taken before the coming world congress, which will review the matter.

This decision of the leadership of the Fourth International will be immediately communicated to the leadership of the FSLN.

Amendment by Melan: Add the following at the end of point 1:

"His long record as an active militant in the period since his commission of errors shows that he is a revolutionary militant."

Amendment by Brewster, Melan, and Manuel:

Replace point 2 with the following: "He is prepared to take steps to overcome whatever problems his past errors have caused. He will discuss with the FSLN, in consultation with the United Secretariat, whatever steps the FSLN propose."

Brewster-Melan-Manuel amendment accepted by makers of motion.

Motion by Galois to table Melan amendment.

CARRIED

Vote on Bureau motion as amended:

For: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Fourier (written vote), Galois, Jones, Maria, Otto

(KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: Capa, Marcela, Mario, Nemo

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: Manuel, Melan

CARRIED

Statement by Fourier:

I vote for the resolution proposed by the Bureau. I would like to remind comrades that when the question of Amador's membership was voted on in the United Secretariat I voted against, and I indicated that I would submit to the next world congress a request to revise this decision through a commission that would take up his case and would report before the end of the world congress. My vote in favor of the resolution presented to this meeting is not contradictory to this proposal. I will submit it to the next world congress.

Motion by Capa:

WHEREAS the USec has declined to condemn the positions taken by the SWP leadership, positions that are openly revisionist and in complete violation of the line adopted by the USec meeting on July 4 on the nature and role of the Government of National Reconstruction, on the Castroist policy, and in relation to the movement of nonaligned countries. By taking this position, the USec made it impossible for there to be a real debate on orientation on the only ground on which that discussion could take place--that of an indispensable return to the founding principles of our movement with respect to the elementary need to carry out a fight for the greatest political independence of the proletariat;

WHEREAS the resolution that has been adopted in no way constitutes a real line document based on all the political lessons contained in the tradition of our movement and on a clear definition of the political tasks necessary for the building of a section of the Fourth International in Nicaragua. The resolution that has been approved is nothing more than a cloak that the USec is giving to all the revisionist statements already adopted by the SWP leadership and an attempt to legitimize this orientation in the future. The real content of this orientation is support to a bourgeois government and to its activity of "national reconstruction" in the framework of a bourgeois state, total political subordination both to the Castroist leadership and to the Sandinist Front, pure defense of their policies, and abandonment of any perspective of building a section of the Fourth International for an orientation that is by no means an entry tactic, but rather an outright dissolution, with neither organization nor program, of the Trotskyists into the Sandinist Front.

WHEREAS Comrade Jack Barnes and the other SWP leaders have clearly stated that the GRN "is and is not bourgeois," and that it should not be defined as class-collaborationist (whereas the resolution that has been approved says that it is "formally" a coalition government), and that it would be "criminal" to do Trotskyist, faction, or tendency work in the FSLN, since its leadership is revolutionary, and that, therefore, the International should apply the so-called Pablo tactic that was applied to the Algerian NLF;

WHEREAS the United Secretariat has decided to publicly condemn the actions of the Simon Bolivar column, at the same time that it has rejected the most elementary duty of stating its solidarity with the members of the latter who were subjected to torture, and of unambiguously denouncing the collaboration between the Sandinist and Panamanian police, particularly in this matter;

WHEREAS the USec was bitterly divided over the elementary need to declare its opposition to the measure taken by the Sandinist Front and the GRN of expelling the Simon Bolivar Brigade, and whereas the position finally adopted on this question is a purely formal statement, expressed in the mildest possible terms, which, taking into account the conditions in which it was adopted, has now been stripped of any political validity for several members of the USec;

WHEREAS the USec decided, on the other hand, to display total unanimity in refusing to clearly condemn public positions that have given explicit support to the repressive measure by the Government of National



Reconstruction, thus clearly proving what its real political line was. The attempt to provide cover for this orientation by barely stating its formal disagreement with the expulsion of the Simon Bolivar Brigade thus lies revealed;

WHEREAS the USec is trying to force the Trotskyists to end all activity in Nicaragua, including the building of an organization of the Fourth International, in favor of an orientation of outright dissolution into the FSLN and subordination to its leadership;

WHEREAS the USec is trying to set up a petty-bourgeois leadership that is outside the Trotskyist movement as the judge of the past errors of Comrade Amador;

WHEREAS Comrade Jack Barnes wrote in 1977 that those errors had been publicly cleared up, that the Stalinist attempt to "unearth" them was aimed solely at "discrediting Trotskyism and destroying one of the groups of the Fourth International," and that "all those who are campaigning to make this issue public are also playing the Stalinists' game";

WHEREAS the motions adopted, as well as the rejection of those submitted by the LTT and BF, are aimed at preventing a political discussion as to the real activity of the International with respect to the Nicaraguan revolution, a discussion that would bring to light the abandonment of all the principles of the Fourth International in favor of a Castroist line that the new leadership of the SWP is trying to impose on our movement;

WHEREAS the adoption of such motions bears the trademark of all the practices of Stalinism;

WHEREAS it would be impossible for the members of the Fourth International to accept such orders, which are contrary to all the traditions of the revolutionary movement;

WHEREAS under no circumstances should Trotskyist militants abandon the fight for class political independence, against the petty-bourgeois currents that, like the FSLN, practice class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, or give political support to a bourgeois government of whatever kind;

WHEREAS in no case can the abandonment of the absolute necessity to build a section of the Fourth International, whatever its tactical forms may be, be justified;

WHEREAS democratic centralism has no political content other than the building of the Fourth International in all countries, and could not lend authority to administrative measures tending toward the outright destruction of political positions and activities that constitute the accumulated gains of the fight for the Fourth International;

WHEREAS the motions that have been adopted signify a total refusal to open the discussion, and whereas those who claim to be the majority of the International have decided to organize a split in its ranks;

Consequently, WE REJECT these measures that have been taken in violation of all the norms of democratic centralism, and we demand that this meeting of the USec pass this resolution, the only one that can

repel the splitters, led by the new Castroist leadership of the SWP;

We also AFFIRM that those who support the measures adopted are morally and politically responsible for giving a political cover in the name of the Fourth International to all the measures of police repression of which Trotskyist militants in Nicaragua and Central America were and may be victims now and in the future;

In the event it becomes necessary, we will take all the decisions necessary, after this vote, to safeguard the unity and integrity of the Fourth International around its program.

Therefore, we call on all parties, leaders, and activists who claim to belong to our world movement to come together to prevent the holding of an undemocratic world congress, and to ensure a really democratic congress with the moral and political authority that may be able to reverse the current liquidationist positions of our program on Nicaragua.

Vote on Capa motion:

For: Capa, Marcela, Mario, Nemo

Against: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Jones, Manuel, Maria, Melan, Otto (KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

DEFEATED

Capa, Marcela, Mario, and Nemo walk out.

Motion from the Bureau: Call for International Aid and Solidarity with the Nicaraguan Revolution (see October 22 issue of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor (English) or No. 61 of Inprecor/IP (French) for text of this statement.)

Vote on above motion:

For: Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Manuel, Maria, Melan, Otto(KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: none

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

Motion from the Bureau on Colombia

The United Secretariat condemns the articles that appeared in El Socialista, the newspaper of the Colombian PST, attacking leading comrades of the Colombian PSR as gusanos and Somozistas. We warn against the dangerous tendency for such language to foster physical violence within the Colombian workers movement. Recourse to such verbal and physical violence in political disputes is alien to the Trotskyist movement and incompatible with membership in the Fourth International. We instruct the PST leadership to publish a major article in their press recognizing the PSR and its leaders as revolutionary Trotskyist, as part of the

Fourth International, and as an integral part of the future mass revolutionary Marxist party in Colombia.

Vote on above motion:

For: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Galois, Jones, Manuel, Maria, Melan, Otto(KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Against: none

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

Motion by Stateman:

The United Secretariat condemns the participation by the PST of Colombia in acts of disruption and physical intimidation of the Nicaragua solidarity movement in Colombia.

Vote on above motion:

For: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Galois, Jones, Manuel, Maria, Melan, Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Against: Otto(KAF)

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

Motion by Melan and Manuel:

To establish a commission to investigate the facts regarding the allegations made in the letter to the United Secretariat by Sara and Felix.

Statement by Stateman and Duret:

Concerning the meeting we and others had with members of the OST, the account given by Felix and Sara is not accurate. What we told them, as our own opinion, was in substance the same as the "Motion Regarding Political Activity of Members of the Fourth International in Nicaragua" adopted by this meeting of the United Secretariat.

Motion by Melan and Manuel withdrawn.

Motion by Jones: That the amendments to the resolution on Nicaragua presented by Jones be duplicated and made available to the delegates at the world congress.

Vote on above motion:

For: Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Claudio, Duret, Manuel, Maria, Melan, Jones, Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Susan, Walter

Against: none

Abstentions: Dundee, Galois, Stateman, Therese

Not Voting: Adair

CARRIED

Motion by Manuel:

That a commission be established at the world congress to investigate the facts regarding charges of physical attacks by members of the PST against members of the PSR of Colombia. Both the PST and PSR should be invited to submit evidence to this commission.

Vote on above motion:

For: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Galois, Jones, Manuel, Maria, Melan, Otto(KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Against: none

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

Motion from the Bureau: That the Bureau will prepare an information bulletin giving a full report on the facts of the Simon Bolivar Brigade for the membership.

Vote on above motion:

For: Adair, Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dundee, Galois, Jones, Manuel, Maria, Melan, Otto(KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Against: none

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

7. Reports on world congress resolutions

a. Report by Walter on world political resolution, with presentation of amendments proposed by himself and Celso (see Attachment C for text of amendments).

Discussion and summary.

b. Report by Duret on European resolution, with presentation of amendment on relations with the OCRFI (see Attachment D for text of amendment).

Discussion and summary.

c. Report by Alfonso on Latin America resolution and on amendments to be written. A major amendment on Nicaragua, based on the general line of the resolution passed at the United Secretariat, will be proposed to the World Congress to be incorporated into the Latin America resolution.

Discussion and summary.

d. Report by Therese on women's liberation resolution.

Discussion and summary.8. World Congress Invitations

Susan reported on Bureau recommendations for invitations to world

congress. The following are the recommendations:

a. International currents:

Maintain invitation to OCRFI and Lutte Ouvriere.

Not invited: Politica Obrera (Fourth Internationalist Tendency), and International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency

b. National-based, non-Fourth-International organizations:

Invite: OCT minority (France), VO and VC (Bolivia), Workers League (Israel) only if the Israeli section recommends, SWP (Britain).

Not invited: MEP (Brazil), Communist Action League (Syria), WSL (Britain).

c. Organizations with which the United Secretariat has established fraternal relations, but which were not recognized in their present form by a world congress:

Invited from Latin America: Panama: PST, MSR; El Salvador: GSI, LOR; Nicaragua: LMR; Costa Rica: OST, PRT; Venezuela: OSR, ~~BUS~~; Peru: PRT, PST; Bolivia: OST; Colombia: PST, PSR; Brazil: Socialist Convergence, New POC; Puerto Rico: LIT; Dominican Republic: Que Hacer group; Ecuador: MRT, <sup>MA</sup> PST(Combate), MST.

Invited from Europe: Iceland: Fylkinging; Italy: LSR.

Invited from Middle East and Africa: Egyptian group, Tunisian group, Algerian group, Cyprus group, Turkey: LSR; Senegal: GOR; Iran: HKS.

Invited from Asia: Hong Kong: RML

d. Splits from section:

In the case of Greece, where, in addition to the section, three groups now exist that claim to support the Fourth International, all made up largely of people who left the section, all three groups should be invited to send a representative to present their case to a commission at the world congress. The commission will make a recommendation to the congress on whether or how the three groups should participate in the congress itself.

e. Groups based largely on comrades in exile from dictatorships:

Refer to the Bureau the question of invitations to comrades from the GOR (Argentina), the Bolshevik Faction (Argentina), the LSR (Argentina), and Izquierda Socialista (Chile).

Motion by Brewster to maintain invitation to the WSL (Britain).

Vote on Brewster motion:

For: Brewster, Jones, Peterson

Against: Adair, Aubin, Bourguell, Dundee, Galois, Stateman, Susan, Therese

Abstentions: Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Duret, Otto(KAF), Roman, Rudi  
Not Voting: none

DEFEATED

AGREED that letter to the WSL should be written in collaboration with the IMG leadership.

AGREED to accept rest of list of recommendations from Bureau on invitations to the congress.

9. Iran

Azar and Ahmad reported on political situation in Iran and internal situation in the HKS.

Discussion and summaries.

Motion from Bureau commission that met with Iranian comrades:

1. The United Secretariat is against any split in the HKS. There exist political differences between the two sides but these differences do not justify a split. A split will lose members of both sides, prevent recruitment, block the development of Trotskyism in Iran, and harm the defense work.

2. It is urgent for political discussion and discussion on organizational questions and problems to be reestablished between the two sides. This should be organized through a parity commission between the two sides. The United Secretariat, through its Bureau, will follow the development of the discussion.

3. The parity commission should discuss the question of the newspaper.

4. The parity commission will work to prepare a common convention, which will settle all differences within the HKS.

Vote on above motion:

For: Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Jones, Otto(KAF), Peterson, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: none

Abstentions: none

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

10. Bolshevik Faction

Motion from the Bureau:

The establishment and activity of the Simon Bolivar Brigade as a vehicle for political intervention in the Nicaraguan revolution represents a qualitative new stage in the evolution of the Bolshevik Faction. This operation was an open and very grave breach of the democratic centralism of the Fourth International as defined by its sta-

tutes. Comrades who are members of the Bolshevik Faction in several countries organized a large-scale, public, international operation independent of the elected bodies of the Fourth International, outside their control and discipline, and on a line contrary to that adopted by these bodies. They placed the discipline of their faction above that of the Fourth International, in the midst of an unfolding revolution.

The members of the Bolshevik Faction and the organizations they lead must immediately halt any activity in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras except for that decided upon by the leading bodies of the Fourth International. They must place themselves under the discipline of the United Secretariat.

Members of the Bolshevik Faction obviously retain all their rights to fight inside the Fourth International as a tendency or faction for their political positions, including those on Nicaragua.

The leadership of the Bolshevik Faction is once again urged to participate in the work and responsibilities of the Secretariat in accordance with their numerical weight in the membership of the Fourth International.

If the comrades supporting the Bolshevik Faction decide to maintain their faction following the world congress, they must abide by the statutory rule that only individuals, not groups or sections, can decide to join a faction or tendency, whether national or international.

The United Secretariat reaffirms its intention to recommend that the coming world congress recognize only one section or sympathizing organization in each country. Within this framework we reiterate our recommendation that the Argentine PST be recognized as the Argentine section of the Fourth International and the Uruguayan PST as the Uruguayan section of the FI.

If the Bolshevik Faction fails to act according to the line adopted by this meeting of the United Secretariat, and continues to function as a public faction that places its discipline above that of the elected bodies of the Fourth International, the United Secretariat will recommend that the declared leadership of the Bolshevik Faction be expelled from the Fourth International by the coming world congress of the Fourth International.

Vote on above motion:

For: Ahmad, Alfonso, Allio, Aubin, Bourgueil, Claudio, Dundee, Duret, Galois, Jones, Maria, Otto(KAF), Otto(PSR), Peterson, Riel, Roman, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

Against: none

Not Voting: none

CARRIED

11. Bureau Reports

a. IIDB

The Lebanese section requests publication of their reply to the United Secretariat letter of July 11, 1978, in the IIDB.

AGREED to accept for publication.

b. Chinese Trotskyists

AGREED to write a message to the Chinese Trotskyists saluting their release from prison and to refer to the Bureau the advisability of making the message public.

c. Bureau composition

Walter reported on changes in Bureau composition: Jones is available to function on the Bureau; Otto(KAF) is available to attend one Bureau meeting per week and to take special assignments for the Bureau; Peterson has resigned from the Bureau, as well as from the Fourth International, for health reasons; Dundee replaces Dunder on the Bureau.

AGREED to approve these changes.

d. Dates of world congress, United Secretariat, IEC

AGREED to set the following dates:

November 6-7: United Secretariat  
November 8-17: world congress  
November 18: IEC

Meeting adjourned



ATTACHMENT ACounterline amendments by Jones on Nicaragua

## 1. End of point 6, after "GRNN in the capitol" insert:

What had happened in the liberated cities in the course of the civil war became a reality for the entire country: the overthrow of the dictatorship gave rise to a special situation of dual power. It was produced by the combination of a general strike, popular insurrection with the development of organs of power and militias, military offensive by the armed forces of the FSLN, and the collapse of the National Guard, which was not only the traditional pillar of the old regime, but what the regime was increasingly reduced to during the last year of the crisis.

On the one hand, there existed a bourgeois state, disjointed, to be sure, but whose fundamental laws protected private ownership of the means of production (industry and land), hence capitalist accumulation. The bourgeoisie had its economic organizations (chamber of commerce and industry and various employers associations), acquired political instruments (Sandinist Socialist Party), owned the country's main daily paper (La Prensa), and got support from the Catholic hierarchy. It is present in the government, the ministries, and the central bank.

On the other hand, there existed the actual power of the committees, which took the name Sandinist Defense Committees (CDSs), and the popular militias. The army--called the Sandinist People's Army--had made a complete break with the army of the old regime. It was the direct product of the guerrilla struggle and the military struggle against the National Guard and the Somozaist regime. Its command structure consisted of FSLN cadres. Here there is a similarity with what happened in Cuba when Batista's army was defeated and the troops of the July 26 Movement constituted the only armed force in the country in January 1959. The FSLN, whose authority and prestige among the masses is undisputed, holds the real decision-making power. This reflects the social relationship of forces established in the civil war, and the degree of self-organization of the masses.

The place and role of the GRNN must be grasped in this context of dual power which marks the present transitional phase that Nicaragua is in. This coalition government with sectors of the opposition bourgeoisie cannot implement its decisions, for the time being, without the consent of the unified national leadership of the FSLN. Nevertheless, the bourgeois representatives in this government cannot be reduced to mere decorative elements. They get support from three sources: the local ruling classes, which are trying in every way to reorganize; imperialism, which sees them as elements that may make it possible to stall the process while it prepares for the counterrevolution on the economic and military levels; and the national bourgeoisies in Latin America, who will do anything to prevent a new Cuba, and who are aided in this effort by the European Social Democracy.

Therefore, the outcome of this transitional phase will depend on the social and economic measures that are taken, the strengthening of the process of self-organization of the masses to give increasingly

greater weight to the organs of people's power (CDSs), the relationship between these two factors and the role played by the Sandinist People's Army--the backbone of the new regime--the international relationship of forces, and the way they will be intertwined with the forces of the counterrevolution within Nicaragua.

Any progress in the permanent revolution will be reflected in a realignment of social forces with an inevitable clash with the bourgeoisie internally and externally. It is for this clash that the workers and peasants and their organization must prepare themselves. This will result in a break with the bourgeois representatives in the government and the ending of the situation of dual power through the victory of the organs of workers and peasants against the remaining sources of bourgeois power in the country.

2. Last paragraph of point 5, add at the beginning of paragraph before "the intransigent":

"The FSLN is today a centrist current containing forces ranging from those supporting a popular front alliance with the bourgeoisie to revolutionary forces seeking the overthrow of capitalism in Nicaragua."

3. Add at the end of last paragraph of point 5, after "the cadres of the FSLN":

"confronted with a centrist force undergoing such a development, the interests of the working class require that the Fourth International participate as a definite current in this process."

4. Add at end of last paragraph of point 8, after "process of permanent revolution":

"or illusions that by itself it is automatically capable of leading the destruction of capitalism in Nicaragua. It remains today a centrist leadership."

5. Alter first sentence of point 7:

"the various decisions adopted by the junta of the GRNN, in a short period of time, reflect the direction which the enormous upsurge against Somoza has given to the revolution."

6. Point 7, paragraph 5, alter "foreshadows other decrees" to say: "shows the necessity for other decrees."

7. Point 7, paragraph 9, alter "which are still...objective need" to: "is not unprincipled--although grave doubts must be expressed as to whether it will achieve its objective."

8. Point 10, paragraph 11, delete from "To focus political..." and insert:

"The decisive question is the extension, arming and political preparation of the masses. This is the only means of preparing for the inevitable clash with the bourgeoisie inside the country. The extent to which this can be achieved will in turn be decided by the degree of radicalism of the economic, social, and political measures taken by the FSLN, workers, and peasants."

"It is in this context that the presence of the bourgeois ministers must be seen. Any attempt to deepen the organization of the masses and extend the economic and social gains will inevitably collide with the bourgeoisie and its ministers. The leadership of the FSLN will be forced to choose between extending the revolution and its alliance with the bourgeois ministers in the government. Any idea that this can be avoided, above all any holding back of the revolution in the hope of maintaining an alliance with the bourgeois officials and ministers will be fatal. It will create the conditions for disillusion and disorientation of the masses which will be fatal for the revolution.

"It is to the degree that it prepares politically and organizationally for this complete break with the bourgeois ministers that every force in Nicaragua, including the FSLN, will be meeting the needs of the present situation."

9. Point 11, paragraph 4, alter "two" to "three" and at beginning of paragraph 6, alter "Finally" to "Secondly." Add after "world market" (end of same paragraph):

"Thirdly, the Cuban leadership has pursued in the international field in the last period a policy of supplying important material aid to anti-imperialist struggles but at the same time building the prestige of, and sustaining, various left nationalist bourgeois regimes. Such policies, which reject a break with the bourgeoisie would be fatal for the Nicaraguan revolution and any attempt to pursue them by the Cuban leadership can only end in disaster.

"The FSLN is correct to take every material aid from Cuba, and we hail that aid, but it would be a disastrous error to adopt any line urged by the Cuban leadership which avoided the necessity to break with the ruling class."

10. Point 13, rewrite last two paragraphs as follows:

"It is by explaining its program and ideas and fighting for a revolutionary party that the Fourth International fights for the victory of the socialist revolution in Nicaragua in the process of the permanent revolution. It spells out its own proposals for this and supports every step the FSLN takes in this direction.

"It favors the construction of a united party, on an internally democratic basis, by the FSLN in which the Fourth Internationalists would take their places as a definite organized tendency. The Fourth International's positions reflect the interests of the workers and poor peasants, lead to the establishment of a workers state based on the democracy of workers and peasants councils, and are therefore fully in accord with the aspirations of revolutionary militants in the FSLN."

ATTACHMENT B

Amendments by Brewster on Nicaragua

Brewster submits all of the Jones amendments (see Attachment A), plus the following:

Point 7, end of paragraph 8, add as final sentence:

"Already, therefore, the masses need to be warned as to the role which the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ministers in the GRNN will play in turning back the revolutionary process."

Point 8, end of paragraph 4, add the following:

"We are for the centralization of these bodies on a national scale. The fight for a workers and peasants government is for a government which takes its authority from these committees extended into power organs, i.e., soviets. Moreover, it is in relation to the fight for the formation of such a government, defined by its tasks, that the fight for such committees can be given a political and not simply administrative focus."

Point 10, at end of last paragraph, add new paragraph:

"We call for the extension and centralization of the CDSs and other organs of the masses as the basis and authority of a workers and peasants government and basis of a workers state."

ATTACHMENT CAmendments to the world political resolution proposed by the two reporters, Celso and Walter

(page numbers refer to the English-language version)

p. 3, first column, reformulate point 1 as follows:

"A further shift in the international relationship of class forces to the detriment of imperialism as a result of the weakening of world capitalism owing to the defeat of American imperialism in Indochina, the first generalized recession of the international capitalist economy since 1937-38, and the revolutionary overturn of the shah's regime in Iran and Somozaism in Nicaragua, with all their consequences for the Middle East and Latin America."

p. 3, first column, reformulate point 2 as follows:

"The colonial and semicolonial sector remains highly explosive. New social revolutions will continue to break out there before socialist victories in imperialist countries--as indeed occurred in Ethiopia, Iran, and Nicaragua. But simultaneously, the weight and impact of the class struggle in the imperialist countries upon the world...(continues as in original)."

p. 3, second column, reformulate point 6 as follows:

" crisis of world Stalinism connected with the crisis of capitalism and imperialism.

In the degenerated or deformed workers states, political opposition continues, with the dissidents becoming bolder in seeking openings to resist repressive measures. In Poland the working class is the central driving force of the anti-Stalinist opposition. In other countries, including the Soviet Union, the working class is progressively adding its weight to the opposition begun among intellectuals and oppressed nationalities.

At the same time the exacerbation of the Sino-Soviet conflict at the state level, the current trend of Peking's policy, increasingly lining up with reactionary capitalist and imperialist forces against Moscow and Cuba, and the moves of the Kremlin to further and further appease Western European imperialisms, has given that crisis an exceptionally grave character.

p. 8, second column, rewrite third paragraph as follows:

"The industrial proletariat is the most powerful social force in capitalist society. Once the scope of its mass mobilizations and the radical forms of its organization increase qualitatively--and that is a decisive characteristic of the emergence of a revolutionary crisis, together with the growing paralysis and initial disintegration of the bourgeois power organs--the attraction it exerts on all its potential allies becomes immense. Proletarian forms of organization, growing out of experiences in prerevolutionary times--union committees, elected

strike committees, broad factory committees, etc.--begin to take the form of elected councils that extend beyond the plants, centralize workers organization, pit it increasingly against the badly shaken bourgeois state apparatus, and tend to encompass larger and larger sections of the allies of the working class.

A multi-faceted struggle erupts between the class-collaborationists and the class-struggle forces represented in these councils, for the leadership of the mass struggles, unions, and the other mass organizations. A process of selection unfolds, that makes possible the swift growth of a revolutionary Marxist mass party--provided it has grown sufficiently before these events to appear as a credible alternative leadership to the masses, it has firmly rooted itself in the industrial working class, and it had started to gain increasing influence and adherents in the proletarian vanguard. The growth of such a mass party is the decisive element in winning a majority of the workers to the revolutionary perspective of expropriating the bourgeoisie, removing and replacing the bourgeois state machine, and conquering power by the councils and guaranteeing victory."

p. 14, first column:

Take out the two first paragraphs of that column and replace them with a new chapter III: Perspectives and Problems of the Iranian Revolution, to be drafted on the basis of the general line of the United Secretariat resolution on Iran adopted by the March-April meeting of the United Secretariat.

The same will be done to add Nicaragua to the Latin America section of the resolution.

p. 16, first column, rewrite the second part of point d (4th paragraph) as follows:

"...prerequisites for the building of socialism. The political revolution will, however, not be restricted to the superstructure. The introduction of proletarian democracy will radically transform planning, economic management, and the organization of the production process. It will, among other benefits, restore the friendly, mutually advantageous alliance with the peasantry. It will mark a decisive assertion of workers management of the economy and the beginning of a radical transformation of family life."

p. 25, first column, 3rd paragraph, rewrite second sentence as follows:

"The working class is led in turn to organize itself by extending and tightening its international ties, not only to press forward its historic interests, but even to defend its immediate needs and conditions of day-to-day life and work against the capitalist offensive."

ATTACHMENT DAmendment to European resolution by DuretPROJET DE REREDACTION DE LA THESE 49-2 DE LA RESOLUTION SUR "LA CRISE DE L'EUROPE CAPITALISTE ET LES TACHES ACTUELLES DE LA IV° INTERNATIONALE"

La situation mondiale et en particulier la crise conjointe de l'impérialisme et du stalinisme ouvrent objectivement de nouvelles perspectives qui permettent de poursuivre la politique sanctionnée par le congrès de réunification de 1963, en unifiant le mouvement trotskyste mondial dans la IV° Internationale, c'est-à-dire les organisations qui se réclament du trotskysme et envisagent la construction de l'Internationale en rapport avec la IV° Internationale telle qu'elle existe, en particulier le Comité d'organisation pour la reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale (CORQI) et le courant animé par Lutte ouvrière.

Cette unification, sans s'opposer à la fusion avec d'autres forces, est une tâche spécifique qui peut renforcer la IV° Internationale comme Parti mondial de la révolution socialiste et dans un certain nombre de pays aboutir à un développement notable de ses sections. Une telle fusion pourrait en effet commencer à modifier les rapports de forces entre les marxistes révolutionnaires et les directions réformistes, et accentuer les processus de différenciation à l'œuvre dans les organisations réformistes et centristes. Ces processus ne pourront trouver une issue révolutionnaire sur les plans politique et organisationnel que dans la mesure où existe une organisation quantitativement plus forte que les organisations trotskystes actuelles et qualitativement mieux implantée dans le prolétariat, capable de regrouper non seulement des individus ou des noyaux oppositionnels, mais aussi des courants numériquement importants.

La fusion au sein de la IV° Internationale des organisations qui se réclament du trotskysme ne peut qu'être le résultat d'une bataille politique permettant à la fois de clarifier les accords et désaccords possibles au niveau programmatique, les convergences politiques, leurs relations avec l'intervention dans la lutte des classes, et enfin, la conception de l'organisation révolutionnaire à construire selon le centralisme démocratique tant à l'échelle nationale qu'internationale.

Cette bataille est importante en elle-même pour la réaffirmation programmatique de notre mouvement et pour la formation politique de nos cadres, au moment où s'approfondit la crise de stratégie des tendances de gauche de la social-démocratie, celle du centrisme ou celle des diverses variantes d'opposition "eurocommunistes de gauche". Elle participe aujourd'hui de tout projet de construction du parti révolutionnaire. Sans que la fusion soit un passage obligé pour la construction de nos sections, la bataille pour sa réalisation a de toute manière valeur de test quant à notre capacité d'engager correctement des opérations de fusions et de regroupements.

Cette bataille politique a pour objectif de réunir les conditions d'une fusion - aujourd'hui non encore rassemblées - avec les organisations du mouvement trotskyste. A cette fin, la discussion devra porter sur les questions qui permettent de mesurer l'étendue des accords et désaccords programmatiques et leurs conséquences sur les tâches essentielles pour la construction du Parti et de l'Internationale dans la période actuelle, afin de parvenir à un accord suffisant pour réaliser l'unification. La discussion portera notamment sur : la nature de classe de la Chine, de Cuba, du Vietnam, de la Yougoslavie, des "démocraties populaires"; le stalinisme et la social-démocratie; le front unique ouvrier; le front uni anti-impérialiste; la portée stratégique de mouvement de libération des femmes; l'appréciation de certaines organisations syndicales

ATTACHMENT D

(CFDT française, CSC belge, CO espagnoles, CGT des Argentins, syndicats "combattifs" brésiliens, etc.) et l'intervention dans les organisations de masse de la classe ouvrière; le centralisme démocratique à l'échelle nationale et internationale (élection des directions, droit de tendance et de fraction, discipline dans l'action, etc.); la démocratie dans le mouvement de masse.

Il s'agit en cela de procéder selon la méthode employée lors de la réunification de 1963 : à partir d'un accord sur les tâches stratégiques centrales, vérifier le contenu réel d'un accord sur le programme de la IV<sup>e</sup> Internationale, c'est-à-dire la compréhension commune des événements de la lutte des classes à l'échelle mondiale.

La vérification d'un accord programmatique de ce type faciliterait la mise en place d'une intervention politique commune ainsi que la discussion sur les modalités concrètes de construction du parti, domaines dans lesquels un accord - qui ne se matérialisera que dans le cours d'un travail commun - est nécessaire pour rendre viable toute fusion.

La politique de réunification du mouvement trotskyste mondial, de fusion des organisations trotskystes au sein de la IV<sup>e</sup> Internationale, a pour objectif la constitution d'une seule section fusionnée de l'Internationale dans chaque pays; c'est dans ce cadre que se placeront les discussions engagées au niveau international tant avec le CORQI qu'avec Lutte ouvrière. C'est pourquoi la direction de l'Internationale prendra soin de ne pas se substituer aux organisations nationales et à leur congrès pour tenter d'accélérer ou de ralentir un accord.

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To: Sections and sympathizing organizations  
From: United Secretariat Bureau

October 19, 1979

Dear Comrades,

We call your attention to the fact that in addition to the resolution on Nicaragua adopted by the United Secretariat at its last meeting (published in Inprecor/Intercontinental Press) another resolution on this subject was presented by Comrade Alan Jones at the United Secretariat meeting, which was defeated (see minutes of United Secretariat meeting of Sept. 29-Oct. 4).

United Secretariat Bureau

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Para las secciones y organizaciones simpatizantes  
Del Buró del Secretariado Unificado

19 de octubre, 1979

Apreciados Camaradas,

Llamamos su atención sobre el hecho de que además de la resolución sobre Nicaragua adoptada durante la última reunión del Secretariado Unificado (publicada en Inprecor/Intercontinental Press), fue presentada otra resolución sobre esa materia por el Camarada Alan Jones en la reunión del Secretariado Unificado, la cual fue rechazada (ver las minutas de la reunión del Secretariado Unificado del 29 de Septiembre al 4 de octubre).

Buró del Secretariado Unificado