

x: PC

JUL 18 1979

TO LEADERSHIPS OF SECTIONS AND SYMPATHIZING ORGANIZATIONS
OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

July 11, 1979

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is a statement signed by a majority of the members of the United Secretariat and Bureau forming a caucus.

The purpose of this letter is to clarify what the "majority caucus of the United Secretariat and Bureau" is, in light of the somewhat different traditions and language usage among the organizations of the Fourth International.

The caucus is composed of members of both the United Secretariat and Bureau because there are Bureau members who are not members of the United Secretariat, yet who participate fully in the daily functioning of the Bureau and in the meetings of the United Secretariat. This situation has arisen because of the fact that there has not been a meeting of the IEC in over three years --therefore there has been no re-election of the United Secretariat to bring its formal membership into accord with the realities of the actual comrades the sections have been able to make available for full-time Bureau work.

The political basis of this caucus is support for the general line of the four resolutions indicated in the statement. These four draft resolutions have been adopted by a majority of the United Secretariat and have been placed before the membership for decisive vote at the upcoming world congress. The purpose of forming this caucus is a limited one: to give a lead to those comrades in the sections who agree with the general line of these four resolutions on how to elect delegates to the world congress on the basis of this general line. The caucus itself is limited to members of the United Secretariat and Bureau.

As the caucus statement points out, the members of the caucus are convinced that the world congress has one overriding task, to adopt the general line of these four resolutions. That line includes both the overall programmatic and political orientation contained in them and the central organizational conclusion of this orientation: to proletarianize our sections and sympathizing organizations. This includes winning the majority of our cadres recruited in the previous period to the perspective of going into industry, as well as all the organizational consequences flowing from that concerning leadership functioning, the need for a strong press, etc., as outlined in the resolutions.

Accomplishing this job at this world congress is important in and of itself. Without making this turn, we risk being marginalized from the big class confrontations shaping up and therefore from the central arena of politics. At the same time, by clearly adopting this orientation at this world congress, we will help lay the basis for the ongoing discussion on those points on which the United Secretariat has recommended that the IEC organize a continuation of discussion following the world congress: "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Indochina,

over

and Cuba (including Cuba's foreign policy, its role in Africa, etc.). These questions will then be more clearly placed in the framework of the struggle to build revolutionary proletarian parties in the actual political situation as analyzed in the four resolutions.

At the pre-world-congress conventions of the sections and sympathizing organizations, supporters of the general line of these four resolutions should put forward the motion outlined in the statement of the caucus, to vote for the general line of the four resolutions as a whole, and against any counterposed resolutions. (This is the motion the caucus proposes be the basis of election of delegates in support of the line of these four resolutions. It should be made even though there may be motions made to support each of the four resolutions separately.)

Some comrades who agree with this general line may have amendments on certain secondary points. If they are willing to vote for the general line of the four resolutions and against any counterposed resolutions whether or not their amendments are accepted, such comrades would be included among the supporters of this general line. The delegates elected (on the basis of support to this general line) to the world congress would be elected proportionally to the vote received for this motion relative to the vote received for any motions supporting counterresolutions.

In the discussions leading up to the pre-world-congress conventions of the sections, those in the leadership who support the general line of the four resolutions should seek to clarify the issues involved and to win the membership to support of this line. This will include explaining the overall job of the world congress as we see it.

Whether or not a tendency should be formed in any section to defend the line of these four resolutions should be decided by those in the leaderships supporting this line, in light of the concrete situation in their sections. In any case, the formation of conflicting tendencies by supporters of the general line of these four resolutions on the basis of amendments concerning secondary issues or issues not up for decisive vote at the world congress, would only confuse the central issues facing this world congress, and should be discouraged.

Comradely greetings,

Duret and Stateman,
For the Majority Caucus of the
United Secretariat and Bureau

Encl: Statement of Majority Caucus of the United Secretariat and Bureau

STATEMENT OF MAJORITY CAUCUS
OF THE UNITED SECRETARIAT AND BUREAU

The undersigned form a majority caucus of the United Secretariat based on support for the general line of the following four resolutions: "The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International," "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation," "Resolution on Latin America," and "The Crisis in Capitalist Europe and the Present Tasks of the Fourth International." The United Secretariat has decided to propose that there be no decisive vote at this world congress on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The majority caucus of the United Secretariat and Bureau proposes that those in the leaderships of the sections and sympathizing organizations who agree with the general line of these four resolutions submit a motion to the pre-world-congress conventions of their organizations to vote for the general line of these four resolutions as a whole and against any counterposed resolutions. This vote will then be the basis for electing delegates to the world congress in support of the position of the majority of the United Secretariat.

Those comrades in the leaderships of the sections and sympathizing organizations who support this position should act appropriately in light of the concrete situation in their sections in order to clarify the counterposed positions before the world congress.

The key responsibility of this world congress is to approve the following two aspects of the political line contained in these four resolutions: (a) the overall political orientation contained in them, and (b) the central political-organizational conclusion of this orientation, the proletarianization of our sections as outlined in the resolutions; the implementation of the general political line of these resolutions can be carried through only in combination with the turn to lead our sections to deeply root themselves in industry, with all the organizational consequences flowing from that.

Initial list of signers: Adair, Alfonso, Allio, Bourgueil, Brewster, Celso, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Marcel, Maria, Riel, Stateman, Susan, Walter

over

To: Leaderships of sections and sympathizing organizations
From: United Secretariat Bureau

July 11, 1979

Dear Comrades,

At its meeting of July 2-4, the United Secretariat decided to recommend to the world congress that there be no decisive vote on "Socialist Democracy and Dictatorship of the Proletariat" at this world congress, but to take an indicative vote only. The incoming International Executive Committee will organize the continuation of discussion on this point, and a decisive vote will be taken at the following world congress (see motion attached).

The questions involved in this document are programmatic in character. Given that fact, it is important that these questions be carefully and fully discussed, and all formulations carefully considered. A major criticism of the draft resolution, including a clear-cut counterposition, has been submitted by the comrades of the International Bolshevik Faction. Due to the size of the IBF document, it will take some time before it can be translated and distributed to the membership. There will be very little time for an adequate discussion on the IBF position before the world congress. In addition, the Bureau has had a discussion on proposed changes in the printed draft, and the United Secretariat has set up a commission of Walter and Stateman to prepare a new reworked draft to be discussed at the September 29-October 3 United Secretariat meeting. That means there will be in reality no time for the membership to consider the reworked draft before the world congress. For these reasons, the United Secretariat decided to recommend a deferring of the adoption of the resolution to the following world congress and referral to the incoming IEC the organization of the continuation of the discussion.

A discussion on this point is maintained on the world congress agenda, and the delegates will make their opinions known through an indicative vote.

Comradely greetings,

Duret and Stateman
For the United Secretariat Bureau

MOTION ADOPTED ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY DOCUMENT

In the light of the Bureau discussion on the draft resolution "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and of other written contributions, the United Secretariat proposes that a commission of Walter and Stateman prepare a new reworked draft to be considered by the September United Secretariat meeting.

X: PC *Gus*

Why I oppose the formation of the United Secretariat majority Caucus.

My political position in regard to the documents submitted by the USec for a vote at the next World Congress is support for a turn into industry as projected in these texts and for analysis of the Women's, Europe, and Latin America documents. Concretely I believe it is generally necessary to get a clear majority of our members into industry. This is certainly the case in the chief countries in Europe including Britain.

I have however strong disagreements with those aspects of the World Political Resolution relating to the so-called "preponderance" of the struggle in the imperialist countries in this phase of the international class struggle. I consider this thesis false theoretically and rejected practically by the events in Iran, Nicaragua, Africa. The chief struggles of a revolutionary and pre-revolutionary type are today occurring not in imperialist countries but in the colonial and semi-colonial states. Furthermore, the totally confused arguments on "preponderance" ^{in fact} undermine key theoretical and programmatic positions concerning the differences between the revolution in the colonial countries and the imperialist states which were established by the Communist International and reaffirmed by the Fourth International at its reunification in 1953. These issues lead to an underestimation of the role and nature of the party. ^{this}

Despite strong disagreements with ^{this} part of the World Political Resolution I am however in agreement with the sector on tasks, particularly as concerns the turn into industry. This is however not at all connected to the thesis of the "preponderance" of the struggle in the imperialist countries in this phase of the class struggle. The fact that major working class struggles are on the agenda is all that is necessary to see the necessity for a turn into industry and not any thesis of preponderance.

Despite these strong disagreements however, agreement on tasks means that I can vote for the general line of the World Political Resolution -- although it should in my opinion be greatly improved through amendments. From a ^{political} point of view therefore, I could formally participate in the call for a majority caucus.

However the formation of this caucus is an error. With a massive majority in the leading bodies of the International it is an abnormal step, which will concretely help freeze discussion, to form such a caucus.

Its objective effect, particularly given its founding declaration, will be to tend to prevent discussion on other aspects of the documents submitted on the grounds any criticism represents "opposition to the turn to industry". It will tend to promote artificial and polarised debate in sections even among comrades in agreement ~~with~~ with the general line but divided on whether it was correct to form a caucus or not. This will in no way aid the political discussion and clarification leading to the world congress and particularly in the context of a clear majority on leading bodies, will in fact tend to impose more than mere agreement on general line.

For this reason, I oppose formation of a USec majority caucus.

A. Jones

MOTION FROM THE BUREAU ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY DOCUMENT

In the light of the Bureau discussion on the draft resolution "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", and of other written contributions, the United Secretariat proposes that a commission of Worker and Statesman prepare a new reworked draft to be considered by the September United Secretariat meeting.

o o o o o o o o o o o o o

MOTION FROM THE BUREAU ON DISCUSSION ON ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA WAR

To propose that the world congress refer discussion of a balance sheet on the war between Ethiopia and Somalia and the Cuban role in it to the discussion on Cuba following the world congress. The draft world political resolution and reports will not deal with this question.

o o o o o o o o o o o o o

MOTION FROM THE BUREAU ON AGENDA, REPORTERS AND VOTING AT
WORLD CONGRESS

a) The United Secretariat proposes the world congress adopt the following agenda and reporters for the majority of the United Secretariat :

1. World political situation and the tasks of the Fourth International. Reporters : (1) on the world political situation : Walter; (2) on the tasks of the Fourth International : Celso.
(The discussion on the two reports will be separate).

2. Resolution on women's liberation and our tasks.
Reporter : Therese.

3. Building the sections of the Fourth International in capitalist Europe. Reporter : Duret.

4. Building the sections of the Fourth International in Latin America. Reporter : Alfonso.

5. Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
Reporter : Stateman.

6. Discussion on Indochina

7. Organizational reports

8. Election of the International Executive Committee and Control Commission.

b) The United Secretariat proposes that the vote at the world congress on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" be indicative only, given the programmatic character of the question and the need for extensive discussion. The United Secretariat also proposes that the vote on Indochina be indicative only, given the theoretical character of several of the disputed questions and the shortness of time available for discussion on this point before the world congress.

c) The United Secretariat proposes that the world congress refer to the incoming IEC to organize the continuation of the discussion on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", Indochina, and Cuba, leading up to a vote by the IEC or the next world congress on Indochina and Cuba and by the next world congress on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

Call for Formation of the Majority Tendency

The undersigned members of the United Secretariat call for the formation of a tendency on the basis of support for the general line of the following four resolutions: "The World Political Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International," "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation," "Resolution on Latin America," and "The crisis in Capitalist Europe and the Present Tasks of the Fourth International." The United Secretariat has decided to propose that there be no decisive vote at this world congress on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The supporters of the Majority Tendency on the United Secretariat propose that those in the leaderships of the sections and sympathizing organizations who agree with the general line of these four resolutions) ~~xxxxxxx~~ submit a motion to the pre-world-congress conventions of their organizations to vote for the general line of these four resolutions as a whole and against any counterposed resolutions. This vote will then be the basis for electing delegates to the world congress in support of the position of the majority of the United Secretariat.

Those comrades in the leaderships of the sections and sympathizing organizations who support this position should organize appropriately in light of the concrete situation in their sections in order to clarify the counterposed positions before the world congress.

The key responsibility of this world congress is to approve the following two aspects of the political line contained in these four resolutions: (a) the overall political orientation contained in them, and (b) the central political-organizational conclusion of this orientation, the proletarianization of our sections as outlined in the resolutions. These two aspects of the line of these resolutions are indissolubly connected. The implementation of the general political line of these resolutions can only be carried through in combination with the turn to implant our sections in industry, with all the organizational consequences flowing from that.

Motions on Nicaragua point at the United Secretariat

By Comrades Dario, Enrique, and Antonio

Motion on the civil war in Nicaragua

Considering that the situation in Nicaragua is characterized by a civil war between the dictator Somoza and the National Guard on one side, and the FSLN and the exploited masses of Nicaragua,

The United Secretariat ~~states~~ ^{believes} that the axis of a revolutionary policy for Nicaragua is: military support to the FSLN; this is indicated by the fact that this Front today is leading the mass civil war against the elite dictatorship.

This is the only line that allows us to intransigently criticize the policy of class collaboration of the Front, and at the same time to be listened to by the Nicaraguan workers and those of Central and South America; we see ~~them~~ the FSLN as the only revolutionary alternative.

A sectarian policy composed of 99% criticism of the ^{diverse} ~~tyrannical~~ leadership of the FSLN would only serve to isolate us from the mass movement, which in its majority follows the FSLN -- instead of enabling us to intervene in the civil war in support of the military struggle of the Front.

For the above reasons, the United Secretariat warmly supports the valiant and just initiative of the PST (C) to send volunteers and create a column to intervene in the Nicaraguan civil war shoulder to shoulder with the FSLN.

Motion on the government and its program

The United Secretariat adopts the resolution on the government and its program which appeared in El Socialista, organ of the PST (C) No. 159 under the title "Who Should Form the Government?"

Motion on Support by the workers states

Call on
Russia
to
support
the
FSLN

The United Secretariat calls on the workers states (USSR, China, Cuba) to leave aside the divisions that only serve imperialism, and to unite to guarantee the inviolability of the territory and national sovereignty of Nicaragua, giving notice to the United States that they will make an appropriate military response if a single Yankee soldier touches the land of Sandino.

To achieve total victory of the FSLN and the Nicaraguan masses, the workers states should ~~put~~ make available to the Front and to the workers all necessary aid (arms, food, medicine)

Motion on sending a delegation of the United Secretariat

Faced by the importance for the International of the formation of the ^{Simon Bolivar} Volunteer Column at the initiative of the PST (C), the United Secretariat resolves:

a) To give unconditional support to this initiative with all the forces of the Fourth International.

b) To call on all sections and sympathizing organizations to carry out propaganda and other types of activities in support to the Simon Bolivar Column (financial material, and human aid).

c) To immediately send a delegation of the United Secretariat to make contact with the Column, bring them the support of the International, and size up the needs of the comrades of the Brigade.

Motion on H. Valverde

Given the disgraceful and fraudulent article ^{Use} ~~Use~~ Those Who ~~Use~~ ^{Use} ~~Use~~ the Revolution, which appeared in Colombia ~~on~~ June 22, and given that the author of the article ~~was~~ ^{has} for a long time appeared as being close to the ranks of the Fourth International and especially to the PSR, the United Secretariat resolves:

negate

(3)

- a) To repudiate the article referred to ^{and to condemn} ~~as an agent of~~ the author as an agent of Sovietism and imperialism, by attacking the exemplary initiative of the PIT.
- b) Reject any accusation like the one made by Valverde against Comrade Morero, a veteran and well known leader of our International.
- c) Call on the PST and PSR to launch a joint campaign to denounce this article and its author.
- d) To request that the PSR ~~must~~ clarify any relationships they have with Valverde and break publicly and immediately with this person -- expelling him if he is a member, stopping relations with him if he is a sympathizer, and publicly breaking relations with him.