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Contents

WHY WE PROPOSE AN ALTERNATIVE TEXT TO CHAPTER V IN THE DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION TO THE XI WORLD CONGRESS

ALTERNATIVE CHAPTER V TO THE DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION

By the Political Bureau of KAF
(Communist Workers League)

1. A "normal" World Congress and how it should be prepared

From our point of view, a "normal" World Congress has the following tasks:

a) to evaluate the present political development on an international scale and inside countries and regions which are the centre of interest of the whole International;

b) to make decisions in previous analyses and to state stand-points which are of interest to the development of the International as a whole;

c) to deal with such programmatic issues and decisions in such specific fields as are required to develop the programme of the International in the light of new experiences;

d) to state the most important tasks on an international scale which apply to the International as a whole or to a major part of it;

e) to elect a new leadership which represents the majority of the International as a whole, as well as various important lines of opinion, to elect a new Control Commission and, when necessary, check the statutes.

This applies to a "normal" World Congress — which according to the statutes should take place not less than every two years — but naturally, a World Congress could be called in specific situations in order to deal with one or several separate urgent issues.

We also believe that it is possible to establish certain standards for how these World Congresses should be organized and prepared for:

a) The International Executive Committee (we assume that the normal statutory relationships between the IEC and the US is re-established at the coming World Congress) summons the World Congress and simultaneously sets the political motivations for the various items on the agenda.

b) The Executive Committee decides how the various items on the agenda should be prepared, i.e. if the item should be preceded by special IEC discussions where the IEC is such is responsible for reports and resolutions or where this is the task of the US.

c) For each item on the agenda, the leading organization reports a report, which sums up the most important arguments behind and the arguments in favour of different proposals which the World Congress is to deal with, and facilitates which the World Congress is to determine for its coming working period.

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Why we propose an alternative text to chapter V in the draft political resolution to the XI World Congress

We members of the Political Committee of the Swedish section of the Fourth International; the Communist Workers League — KAF — are fully aware that our proposed alternative to Chapter V of the draft political resolution is meagre and insufficient.

We also know that, in several cases, we could point to experiences which would show how the proposed measures could be carried out in a practical way. This would, however, be from a Swedish point of view.

We constitute the leadership of one of the strongest sections in Europe and furthermore we have members in the United Secretariat. Moreover, we have over a long period of time been engaged in international issues and through this work we have made quite a few bilateral contacts which provide us with information. In spite of this, we have very little knowledge of the concrete development of the Fourth International and its sections. This is made clear by following example:

When we organised study sessions for our cadres on the draft political resolution, the Political Committee asked comrade Frey (who is on the US) to make a resumé of the situation within the FI and the development of its sections, at least those in Europe. He declined, however, to do this. Not even a member of the US considered himself to have sufficient information to be able to give an account of the present stage of the building up of the FI and the work carried out by the sections.

These are the points of departure from which we take upon ourselves the task of presenting an alternative to chapter V of the draft political resolution. One of the most important reasons for our doing this is, however, the same as the reason for the shortcomings of our proposed alternative text:

- the lack of information on the experiences of the FI during the most recent period and on the present strength of the FI;
- the internal, organisational shortcomings of the FI, which are shown e.g. by the poor preparations for the World Congress. Some examples are the unwieldy document and the lack of pre-world congress discussions within the FI;
- the lack of adequate means for working on the problems which arise when attempting to proletarianize the sections.

We completely agree with the main line for building up the sections of the FI — i.e. to make an organisational turn of the sections in order to build the FI on the shop floor.

We find ourselves in the middle of this »turn« and we have today obvious problems with carrying out any pre-congress discussions whatsoever in the section. This is due to those shortcomings mentioned above which will be dealt with in this text. Thus, our alternative text mainly concerns how to re-establish such international routines for the International as can support this concentration on proletarianisation of the sections.

We divide this text into five different sections with the following headings:

- What are the tasks of a World Congress, and how should it be prepared?
- The preparations and the tasks of the XI World Congress

- The need for background information on the present state of the International
- The political resolution — its strength and weakness
- Explanations and motivations for the proposed alternative text

I. A »normal« World Congress and how it should be prepared

From our point of view, a »normal« World Congress has the following tasks:

- a) to evaluate the present political development on an international scale and inside countries and regions which are in the centre of interest of the whole International;
- b) to make corrections in previous analyses and to make stand-points which are of interest to the development of the International as a whole;
- c) to deal with such programmatic issues and determine attitudes to such specific fields as are required in order to develop the programme of the International in the light of new experiences;
- d) to state the most important tasks on an international scale which apply to the International as a whole or to major part of it;
- e) to elect a new leadership which represents the experiences of the International as a whole, as well as various important lines of opinion, to elect a new Control Commission and, when necessary, check the statutes.

This applies to a »normal« World Congress — which according to the statutes should take place not less than every two years — but naturally, a World Congress could be called in specific situations in order to deal with one or several separate urgent issues.

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- a) **The International Executive Committee** (we assume that the normal statutory relationships between IEC and the US is re-established at the coming World Congress) summons the World Congress and simultaneously gives the political motivations for the various items on the agenda
 - b) **The Executive Committee** decides how the various items on the agenda should be prepared, i.e. if they should be preceded by special IEC discussions where the IEC as such is responsible for reports and resolutions or whether this is the task of the US.
 - c) **For each item on the agenda**, the leading organs prepare a **report**, which sums up the most important analyses behind and the arguments in favour of different proposals which the World Congress is to deal with, and a **resolution** which the World Congress is to determine for the coming working period.
- These reports should be treated as a whole and their main line should be brought up for approval. The resolution should be dealt with in detail and be subjected to various proposals for changes and additions.
- d) On the question of those **parts of the resolution that determine the coming tasks**, it is important that they are preceded by concrete information in the reports parts

on the International's possibilities of carrying out these tasks and what is required to make these possibilities come about.

e) In the pre-congress discussions, attention should mainly be contracted on the resolution proposals while the reports should be dealt with in relation to these resolutions. This does of course place specific demands on the structuring of reports and resolutions.

f) The actual World Congress is commenced by the retiring leadership giving a report on the activities during the past period of time and the conclusions that should be drawn from this. The report on the activities should be available in writing before the congress.

It should be brought up for approval at the World Congress.

g) Reports and resolutions should be written in a simple and straightforward language so that it will be reasonably easy to translate them into different languages. They should include explanations of terms and concepts where necessary. Examples, which cannot be considered familiar to each individual member of the International, should be explained in a separate appendix, together with interpretations of different abbreviations. The resolutions in particular should be so concise that the members can get a general view of their main theses when reading it through for the first time. The reports should also be concentrated and concise.

The aim of the reports and resolutions must not be substitute or repeat everything that is being said or should be said in the regular press of the International. They should be concentrated accounts of the arguments necessary for supporting the resolution proposals. This also means that the reports should be supplemented by a list of reference literature.

h) On the question of resolutions on the tasks of the International, these should consist of two parts, one relating to external and on to internal matters. The internal part should take up such matters as what the International Centre takes upon itself to deal with, what are the responsibilities of the national sections, what commissions and factions should be established, their tasks etc.

II. The preparations for and the tasks of the XI World Congress

As regards the approaching World Congress it is not difficult to see that what should be the standards of the work of the International are not the standards, and that the »normal« situation is highly abnormal. A few examples:

1) The character of the resolutions

- The necessary distinction between report and resolution does not exist. This makes some of the resolutions almost endless and difficult to survey. The texts become unnecessarily mixed up. The distinction between decisions on stand-points and tasks and evaluations, statements, analyses and programmatic stand-points becomes very vague.

- The texts are written in a complicated language, not adjusted to members and sympathisers to the International, but to a group of professional politicians.

- The documents are not supplemented with explanatory notes on concepts and examples and lack information on reference literature.

Taken together, examples such as these mean that what is being said in the resolutions about proletarianizing the sections and the International is not reflected to any greater extent in the character of the texts. The wor-

king class cadre in particular, who are expected to read these document, face an enormous amount of work when they embark upon reading these resolutions.

Unless the sections make gigantic efforts, there is an imminent risk that the major part of this discussion is lost to the members, simply because they have not been able to get into the fundamental texts properly. This is entirely in opposition to everything that is being said in the International's texts on the possibilities of internal democracy.

2) The priorities of the Congress

No explanation have been given of the items on the agenda of the XI World Congress. The fundamental tasks of the World Congress have not been presented. Decisions on whether this or that document is to be included or not and on postponing the Congress in order to guarantee thorough World Congress preparations have thus become almost incomprehensible to the ordinary member.

This point will become increasingly more important with the transformation of the FI. The majority of its members — and in particular its working class members — will have limited possibilities of taking part in the discussion. This involves increasing demands for concentration and priorities. Certain decisive issues are discussed in detail, that is, those which are essential for the development of the International as a whole and for the election of a new leadership. As regards other issues, the members leave it to their elected leadership to do its best. In the present situation, however, there is a risk that all will come to nothing. The key questions are lost among all the various issues.

Our opinion on the main tasks of the XI World Congress

The situation before the XI World Congress is serious. Due to lack of time the discussions have not been thoroughly prepared, and many serious problems will not be solved.

In the Swedish section, for example, where all documents must be translated, there are many, many of the members who have not today (september -79) read the European Perspectives Document or the resolutions on Latin America.

Using the approved agenda as a point of departure, we distinguish nine important questions for the Congress to deal with.

a) to evaluate the international relationship of power between the classes in order to determine whether we still find ourselves in the same position as we did at the time for the two previous congresses.

b) to evaluate such important event for the continuous development of the world revolution as the revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua.

c) to establish the most important political tasks in relation to other currents within the working class movement in the imperialist countries and, in connection with this, take up immediate tactical initiatives, overriding political tasks and election campaigns.

d) to abandon the adventurous and leftist line, taken by the International on the question of Latin America at the tenth World Congress, and to replace this with a line that bases its ideas on the needs of the working classes and the working masses in these countries and the building up of their mass organisations.

- e) to take a correct programmatic position on the struggle for woman's liberation and the work for an independent woman's liberation movement.
- f) to establish that the Fourth International is against nuclear power.
- g) to state the tasks of the International, its leadership and sections during the coming period and, above all, those measures that must be taken in order to safeguard the proletarianisation process of the International.
- h) to establish once more the statutes of the International, and make measures to put them into practice where they are not implemented today, above all in such countries where there are two or more FI-organisations; to establish once more the obligations of the sections towards the International, the maintenance of a distinction between sections and sympathising organisations, and the divisions of labour between the leading organs of the International.
- i) to elect a new leadership which is capable of leading the implementation of these points and which is representative of the International during the present period.

III. The need for background material on the present state of the International

We will not here precede what is said in the following section about the political resolution, but merely state the fact that none of the texts presented include an evaluation of the present strength of the Fourth International.

Nothing is mentioned about the possibilities of carrying out the tasks given in the various texts. Under such circumstances, there are no guarantees that anything at all will be carried out. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to make a correct evaluation. It is up to the leading organs to do as best as they can, and to judge themselves whether they have done their best.

If it is not made explicit to what extent the sections are committed to decisions taken and decisions that will be taken by the IEC and the US, it becomes very difficult to determine what forces will be capable of carrying out the campaigns.

In what way, then, is this related to the character of the World Congress documents?

Since these texts are analytic — sometimes programmatic and sometimes including lines of concrete action — and since it is difficult to distinguish between the two, it is made very difficult indeed to determine what tasks are the responsibilities of the leading organs and the sections, and what can be further discussed after the Congress, in and out of the International.

It must be possible to formally regulate the responsibilities of the sections, and this could partly be done in the texts as such clarifying the distinctions between different functions, and by making a distinction between that part consisting of reports and the part consisting of resolutions.

Information belonging to the category of »conditions for holding the Congress« includes such matters as the strength and development of the different sections. Naturally, the reports can not include thousand of details, but a presence of a functioning international reportings system, and pre-congress discussions which should have included organised information and contributions from the sections all over the world, would have facilitated the summing up of the organisational and political condition necessary for carrying out the tasks proposed.

Naturally, it is difficult, at least for us, to determine whether the tasks we propose are possible to carry out, not because the tasks themselves are not feasible, but simply because we lack information on the strength and the capacity of the International.

IV. The political resolution — its strenght and weaknesses

We request the US to summarize the main theses of what we like to regard as a report in the resolution for the simple reason that we do not consider ourselves capable, with our limited knowledge, of carrying out this task. What we can try and do here is to bring out what we consider most important in the resolution and point to its weaknesses. We will certainly be able to comment on and propose alterations on certain points in the reporting part.

We begin by drawing up the demands which could be placed on a draft political resolution.

- a) It should evaluate the most important tendencies in international class struggle, above all the relationship of forces between the classes on an international scale and within each of the three sectors of the world revolution.
- b) It should determine what countries and regions are expected to play a certain role in the development of international class struggle and the tasks of the International in these areas.
- c) It should state the common political tasks of the International as a whole and the stand-points that should be put forward in the different fields of action.
- d) It should provide organisational directions for the building up of the International.

A draft political resolution, drawn up in this way and supplemented by reports, would aquire special significance. It would serve as an »umbrella« for the work of the International as a whole. It would provide a framework for certain resolutions on specific regions and fields of action.

The strenght of the resolution presented lies mainly with point a) above. Since it was written over a year ago — and then more as a basis for discussions within the FI than as conclusions drawn from these — it fails to discuss many problems which today stand out as crucial issues. It must therefore be revised and new sections must be added. It must also be given a clearer focus when dealing with different continents. Point c) above is far to inadequate in the proposal presented, even considering that some of the points in chapter V are developed elsewhere.

It is not clear what the International as a whole should work with and how the work should actually be carried out. Secondly the priorities given to the different tasks are far to vague.

Thirdly, there are no organisational directions — point d) above — which means that the tasks look more like a »want list«.

What we would want to say on points c) and d) is shown in our alternative text to chapter V.

As regards point a), there is a summarized account in the beginning of the resolution which we think is completely correct and which is thoroughly motivated later in the text. We agree that it is important to give a picture in this way to the objective frame-work for the building up of the Fourth International.

We do, however, wish to except thesis no. 2 from this judgement. At best it has been given the wrong wording, and at worst it is wrong. If thesis no 2 is interpreted in the following way we think it wholly correct:

- that it is absolutely crucial for the development of the world revolution that the power of capital be crushed in the imperialist countries; that the industrial working class play a decisive role there by its unusual concentration; that this is favourable for the development of advanced class consciousness; that the escalation of the struggle in the imperialist countries is the most striking international change during the last ten years; and that this contributes to a great extent to the struggle in the semi-colonial countries and the bureaucratic workers' states.

If this is what it means, that should be made explicit!

The present wording of the thesis makes it possible to use it as a justification for a too narrow line for the struggle and building up of the sections in the imperialist countries. This is not the intention of anyone in the leadership of the International, and therefore the thesis must be revised and the ideas behind it must be clearly expressed.

To sum up, we can say that the draft political resolution simply shows:

- that we do not find ourselves in a new phase, a phase with a downward trend, as compared with before;
- that, on the other hand, the decisive power struggles, are awaiting us in all parts of the world;
- that the crisis of the traditional labour movement provides the FI with new opportunities to grow to an international current and start taking up the struggle with the big worker's parties and their national leaderships.

The resolution thereby supports an important thesis on the political tasks. It is now not only a question of »licking our wounds« after set-backs in various parts of the world, stabilising what has been achieved so far, and taking part in an outright defensive struggle to defend positions attained.

It is instead a question of using an offensive strategy — where the struggle for democratic and material rights and benefits of the working masses is transferred into a struggle against the entire system that questions these rights; where it is not only necessary but also possible to plant central transitional demands within the working class and its organisations; where there are good opportunities to start changing the relationship of forces with respect to the traditional worker's parties; where the choice between the two alternatives (class collaboration or class struggle) can be forced through with new strength; where there are great opportunities for the Fourth International to grow and transform itself into a significant force in the class struggle.

The political resolution does not draw the conclusion that this growth is an automatic process and something that should be taken for granted. On several occasions, it points to impediments presented by the present relationship of forces and the policies of the reformist movement. It is, however, a shortcoming that it does not point to those weaknesses within the Fourth International which further complicate and delay the building of the sections.

Despite this, the resolution draws the most important conclusion at this stage: The need for proletarianisation of the sections of the Fourth International.

No doubt this task could be presented more exhaustively and comprehensively, and be motivated in a more explicit political way than is the case in the resolution. More than a year has passed since the resolution was written, and during this time the discussion on proletarianisation has been tremendously enriched. We have also

important international experiences to report on. The most important thing, however, is that this task is not only included, but is mentioned as the very first task of all the »immediate tasks«. And rightly so; this question is today the most important one for the building of the Fourth International.

This is the question before all others. If the sections of the FI do not change radically as regards their membership structure and their methods to work, no lasting solutions will be found to other problems.

Apart from these overriding theses there are also important partial analyses or essential conclusions in the resolution. We shall mention some of these.

- The analysis of the international armaments race.
- The emphasis on the struggle in Southern Africa and how it affects the struggle in black Africa in general.
- The thesis in the profound revolutionary events in Ethiopia (which are not made less important by the fact that the section on the Ethiopian and Cuban roles in Eritrea are vague and inadequate).
- The account of the conditions for the opposition in the bureaucratic worker's states.
- The correct points of departure for evaluating the »EuroCommunist« current.

Given this notion of what are the main lines of the resolution, we think it is correct, despite all the shortcomings that we have pointed out. Our criticisms here and elsewhere are therefore made with the aim of attempting to isolate these theses, and improve that section of the text that deals with the coming concrete tasks, through our proposed alternative text which we present to the World Congress for approval.

V. Explanations of and motivations for our proposed alternative text

Let us begin by once more emphasising our point of departure before writing this alternative text.

We are aware of its shortcomings, but do not therefore think that it is not a better alternative than the present version of chapter V. However, the reasons for the shortcomings of our alternative is the same as the reason for taking this task upon ourselves:

- the lack of information on the state of the International;
- slackness in the implementation of internal routines;
- confusion about the concrete tasks which can be given to the International as a whole.

We have expressed ourselves as precisely as we can, and tied the various tasks proposed to the organs which should be responsible for their implementation.

This last, is one of the most serious shortcomings of the original chapter V.

Secondly, we have deliberately excluded a number of questions which no doubt are important — such as the attitudes towards the farmers, processes of regrouping, merging processes, faction work etc.

The reasons for excluding these questions is not that we think they are unimportant, but because:

- the resolution is vague on how these questions should be dealt with by the International and by the sections;
- the examples used to describe, e.g. the faction work are »Euro-centered«, and this makes us even more doubtful as to how these questions should be dealt with by the International as a whole;
- no part of the resolution contains an explanation as to why these questions are brought up;

● by simply ignoring these questions we hope to »provoke« the leadership of the International to answer the questions we have posed above.

We are of course open for discussions on these questions and that is why we present our alternative to chapter V as an alternative and not an addition.

In the resolution we have focused on the need for a functioning International, in which the statutes must be followed and the faction struggle must not lead to a decentralisation of the International and the establishment of several international »centers«.

We consider it very serious that the International Executive Committee has not been able to get together for several years (not since February -76). We also consider it very serious that there today, in a number of countries, are more than one organisation belonging to, or considering itself as belonging to the Fourth International. What this should lead to is however shown in the beginning of this text. It ought to have been included in the resolution which, according to plan, should have been taken up at the World Congress but which now, for some reason, has been dropped: namely the resolution on democratic centralism.

We deliberately call on the twelfth, and not the eleventh World Congress to report on the development of the sections and the need for an evaluation of the state of the international, since we consider it irresponsible to rush such an important question within the International.

The Bolshevick Faction has in its material maintained the opinion that a change in the majority conditions — i.e. so »that the opportunism of the present majority towards the established labour parties, and the non-bolshevick building up of the organisation can be replaced by a new strongprincipled majority«, based on the platform and the documents of the Bolshevick Faction — is a key question for the development of the International. We cannot share that overall judgement of the present leadership, and nor can we share the notion that a change in the majority conditions within the International is required in order to carry out the tasks and measures proposed in our alternative text.

Stockholm the 13th of September 1979

The Political Bureau of KAF —
Swedish section of the Fourth International

To United Secretariat
from KAFs political bureau

Regarding annual report

We stress, in our contribution about the world political resolution and in our alternative to chapter V in that resolution, the need of an annual report from the USec and IEC.

Such a report would be very valuable to make it possible to judge with which forces we can undertake to carry out the tasks we pose. Furthermore we think it's very abnormal that in the pre congress discussion it is a faction, the bolshevick faction, that have attempted to make a balance sheet for the Fourth International.

We think that we need such a report from the USec before the world congress even if the time is short.

If such a report should be useful must it be based upon reports from the different sections about their work and especially their attempt to change the social composition — i.e. their proletarianization — and other problems in partybuilding.

Therefore we urge that the USec should demand reports from all sections about their work, proletarianization and problems in partybuilding.

We gladly recieved the news that, in connection with the world congress, there will be a special meeting organized about work in youth organisations. This is a good initiative.

But we also see the need of a special discussion about the proletarianization of the sections of the Fourth International.

Therefore we propose that the USec prepare the possibilities to arrange discussions, in workshops, about the experiences of proletarianization that different sections have made, parallel to the world congress.

COMERADELY GREETINGS
KAFs POLITICAL BUREAU

Proposed amendment to chapter V of the World Political Resolution presented by Usec in anticipation of the Fourth International's eleventh congress.

● We feel that chapters I-IV should be regarded as a report from USEC and that only chapter V should be voted as a resolution.

● We urge USEC to summarize, as soon as possible, the most important themes in this »report« as a foreword to chapter V.

V. The immediate tasks of the Fourth International

23. Despite its division into nations and states, one of capitalism's most important features is its international structure. This first led to creation of the worldmarket and thereafter to the successive development of the productive forces, and the development of an international division of labour that clearly transcends the national boundaries. The workingclass international character stems from this fact.

For the bourgeoisie the internationalisation of the productive forces is in basic contradiction to capitals national and continental division, which is rooted in private property and competition. For the working class no such inherent contradiction exists. The historical interests are the same for all wachelaborers — the abolishment of the capitalist ownership, exploitation and oppression, and the building of a classless society, can only be realized on an international scale.

Meanwhile, all capitalists, regardless of the intensity of competition between various national sectors of the capitalist class, agree on the necessity to fight tooth and nail against the socialist challenge of the working class. The workingclass on the other hand is forced to extend and strengthen its international ties because of the need of joint defense and the promotion of its historical interests. Hence the imperative necessity to build the world party of the socialist revolution. But the international bourgeoisie is today far ahead of the workingclass when it comes to international co-ordination. The multinational corporations place the workers in one country against those in another. But even the various national sectors of the bourgeoisie, have in spite of mutual contradictions been able to unite in defense of the capitalist system.

The workingclass; its unions and political organisations, have not managed to pursue a joint struggle against the common enemy to a corresponding degree. The reformist and stalinist leaderships have instead backed their »own« bourgeoisie and often led the workingclass in protectionist and narrow chauvinist directions. Instead of co-ordinating the struggle against worldcapitalism their internationals have backed their own sisterorganisations in an attempt to lead the masses in defense of their support of their »own« bourgeoisie.

Despite the united forces of the Fourth International our section must utilise every opportunity to create an international co-ordination based on class struggle against imperialism's exploitation and oppression, against the multinational corporations, against the imperialistic attempts to co-ordinate oppression and exploitation via the worldbank, IDB, the trilateral, the common market etc.

Up till now, the Fourth International has not been able to utilise its forces in a systematic way so as to link together various groups of struggling workers in different countries, or to build up an international solidarity. This depends — among other things — on the lag that exists on the building of the International's international organs as well as its mode of functioning, even in relation to the limited resources at hand.

The Fourth International's programmatic standpoint — that its necessary to simultaneously build the International on the national and the international level — has not corresponded to a concrete discussion about possibilities taking advantage of the opportunities that have existed on the international arena. The building of the worldparty has, to a great degree, been isolated in the various countries, with rather undeveloped discussion between the sections about experiences and problems, let alone co-ordination of their work.

During the last ten year period the Fourth International has had a pretty substantial growth rate. Today sections and sympathizing organisations exist in almost sixty countries and the memberships has increased tenfold. At the same time, the International's center and mode of functioning have changed very little, especially over the last 3-4 year period. Information about the various sections work is either concentrated to the USEC — bureau or is exchanged at random on a bilateral basis.

The long period of hard faction fights has left clear marks on the International's mode of functioning. The democratic centralism, as it is expressed in the statutes of the Fourth International, was undermined by this factionalism and has not been applicable after the factional situation to a great extent has ceased. Despite the fact that the former provisional statutes were passed at the tenth world congress they have not been followed.

The world congress has been postponed several times. Consequently the International as a whole has not had the opportunity of taking a stand on several important occasions. Nor has it had the chance of deciding about important aspects of the building of the international organs. The International executive has not been able to assemble and the USEC has not been renewable in the normal way. This situation has continued to the fact that there has been no possibility to mobilise the Fourth International as a whole in concrete tasks in the building of the world party.

There are great empty spots on the worldmap of the Fourth International today. All through Africa, the Middle-East and Asia there are only few sections and/or sympathizing organisations. It must be made possible to effectively engage all the sections in a discussion on what can and should be done about this situation. At the present the international commissions have no regular functioning routines and most of the time the sections aren't integrated in commissions that function tolerably.

Nor is there any plan for or discussion about how the sections should contribute to building up the FI's center and other central organs. This is also why it has been impossible to carry out financial campaigns on the international level. Under long periods the resources of the cen-

ter have fallen short of some mediumsized sections. Western Europe, Northamerica and Latinamerica present large unexploited sources, we should use. The international press-system has not been developed either since the introduction of Inprecor. There is no reason why a critical scrutinie of the Fourth Internationals present situation should lead to pessimism concerning the possibilities of building the worldparty. On the contrary, a self-critical evaluation of the situation is a prerequisite to enable the sections to take up their tasks.

For now, we do not, lack the resources to carry out a qualitative change in the Internationals mode of functioning. What we do lack is knowlde and a political consciousness of how to formulate and solve the tasks. During the coming period until the twelwth worldcongress, the Fourth International must carry out an evaluation — preceded by reports about the sections work, and, above all, their social change i e, their proletarianisation. This balance sheet should function as an introduction to a discussion about the building of the party, while some elementary measures must be taken immediately to put an end to the present situation.

24. The tasks to be taken up by the Fourth International during the near are as follows:

a) Build the Fourth International in the industry!

Even since its founding, the Fourth International has followed a proletarian orientation without neglecting the possibilities, for that matter, of recruiting from allied strata of the population. The essence of this orientation lies in putting forward the marxist program and using the method of the transitional programme to intervene as much as possible in a countrys politics and in the development of the workingclass and its organisations. It include a recognition of the fact that only a party composed of proletarians — with a proletarian program — that has gained enough respect from the workers to be able to play a leading role in the classtruggle can aquire a majority of the workingmasses under its banner and lead them in the struggle for power.

A majority of our comrades are unionmembers in many countries but the building of strong industrialunions-factions remains to be done. New possibilities of penetrating the industrial proletariat have opened. Whether or not we will manage to make the most of these possibilities depends on special efforts, including the turn that must be made by those sections that consist mainly of cadres recruited lately from non-proletarian strata. In many countries, these comrades has not yet rooted themselves in the industrial working class. We must see to it that they are prepared, right away, to dissever themselves from their earlier social background by becoming proletarians, or in other ways supporting the proletarian orientation. Their participation in union faction work based on industrial work can markedly increase the number of succesfull party campaigns — as Trotsky wrote in Transitional Programme — by showing them how to think and act politically.

The Fourth International must give priority to support of especially subjected groups and defense of the entire working population against attacks from the bourgeoisie offensive.

A proletarian orientation for the Fourth International does not only mean that members have to change their social situation, by also have to take the responsibility for other aspects of proletarian politics. A proletarianisation of the International also means a conscious stake

in the movements that are now organized outside of the workingclass present, the movements to be emphasized are the womans movement, and the environmental movement (anti nuclear power movement). It is our task to participate in these movement with a proletarian policy. A proletarian policy means:

- 1) working for an aim of class struggle in various social movements by pursing our concrete demands and forms of action (independent masmobilization);
- 2) working to get these groups to give the working population demands a priority;
- 3) working to get these groups to direct themselves to and try to organize workers;
- 4) working to get these movements to seek support from the organized labour movement, and to seek support from within the organized workers movement for their demands.
- 5) Finally, helping these movements to get a proletarian leadership.

The proletarian orientation must also mean responsibility towards the young workers who become radicalized. The sections of the Fourth International must set about the conscious building of youth legaues. Presently, there are those in the International with experience from working with youth. These experiences must be spread throughout the International and a discussion be organized so that this work can be give a priority it should have in a proletarian communist International. This will help the progress of similiar work in mass movements and among the allies of the proletariat. It would also help develop ties to the struggle of the superexploited — woman, youth, opressed nationalities and immigrant workers. Furthermore, it would increase our sensitivity to the moods of the workers and give the sections and their work greater stability.

Internally, it would facilitate the schooling of leaders and the solution of organisation aspects of our work. The struggle for proletarian parties includes a conscious refining of the function of the leadership as a collectice; this means promoting forreaching leading organs organized in a democratic way, including comnrades with different views and experiences in the party; it means schooling oneself in the significance of the organisational question, purely theoretically and politically, it means consciously calling attention to the need to develop workers, woman and comrades from opressed nationalities to accomplished leaders; it means teaching against the danger of permanent factionalism and clique-building, which can pull young and inexperienced organisations to fall apart. The goal is to build parties of experienced Bolshevik workers who regard themselves as political leaders of their class and its allies.

b) The change of the Fourth Internationals mode of functioning in order to support and develop the proletarian orientation.

The Fourth International must carry out a radical change in its mode if functioning in order to be able to support and develop this orientation on the international level. The experiences of industrial and union work in various countries must be evaluated and spread, and must lead to initiatives concerning and international co-ordination of union work in multinational corporations and in various important bransches of industry. A permanent post for this must be created within the USEC-bureau. An international bulletin must be founded and used for preparation of international conferences about various aspects of our trade-union work. The proletarian orientation also demands a change in the planning and

the pace of the international discussions so that work-
militants are given the opportunity of full participation.
Among other things this must mean that the resolutions
up for vote, the length of the contributions to debate etc,
are drastically cut down and focused on a few issues of
great importance for the whole International. The analy-
sis that lead to the resolutions conclusions should be pre-
sented as **reports** from the USEC and/or the IEC. Both
the debates before the worldcongress and debate for qu-
estions that need to be brought up at them must first take
place at the meetings of the IEC and at conferences at-
tended by the sections leaderships. The discussionperiod
should not be opened until the leading organs have succe-
eded in clarifying the main features or points of discre-
pancy in the issues up for decision.

c) Commissions for the building of the International

The entire commission system must be rearmed. The
commissions task must be to follow the development,
under the leadership of the USEC, on a continent or in a
number of countries in order to support the building of
sections there, and to lead our work of solidarity with the
struggle in these countries.

The whole International must support the building of
these commissions even if many sections wont be able to
participate directly in their work. The following commis-
sions must be created or strengthened during the period
of the immediate future:

The eastern Europa commission, the Middle est, Afri-
ca and the one for East Asia (in that order of priority).

The building of the sections in Latin America, North
America, Western Europe and Oceania can be supported
by a division of labour within the USEC and the IEC,
and be made possible by establishing an efficiently wor-
king reporting system and regular conferences with the
leaders of the various sections. But the condition for this
is naturally the building of a strong international center.

c) Committees for the coordination of international cam- paigns.

Special committees can be created to assist USEC in con-
junction with international campaigns, or for operating
special fields of work with long-term priority. The com-
mittees can be given the responsibility of directly leading
a campaign or coordinate an important job. This would
give the USEC increased resources by integrating secti-
ons, especially the stronger ones, in key tasks. And will
also give the USEC greater possibilities of rendering the
sections political support. The committees that must be
created or strengthened immediately are the following:
women's, environmental, union and an international
committe (for the coordination of anti-imperialist cam-
paigns). During the coming period the Fourth Internati-
onal should pursue a few wellprepared and coordinated
campaigns in which the whole International, more or
less, can participate. Not, however, as a result of the in-
dividual sections' needs, but on the basis of those allits-
ments of tasks which are made by the USEC and decisi-
ons on participation in a particular campaign.

The Fourth International's campaigns shall be pursued
in industry, in the industrial working class but but all
aspects of FI:s programme to meet the capitalist crises
shall be presented in these campaigns. These campaigns
will be carried out in different sections from different
aspects, but we can clearly ascertain the issues on which
the campaigns should be organized:

- Fight unemployment and the rising cost of living.
- Fight the oppression of women in all forms.
- Fight nuclear power and the pollution of environmen

25. Special campaigns by the Fourth International

Included in other very important tasks, are fields of work
where internationally coordinated campaigns oriented
towards specific sectors can be started. As a few exemp-
les, we can point out the importance of coordinated and
united union actions against the multi-national corpora-
tions in several countries: anti-nuclear power actions in
neighboring contries; the struggle for the right to aborti-
on; the struggle against discrimination and oppression of
the immigrant workers in capitalist Europe, the US and
Canada. Other concrete fields comprise:

- Defense of the interlatinal struggle against oppressed
peoples, especially singled out by the reactionary forces
as military targets.
- Defens union rights and strikes.
- Defend political prisoners.
- Defend the secions and members of the Fourth Inter-
national hit by repressive moves.
- Defend immigrant workers against racism and opres-
sed national minorities against chauvinism.

26. The statues of the Fourth International — a guiding principle for the political activity of our sections.

As against various fedelist attacks on the organisatio-
nal level, the Fourth Internatinal puts forward the Leni-
nist view of a single World Party with a centralized inter-
national leadership. For the Fourth International a cohe-
rent international policy is not merely a question of a
pretty front. It is a natural expression of its comprehensi-
ve theoretical and political ideas and the demand for a
strict ideological framework for its assambled activity.
The Fourth International does not advocate
»democracy« in its abstract meaning; it advocates cen-
tralized democrazy!

But the Fourth Intyernational has complete faith in the
methods of proletarian democracy and puts them into
practice. Its internal structure is therefore in striking
contrast to the relations prevailing in the Socialdemocra-
tic and Stalinist parties, where all tendencies and factions
— except the one that controls the party apparatus — are
banned.

The Fourth International encourages and schools its
members to have a critical attitude and works to get them
to follow the development within other organisations
open-mindely. This free thinking serves a definite purpo-
se: it contributes to ensure the highest possible intellectu-
al level among its cadre. It also contributes in protecting
the party from inflexibility and makes it receptive to
new currents and paths of development. It is, as well, the
most effective means of creating collective thinking and
collective experience.

The Fourth International welcomes sympathizers — but
membership, with all rights and obligations, and its firm
diciplining, is something that applies to activists.

This way of drawing a clear line between members and
sympathizers — in contrast to reformists and centristic
organisations — contributes to preventing democracy
from degenerating to something characterizing a debate
club. At the same time, it contributes to safeguard an ef-
fective membership control of the leadership. The Fourth
International is an organisation made for action and there-
fore it regards discussion as a means of reaching cor-
rect decisions.

The Fourth International makes its political stands in a
democratic way, through regular World Congress, where
decisions are reached by a majority vote. The delegates at
a World Congress are democratically elected by the nati-
onal sections after a free and democratic discussion ba-

sed on written documents, where every member has the right to participate and the right to build factions is guaranteed.

The International Executive Committee, which is the supreme organ during the period between World Congresses is nominated individually and democratically elected by the delegates at the World Congresses. In its turn, the International Executive Committee elects a secretariat and those other committees and commissions necessary for carrying out various decisions.

The need for a centralized international leadership puts a great responsibility on those who are in the leadership of the International. This is why the national sections do everything to create such a leadership and make their best leaders available, when circumstances demands it.

An International and its guiding democratic centralism can not be created by decisions alone. It must be built up in mutual interplay with the building-up of the national sections. If the Fourth International's foremost base is its international political program, its constructions on democratic-centralistic principles is also intertwined with the national sections' growth and strength, as well as their political experience and ideological concordance. The political and moral esteem of the central leading organs depends on this as much as on its own activities.

In order to drive party-building forward, the Fourth International stands firmly by the norms of democratic centralism, both nationally and internationally, with the right to build factions and tendencies as in the Bolshevik party of Lenin's day.

The Fourth International's statutes contain two general provisions on this point, concerning democratic centralism's mode of functioning.

1) Decisions made by a majority of delegates at democratically organized World Congresses, the supreme organ of the Fourth International, are binding for all sections. Decisions made by the International Executive Committee, which the delegates choose to function as the supreme organ until the next congress, can be appealed, but apply until the appeal has been discussed and decided upon.

2) The members of the national sections have the right to choose their own leaderships. Democratically organized congresses and plenary meetings in elected committees are the national sections supreme organs. They have right to decide on national programs, and to interpret and decide for all its members how to apply the Fourth International's resolutions on a national level.

During the coming period, the Fourth International statutes must be obeyed. Where the USec feels the statutes cannot be put into practice, the IEC must resolve to disregard the statutes and suggest changes in them at a future World Congress. Uniform norms for the practice of the sections obligations towards the International. Payment of contingents to the FI, as well as participation in international campaigns may not be a question of negotiations but be decided on from uniform and objective criteria.

**STOCKHOLM 79.08.17
POLITICAL BUREAU
COMMUNIST WORKERS LEAGUE,
SWEDISH SECTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.**