

XC 111 Jack Jan (one)

MINUTES OF THE UNITED SECRETARIAT MEETING

March 31, April 1-2, 1978

PRESENT: Antonio, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Manuel, Marline, Martinez, Otto, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Therese, Walter

IEC PRESENT: Dunder, Karl, Petersen, Sylvain, Tantalus, Williams

GUESTS: Allio, Camilo, Conway, Cuseck, David, Ellis, Enrique, Eoin, Greco, Holden, Klein, Laura, Marianne, McGee, Mireille, North, Pola, Savage, Tom, Volia

- AGENDA:
1. National Committee meeting of SWP(USA)
 2. Bureau Report
 3. World Congress Preparations
 4. Draft on Eurocommunism for discussion with OCRFI
 5. Lebanon Fact Finding Commission
 6. Draft resolution on women's liberation
 7. France
 8. Ireland
 9. Colombia
 10. Eastern Europe
 11. Sri Lanka
 12. Peru

Chairpersons: Stateman, Dunder

1. National Committee meeting of SWP (USA)

Aubin reported on the plenum of the National Committee of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, held February 23-26, 1978.

Discussion.

2. Bureau Report

A. Stateman put forward a proposal from the Bureau that the next United Secretariat meeting be held June 30-July 2 and that no meeting be held in May in order to allow more time to work on drafts of documents for the world congress on Europe and on the world political situation, which are scheduled to be submitted to this June 30-July 2 United Secretariat meeting.

Discussion.

AGREED

B. Duret reported on the fifth congress of the Portuguese Liga Comunista Internacionalista, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, held February 25-26, 1978

C. Claudio reported on the fourth congress of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs/Revolutionaire Arbeiders Liga, Belgian section of the Fourth International, held March 10-12, 1978.

Discussion.

D. Aubin reported that discussions had been held concerning the fused English-language edition of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor with both the leadership of the IMG and comrades working on the magazine in New York. He put forward a proposal from the Bureau that there be a discussion at the June-July United Secretariat meeting on a balance sheet of the content of the French and English-language editions. The Bureau asks the sections to hold discussions on this at the leadership level and, if possible, to send their remarks to the Bureau in written form.

AGREED

E. Duret drew attention to a Bureau circular letter dated March 18, 1978, which summarizes the outcome of the international coordinating meeting for antinuclear work held March 4-5 in Zurich. He reported that the next meeting of this coordinating committee will take place on May 6-7 in Zurich and urged all sections to send a representative. Among other proposals, the coordinating committee will discuss the content of a resolution on the nuclear question to be submitted to the United Secretariat.

Discussion.

F. Dunder presented the results of the polling of the International Executive Committee on recognition of three recently fused organizations in Spain (Liga Comunista Revolucionaria), Mexico (Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores), and Australia (Socialist Workers Party) as sections of the Fourth International. He indicated that both a majority of full members and a majority of the body as a whole had voted in favor of the recognition of all three of these organizations as sections.

Discussion.

MOTION: To recognize the legitimacy of this poll of the IEC, which has the effect of recognizing the three organizations concerned as official sections of the Fourth International in their countries, according to the vote of the last world congress authorizing the IEC to take such a decision.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 12 (Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Duret, Frej, Marline, Martinez, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 0

Abstain: 1 (Otto)

Not voting: 0

CARRIED

3. World Congress Preparations

A. Stateman proposed that Manuel of Mexico be responsible for coordinating the drafting of a Latin American resolution for the Eleventh World Congress, in collaboration with Riel, Hansen, and the leaderships of the Latin American sections.

AGREED

MOTION by Claudio: Considering that its next meeting will take place at the beginning of July and will therefore coincide with the deadline for presenting texts to be adopted by the Eleventh World Congress, the United Secretariat invites Comrade Manuel, charged with preparing a draft document on Latin America, to present this draft to the July meeting and, if possible, to send a first outline to the Bureau before June 1.

COUNTERMOTION by Susan: To ask the Bureau to consult with Manuel to find out the earliest possible date that an initial draft could be ready.

Vote on Claudio motion:

For: 5 (Claudio, Enrique, Fourier, Frej, Petersen)
Against: 10 (Aubin, Dunder, Duret, Holden, Manuel,
Martinez, Stateman, Susan, Thérèse, Walter)
Abstaining: 4 (Allio, Georges, Marline, Otto)
Not voting: 0

DEFEATED

Vote on Susan motion:

For: 13 (Allio, Aubin, Dunder, Duret, Holden,
Marline, Martinez, Otto, Petersen,
Stateman, Susan, Thérèse, Walter)
Against: 0
Abstaining: 6 (Claudio, Enrique, Georges, Fourier, Frej,
Manuel)
Not voting: 0

CARRIED

Statement by Claudio: In recent years important political events have taken place in Latin America and the situation of our movement on the continent has considerably changed. Therefore, we have to avoid new postponements in the Fourth International's elaboration and to respect the decision of the IEC, which had included Latin America on the agenda of the world congress. Not to decide to prepare a draft for the next meeting of the United Secretariat automatically means that there will not be any document on Latin America adopted until at least 1980.

Statement by Aubin, Duret, Walter: We vote against the motion proposed by Comrade Claudio. An attempt to absolutely and administratively fix the deadline for presentation of the draft resolution on Latin America to the United Secretariat meeting at the beginning of July does not help solve the real problem involved in writing such a resolution.

The organizational and political situation of the sections and sympathizing organizations of the International in Latin America -- as well as of the new organizations that have been won to Trotskyism on the continent -- together with the disastrous orientation of the Ninth World Congress (which the Tenth World Congress did not reverse) call for a new and profound political elaboration, including a balance sheet of the past period as well as of the current political and organizational experiences of the comrades.

This can only be a result of the collective work of the leaderships of all the organizations of the International in Latin

[This statement by Aubin, Duret, and Walter concludes on page 4 of these minutes.]

America. This work, for which comrades Manuel, Riel, and Hansen will be responsible, can only be carried forward through a preliminary phase of discussions which will take some time. Obviously we hope that a first detailed outline of the draft resolution could be available for the July United Secretariat meeting--that is the sense of the motion adopted by this meeting of the United Secretariat. But if this date proves to be too early for the comrades responsible for the work, it is better to give them the time they need rather than having a draft that is hastily thrown together and does not correspond to the real needs and experience of Trotskyists in Latin America.

We should recognize, therefore, that if this draft is not ready until after the July deadline, it will be submitted to the discussion but not to a vote at the Eleventh World Congress. This will allow all the sections, and above all the Latin American sections, to fully discuss this document, which would otherwise be impossible unless the date of the world congress were again postponed or other questions already scheduled for a vote were eliminated from the agenda. The first meeting of the IEC following the congress will therefore have this point on its agenda and will proceed to a vote on the draft resolution.

B. Stateman proposed that the Bureau be delegated to prepare a proposal for the financial campaign for the world congress.

AGREED

c. Thérèse proposed that, due to rising costs of production and distribution of the English-language International Internal Discussion Bulletin (IIDB), the sections in the advanced capitalist countries should begin to pay for bulletins received and that the bulletins be sold to their members (until now, only Canada and the United States have been paying for the IIDB). That colonial and semicolonial countries which cannot pay should continue to receive the bulletin without charge, with this subsidy to be made up by the payments received from sections in the advanced capitalist countries. That the details of this be worked out between New York and the organizations receiving the English-language bulletin.

AGREED

D. Sylvain reported on the situation with the French and Spanish language IIDB. There is now a full-time comrade working on typing and layout of the French-language bulletin. The goal is to begin to produce two average-size bulletins per month, in order to systematically eliminate the backlog of unpublished documents. As with the English-language bulletin, these bulletins will be sold to the French-speaking sections.

The Bureau has discussed the best way to assure regular publication of the Spanish-language bulletin. It appears that the most efficient procedure is to have three production centers: Madrid, Mexico City, and Bogotá. The translations will be

done centrally by Spanish-speaking comrades in Paris and then divided up among the three centers for a first printing; the printed bulletin will then be reproduced by the other two production centers. The Spanish LCR and the Mexican PRT have already agreed to this procedure. The Bureau will send a circular to all the Spanish-speaking sections to ask that they send copies of all the materials they have already produced and the Bureau will coordinate the reproduction of this material by all three production centers.

Discussion.

E. Stateman reported on a submission to the IIDB on Cuba entitled "For a Change in the Fourth International's Position on Cuba" and signed by François Massion (Belgium), Andrés, Rodrigo, Sara (Costa Rica), and Scott Cooper and David Keil (USA). He proposed sending the following letter to the leadership of the Costa Rican OST, which has officially submitted this contribution on behalf of the Costa Rican comrades who have signed it.

Text of letter:

April 1, 1978

OST
Costa Rica

Dear Comrades,

This is in response to your letter of January 16, 1978, submitting the article, "For a Change in the Fourth International's Position on Cuba," by François Massion, Andrés, Rodrigo, Sara, Scott Cooper, and David Keil to the International Internal Discussion Bulletin in preparation for the next world congress.

The United Secretariat has considered the question of the organization of the world congress from the point of view of two problems. One is the need to hold the world congress soon. The other is the large number of points that have been placed on the agenda. It is impossible to hold a full and democratic discussion on all these points and at the same time hold the world congress early next year. Given the new situation in the International with the dissolution of the LTF and IMT, the United Secretariat has agreed to discuss the proposed drafts, to be submitted by the United Secretariat to the discussion, without reference to previous drafts from either side. This means we are really beginning now to prepare the discussion, even though it has been a number of years since the last world congress. So what the United Secretariat has decided is to restrict the number of points on the agenda for the next world congress, while at the same time keeping open the discussion on the other points, which will be taken up at subsequent meetings of the new IEC.

A final decision on exactly which points will be on the agenda for vote will be made at the July meeting of the United Secre-

tariat. As it stands now, it appears that documents will be ready on three points in time to put them on the agenda: women's liberation, the world political situation, and the European resolution.

Concerning Latin America, the United Secretariat has designated Comrade Manuel from Mexico to be responsible for coordinating the drafting of a Latin American resolution in consultation with Riel, Hansen, and other comrades from Latin America, the leaders of the OST included. It is not yet clear whether this resolution will be ready in time (at least six months before the world congress) for this point to be included on the agenda for vote. Nevertheless, work will begin on this resolution soon, and it will be an important part of the discussion in the International when it comes out. Leading up to the world congress priority will be given in the discussion to those points which will be on the agenda.

It is our opinion that discussion on the nature of the Cuban state properly belongs in the framework of the discussion on Latin America. Consequently, we recommend to you that you wait before submitting "For a Change in the Fourth International's Position on Cuba" to the bulletin until the United Secretariat draft is prepared. Of course, this resolution will not take a position on the question of political revolution in Cuba. However, it will have to discuss Cuba's policy regarding Latin America, which does come up in "For a Change in the Fourth International's Position on Cuba." After seeing this draft, it is possible that the authors of "For a Change in the Fourth International's Position on Cuba" would want to modify it, to take into account points made in the Latin American resolution. In any case, we think this would provide a better framework for the discussion on Cuba and would fit in with the rhythm of the pre-world-congress discussion better. Since the Latin American resolution will be done in the next months, this delay should not be very long.

Comradely,

s/Stateman

for the United Secretariat

cc: authors of the document
SWP Political Committee
LRT/RAL Political Committee

AGREED

F. Duret reported that the dates for the meeting of the European Political Bureaus are now April 22-23. The meeting will discuss the European elections and the outline for the European document for the next world congress, which has already been sent to the sections. The Bureau recommends that the delegations from the leaderships of sections be limited but representative of different positions which might exist in these bodies. The Bureau decided that its delegation to this meeting be the three comrades charged with drafting the European resolution--Aubin, Duret, and Stateman--as well as Walter be-

cause of the link with the drafting of the document on the world political situation.

Discussion.

4. Draft on Eurocommunism for discussion with the OCRFI

Walter introduced the draft of the document for the discussion with the OCRFI, "Eurocommunism: A New Stage in the Crisis of Stalinism."

Discussion.

MOTION:

To adopt the general line of this document and to submit it to the public discussion with the OCRFI. To refer final editing to the Bureau.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 18 (Aubin, Brewster, Dunder, Duret, Enrique, Fourier, Frej, Holden, Manuel, Martinez, Otto, Petersen, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Sylvain, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 0

Abstaining : 1 (Claudio)

Not voting: 0

CARRIED

Statement by Dunder, Holden, Stateman, Susan, Thérèse:

We vote for the document "Eurocommunism: A New Stage in the Crisis of Stalinism" to submit to the public discussion with the OCRFI because of the substantial area of agreement it represents, which helps to clarify the discussion and move it forward. However, it is our position that the so-called Eurocommunist parties remain Stalinist, and the document should explicitly characterize them as Stalinist. In our opinion this characterization is not in contradiction with the document, in fact it flows from it.

5. Lebanon Fact Finding Commission

Williams presented the report of the ad hoc fact finding commission established by the United Secretariat to investigate disciplinary actions taken by the Revolutionary Communist Group, Lebanese section of the Fourth International.

MOTION:

To concur with the recommendations of the fact finding commission, which are:

"The fact finding commission recommends that Comrade Magida should be integrated into a section of the Fourth International as a member in good standing and that her political activity should become the responsibility of whichever section she joins.

The fact finding commission recommends that Comrade Selim's application for integration into a section of the Fourth International be considered favorably by the section, but stipulates that his status will depend on the normal procedures prevailing for application for membership in whichever section he applies to join."

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

MOTION:

That the report of the fact finding commission be distributed to Comrade Selim, Comrade Magida, the Lebanese section, Comrade Rothschild, and Comrade Ben. To request that the Lebanese section distribute copies of the report to its members and candidate members and to the three former members who gave evidence to the fact finding commission, comrades Adnan, Paul, and Nadira.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 15 (Antonio, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Frej, Holden, Martinez, Petersen, Otto Stateman, Susan, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 0

Abstaining: 1 (Fourier)

Not voting: 0

CARRIED

6. Women's Liberation Resolution

Thérèse introduced the draft resolution for the next world congress, "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation."

Discussion.

MOTION by Brewster:

That the section of the document relating to women's caucuses be taken out and placed as a discussion under the "norms" item on the world congress agenda.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 3 (Brewster, Marline, Petersen)

Against: 17 (Allio, Antonio, Aubin, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Holden, Manuel, Martinez, Otto, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Thérèse, Walter)

Abstaining: 1 (Georges)

Not voting: 2 (Enrique, Sylvain)

DEFEATED

MOTION by Brewster:

To amend the text as follows: On page 53, point c, first paragraph, after the sentence "To permit internal formations that exclude or include some members on any basis other than political criteris is undemocratic" to eliminate the existing wording and substitute the following just up to the phrase, "The process of internal education of our own members," where the text would resume and stand as written:

"Despite the very real political problems that have given rise to internal meetings of exclusively women comrades in some sections, many experiences have shown that such formations can create centrifugal dynamics which do not facilitate the resolution of the problems which led to their original formation. It is not through organizational measures against women comrades who hold such caucuses that the problems will be resolved. Rather, this will occur only if a full political debate is conducted in our sections and sympathizing organizations (through the various mechanisms provided by democratic centralism) which brings about:

a) the development and implementation of political work on the women's question integrated into all areas of intervention;

b) conscious measures of cadre development which can integrate women comrades and overcome sexist habits and attitudes. Until such measures are more or less fully implemented, women's caucuses can play a positive role in identifying such problems and raising the debate as to their solution. As such, however, such caucuses must be convened under the direction of the leadership at all levels and the discussions be fully reported back to the collective structures of the organization."

Vote on the above motion:

For : 5 (Brewster, Georges, Rudi, Marline, Petersen)

Against: 14 (Allio, Aubin, Antonio, Duret, Dunder, Frej
Fourier, Holden, Martinez, Otto, Stateman,
Susan, Walter, Thérèse)

Abstaining: 2 (Claudio, Manuel)

Not voting: 2 (Enrique, Sylvain)

DEFEATED

MOTION:

To adopt the general line of the document, "Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation."

Vote on the above motion:

For: 20 (Allio, Antonio, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio,
Dunder, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Holden,
Manuel, Martinez, Otto, Petersen, Rudi, Stateman,
Susan, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 0

Abstaining: 1 (Marline)

Not voting: 0

CARRIED

Statement by Marline: Explanation of my vote. I abstained because of the last part of the resolution; the way in which the specific problems of women within the sections are treated sketches out a conception of the party which, while not very clearly spelled out, seems to me quite debatable.

The references to the equality of militants remain formal references and run the risk of maintaining an inequality which is quite real. The party cannot be looked to for eliminating the inequalities that exist among comrades, says the text. Yes and no. The party seeks to decrease certain inequalities: for example, through the education it gives to its militants, workers in particular, even if this means paying the salary equivalent to a week spent at a cadre school if it's necessary in order to ensure their presence in the leadership later on. In an "underdeveloped" country, should we be against the party's taking responsibility for teaching militants to read and write?

The relations between the mass movement and the party, the conception of the intervention in mass organizations, seems to me to be envisaged in an erroneous manner. "The mass organizations are not based on a revolutionary Marxist program which represents the historic interests of women and of the working class," while in the party, states the resolution, "there is not an inherent contradiction between the program, the leadership, and the rank and file. There's an affirmation that has a bizarre ring in a Trotskyist text if it is not added that there can be a contradiction between the program, the leadership, and the militants. From this flows in part our conception of internal democracy which should enable the overcoming of these contradictions.

Because the revolutionary Marxist program represents the historic interests of women and of the working class, it is necessary to strive so that the daily reality lived by the militants won't be too remote from (even contradictory with) the program for which they're fighting. "The party must be capable of uniting in its ranks and its leadership the most conscious and most combative representatives of the working class, especially the most exploited and most oppressed layers." The intent is excellent; unfortunately, the resolution rejects the material solutions that can help in attaining such an objective:

a) On taking care of children. While noting that women in the sections have domestic problems analogous to those of other women, especially if they have children, that it's necessary to give "conscious attention" to their presence in the leadership, the party, as distinguished from the mass organizations, shouldn't organize the taking care of children. Obviously, the party shouldn't take care of children in place of society and it must stimulate mass struggles for necessary social services. But the party must take steps that facilitate its struggle by enabling male and female workers who have children to participate in its external and internal activities: childcare at public and internal meetings, cadre schools, etc.

Obviously, none of these measures is an end in itself for the party, a "counter-society"; this is simply a way to improve militant activity. But not to do this is to renounce the building

of a mass party, including being incapable of working so that the mass organizations take responsibility for these problems at another level.

To affirm in a resolution of the International that the taking care of children does not concern the party is de facto to ratify either the impossibility of working women who have children being in a leadership or the tacit obligation not to have children, a conception developed by Lutte Ouvrière in France, which excludes in advance any new integration into the national leadership of women who unfortunately had children before joining the organization.

This is an attitude which can only go against the proletarianization necessary in many sections.

b) On women's caucuses. They are neither good nor normal! But neither is the situation of women in the organization. The question is not one of beginning from a completely theoretical equality of members of the party to conclude that women's caucuses introduce inequality. The problem is the reverse: women's caucuses are an abnormal measure, but result from the inequality that exists in practice between men and women, even in a revolutionary organization.

Women's caucuses under the control of the leadership and which aren't a substitute for a fraction for intervention (which is what the Brewster amendment said) can be a means for women comrades to discuss their personal situation in the organization, which they won't do in a mixed meeting precisely because the oppression of women also exists within the organization.

By discussing with other women, women could even find encouragement to remain in the organization: the experience of the French section does not enable us to consider that women's caucuses accelerated the crisis and women leaving the organization, as is stated in the resolution.

Of course, this is a question of conjunctural and transitory measures: that's why it would have been wiser not to legislate this question in a text for the world congress, leaving the sections to decide this matter and being content with recalling that all structures for elaboration or political decision-making must be mixed (commissions, fractions for intervention, tendencies, etc.).

Statement by Petersen: I vote for the general line of this document but have strong reservations concerning the section in the resolution, as it was presented to the United Secretariat, on women's caucuses.

MOTION: That we allow sections to publish the adopted resolution externally if they wish and to refer to the Bureau the question of editing a special information bulletin on the women's liberation question and the work of the sections.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

7. France

Marline reported on the thinking of the Political Bureau of the French LCR concerning the recent elections and their aftermath, the repercussions of the defeat of the Union of the Left within the CP, SP, and the major trade-union federations, as well as the tasks of the LCR in the coming period.

Discussion.

8. Ireland

North of People's Democracy and Conway of the Movement for a Socialist Republic (MSR, Irish section of the Fourth International) reported on the political situation in Ireland and the process of fusion between the two organizations.

Cusack of the British IMG reported on preparations for an International Tribunal on Britain's Presence in Ireland.

Discussion.

9. Colombia

Camilo reported on the attitude of the Colombian PST leadership toward the resolution adopted by the United Secretariat at its meeting of January 27-29, 1978, concerning the crisis in the Colombian PST. He also gave initial information on a special congress called by the PST leadership, which took place on March 31-April 2, as well as giving the PST leadership's assessment of the electoral situation in Colombia leading up to the presidential elections and the tactics to be pursued by Trotskyists.

Sylvain gave a report for the Bureau concerning the situation in Colombia in light of the January United Secretariat resolution.

Discussion.

MOTION presented by the PST-C leadership: El SU considera que el llamamiento de UNIOS a la UNO, FUP, ANAPO Socialista y a otros, a una convención para escoger un candidato de izquierda, no garantiza la continuidad de la campaña socialista en la línea de independencia de clase y es una conciliación con el frente populismo.

Translation: The United Secretariat considers that the call by UNIOS to UNO, FUP, ANAPO Socialista, and others for a convention to choose a left candidate does not guarantee the continuity

of the socialist campaign on a line of class independence and is a conciliation with popular frontism.

MOTION by Stateman: To postpone the discussion on Trotskyist policy in the Colombian elections until the next meeting of the United Secretariat and to empower the Bureau to issue a statement on this question if it sees fit.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

MOTION presented by the PST-C leadership: SOBRE LA SITUACION DEL PST COLOMBIANO. Considerando:

1. Que el CE y el CC colombiano aceptó y puso en práctica - aún sin estar de acuerdo- la resolución de enero de este secretariado unificado;

2. Que el PST colombiano demostró un amplio espíritu unitario al manifestar su disposición a aceptar nuevas condiciones exigidas por DP para la realización del congreso extraordinario, bajo la única y justa condición de que DP acatara la disciplina de los organismos del partido;

3. Que DP no aceptó ni puso en práctica la resolución de enero del SU, pese a que en ella se hallaban contempladas todas sus exigencias;

4. Que no es intención de este SU dejar a los camaradas de DP por fuera de la Internacional.

El SU resuelve:

1. Reconocer como única dirección del PST hasta la fecha del congreso extraordinario al CC elegido en el congreso de fundación y al CE designado por este;

2. Reconocer la legitimidad del congreso extraordinario realizado en Bogotá los días 31 de marzo y 1 y 2 de abril como único congreso del PST;

3. Reconocer a la dirección elegida por este congreso como la dirección del PST;

4. Instar fuertemente a los camaradas que integran DP a integrarse individualmente o como tendencia a una de las dos organizaciones simpatizantes de la IV Internacional existentes en Colombia: el PST y la LCR; o bien a constituir una nueva organización simpatizante de la IV Internacional con un nombre distinto al de PST.

Translation: ON THE SITUATION OF THE PST OF COLOMBIA. Whereas:

1. The EC and the CC of the PST-C accepted and put in practice the January resolution of the USec without agreeing with it;

2. The PST-C accepted the new demands posed by DP [the Proletarian Democracy Tendency] for its participation in the special convention, demanding only that the DP submit to the discipline of the leadership organs elected at that convention, thereby proving that it is decidedly in favor of party unity;

3. The DP Tendency neither accepted nor put in practice the January resolution of the USec, even though this resolution took their demands into account;

4. The USec does not have the least intention of separating the comrades of DP from the International.

The United Secretariat resolves:

1. To recognize that the legitimate leadership of the PST up until the special convention is the Central Committee elected by the founding congress and the Executive Committee elected by this CC.

2. To recognize that the special congress held in Bogotá on March 31, April 1 and 2 is the real and legitimate convention of the PST.

3. To recognize the leadership elected at that congress as the legitimate leadership of the PST.

4. To strongly urge the comrades who adhere to the Proletarian Democracy Tendency to join -- either individually or as a tendency -- one of the two sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International in Colombia: the PST or the LCR, or else to constitute a new sympathizing organization of the Fourth International under a new name and to discontinue using the name of the PST.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 0
 Against: 19 (Allio, Antonio, Aubin, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Enrique, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Marline, Otto, Petersen, Stateman, Susan, Thérèse, Walter)
 Abstaining: 0
 Not voting: 1 (Martinez)

DEFEATED

MOTION presented by the PST-C leadership: Considerando:

Que el SU ha aceptado sin consultar ni enviar copia a la dirección del PST-C una supuesta lista de "mas de 300 militantes y aspirantes" del partido;

Que los miembros del SU, Duret y Enrique, a espaldas de la dirección del PST-C ayudaron o testificaron la confección de esa lista;

Que este desconocimiento de la dirección del PST-C sobre problemas internos del propio partido es una clara violación de los estatutos de la IV Internacional y de las relaciones que tiene que tener al SU con las direcciones de los partidos nacionales;

El SU resuelve:

Dar por no presentada la lista hasta que la dirección del PST-C la reciba y pase un informe sobre la misma;

Llamar al atención a los compañeros Duret y Enrique por no haber trabajado de común acuerdo y tener informada a la dirección del PST-C de su intervención en la firma de la lista.

Translation: Whereas:

The United Secretariat accepted as valid a list of "more than 300 members and candidates" of the party without consulting the leadership of the PST-C or even sending a copy of that list to that leadership.

Comrades Duret and Enrique, members of the USec, helped to make that list or witnessed it behind the back of the PST leadership.

This fact of not consulting the PST leadership in regard to internal problems of the organization constitutes an obvious violation of the statutes of the Fourth International and of the relationship that the USec must maintain with the leaderships of the national parties.

The United Secretariat resolves:

To consider that the said list has not been presented until

the leadership of the PST-C has received a copy and sends a report on it.

To call comrades Duret and Enrique to order for having acted without due consultation with the PST leadership and without informing this leadership of the fact that they had witnessed the list.

DEFEATED UNANIMOUSLY

MOTION: To adopt the following resolution:

En su reunion de los pasados dias 27, 28 y 29 de enero, el Secretariado Unificado adopto una resolucio[n] sobre la crisis en el PST de Colombia. Esta resolucio[n] acababa con el siguiente parrafo :

"El Secretariado Unificado urge fuertemente a la mayoria del Comité Central de poner fin a sus violaciones de los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional y del PST, retirando las medidas disciplinarias tomadas en contra de los miembros de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria, reinstalandolos inmediatamente a sus posiciones en el partido, y realizando una Convencion Especial convocada por mas de un tercio de los miembros del PST."

Hasta la fecha del 28 de marzo, el Secretariado Unificado no recibió ninguna respuesta oficial de la mayoria del Comité Central del PST a su resolucio[n], a pesar de haber comunicado esta resolucio[n] al Comité Ejecutivo del PST inmediatamente despues de la reunion del Secretariado Unificado. El Buro del SU envio una nueva carta al Comité Ejecutivo tocando este punto el 3 de Marzo.

El 28 de marzo, el Buro del Secretariado Unificado se entero a la vez por el articulo publicado en el No. 108 de El Socialista, fechado el 21 de marzo y por una carta del Comité Ejecutivo del PST, fechada el 27 de marzo y enviada por telefono, que la direccion del PST citaba a un congreso extraordinario para los dias 31 de marzo, 1 y 2 de abril.

En el memorandum del Comité Ejecutivo presentado a la presente reunion del Secretariado Unificado, se afirma que "Democracia Proletaria no participa de este congreso extraordinario del PST".

Ante esta situacion, el Secretariado Unificado reafirma la posicion que acordo en su pasada reunion :

1) El Secretariado Unificado considera que es necesario realizar a corto plazo un Congreso Extraordinario del PST; ese congreso necesita una preparacion adecuada y la plena discusion y participacion de todos los miembros del partido, cualquiera que sea su posicion de tendencia. El congreso extraordinario convocado por el Comité Ejecutivo del PST para el 31 de marzo, 1 y 2 de abril no cumple con estos requisitos.

2) En la carta dirigida al Secretariado Unificado en fecha del 27 de marzo, el Comité Ejecutivo del PST afirma que : "El Comité Ejecutivo, a pesar de su desacuerdo, resolvió aceptar totalmente, sin que siente precedentes, la resolucio[n] del Secretariado Unificado; levantar todas las sanciones, reconocer a la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria, llamar a los compañeros de dicha tendencia a reintegrarse a los organismos del partido y

celebrar el Congreso el día 31 de marzo, fecha para la cual habia citado tambien la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria".

Esta declaracion del Comité Ejecutivo diciendo que han decidido levantar todas las sanciones y reincorporar todos los militantes a sus puestos de responsabilidad en el partido, es un paso adelante muy positivo que solo puede ayudar a la preparacion de este Congreso y a salvaguardar la unidad del PST.

3) En el mismo sentido, el Secretariado Unificado favorece la puesta en pie de una comision paritaria integrada por representantes de la mayoria del Comité Ejecutivo del PST y por representantes de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria. Este organismo comun formado por representantes de la mayoria del Comité Ejecutivo del PST y por la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria se estatuye para investigar sobre el estatuto del conjunto de los miembros del PST, ayudar en solucionar todos los obstaculos que podran aparecer en la preparacion del congreso unitario, y presentar sus conclusiones en el mismo congreso. El Secretariado Unificado recomienda la participacion de una representacion del Secretariado Unificado a titulo de observador en esta comision paritaria.

Translation: At its meeting of January 27, 28, 29, the United Secretariat passed a resolution concerning the crisis in the PST of Colombia. This resolution concluded with the following paragraph:

"The United Secretariat strongly urges the majority of the Central Committee to end its violations of the statutes of the Fourth International and the PST by withdrawing the disciplinary measures taken against the members of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency, restoring them forthwith to their positions in the party, and holding the special convention called for by more than one-third of the membership of the PST."

Until March 28, the United Secretariat had received no official response from the majority of the Central Committee of the PST, even though the PST Executive Committee was informed of this motion immediately following the United Secretariat meeting. The Bureau sent another letter on this specific point on March 3 to the Executive Committee.

On March 28, the United Secretariat Bureau learned -- both from the article published in No. 108 of El Socialista, dated March 21, and from a letter transmitted by telephone from the Executive Committee of the PST -- that the PST leadership had called a special congress for March 31, April 1 and 2.

The memorandum submitted by the Executive Committee to the present meeting of the United Secretariat says that "Democracia Proletaria is not participating in this special congress of the PST."

Given this situation, the United Secretariat reaffirms the position it adopted at its last meeting:

1) The United Secretariat believes it is necessary that a special congress of the PST should be held in the near future; this congress should be adequately prepared, with a full discussion and the full participation of all members of the party whatever tendency they might support. The special congress called

by the Executive Committee of the PST for March 31, April 1 and 2 does not fulfill these conditions.

2) In its letter to the United Secretariat dated March 27, the PST Executive Committee states that: "Despite its disagreement, the Executive Committee decides to accept totally the resolution of the United Secretariat -- although this should not be considered as setting a precedent; decides to lift all disciplinary measures, to recognize the Proletarian Democracy Tendency, to call on all comrades of this tendency to rejoin the bodies of the party, and to participate in the congress on March 31, the date which has also been set by the Proletarian Democracy Tendency."

The statement by the Executive Committee that they have decided to lift all disciplinary measures and to reintegrate all members to their posts of responsibility in the party is a positive step forward which can help to make possible the preparation of such a congress and to preserve the unity of the PST.

3) Toward the same end, the United Secretariat favors the establishment of a parity commission composed of representatives of the majority of the Executive Committee of the PST and of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency. This common body, formed by the majority of the PST Executive Committee and by the Proletarian Democracy Tendency, should be formed to investigate the status of the entire membership of the PST, to help in resolving all obstacles which might arise in the preparation of a united congress, and to present its conclusions to that congress. The United Secretariat recommends that the United Secretariat be represented in this parity commission with the status of observer.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 19 (Allio, Antonio, Aubin, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Enrique, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Holden, Manuel, Marline, Otto, Petersen, Stateman, Susan, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 0
Abstaining: 0
Not voting: 1 (Martinez)

CARRIED

10. East Europe

Georges discussed the need for the sections to integrate slogans directed against the denial of democratic freedoms in East Europe in the demonstrations to take place on May 1. He asked that the sections assign one comrade to be in permanent contact with the East Europe Commission for information and liaison.

11. Sri Lanka

Walter reported on new developments in the fight against the government's attempt to restrict trade-union freedom, the role our comrades are playing in helping to organize trade-union response to these attacks, and the need for the sections to encourage international solidarity and publicize the situation in their press. (See Bureau circular dated April 6, 1978.)

12. Peru

Martinez reported on the situation in Peru -- the rise of mass mobilizations and the gains the mass movement has made, which include amnesty for exiled militants, the context this provides for the upcoming elections for a constituent assembly, the two electoral fronts formed to the left of the Communist Party in which Trotskyist organizations are participating, and the situation and prospects for fusion of the Trotskyist organizations in Peru.

Discussion.

MOTION by Martinez: El S.U. ve con interés el desarrollo de la experiencia de los camaradas peruanos frente a las elecciones para Asamblea Constituyente en el marco de agudización de la lucha de clases. Pocas veces los trotskistas tenemos oportunidades tan apropiadas para presentar nuestra programa y dar pasos adelante en la construcción de nuestro partido. Comprendemos la difícil que es enfrentar esta tarea para los miembros de la Cuarta Internacional en el Perú, quienes, casi en su totalidad jamás hasta hoy habían participado en un proceso electoral (el última fue hace 15 años) y menos habían discutido cómo encararlo. El S.U. exhorta a los camaradas peruanos a enviar material sobre las elecciones para su difusión a nivel internacional.

Translation: The United Secretariat is following with interest the development of the experience of the Peruvian comrades faced with elections for a constituent assembly in a framework of sharpening class struggle. Not very often have Trotskyists had such a favorable opportunity to present our program and to take steps forward in the building of our party. We understand that it is a difficult task for the members of the Fourth International in Peru who in their overwhelming majority have never before had the opportunity to participate in an electoral campaign (the last one took place 15 years ago) and to discuss how to conduct it. The USec urges the Peruvian comrades to send material on the elections to be distributed on an international level.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

MOTION by Martinez: En setiembre 1976 el S.U. se manifestó unánimemente en favor de la unificación en el Perú. Hemos visto con agrado la aprobación por los camaradas peruanos de este punto de vista. Desgraciadamente el proceso de unificación ha sufrido muchos tropiezos hasta hoy día, a diferencia de lo sucedido en otros países donde procesos iniciados más tarde ya culminaron exitosamente. Exhortamos a los camaradas a reiniciar los esfuerzos por la unificación. En las actuales circunstancias de la lucha de clases en el Perú esa unificación daría un impulso notable al trotskismo.

Translation: In September 1976 the USec took a unanimous stand in favor of unification in Peru. We were pleased to note that the Peruvian comrades agreed with this point of view. Unfortunately until now the process of unification has been hampered by many obstacles, contrary to what occurred in other countries where unification processes were begun much later but have already been successful. We urge the comrades to relaunch their efforts toward unification. In the present circumstances of the class struggle in Peru, this unification would give a strong impetus to Trotskyism.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

meeting adjourned.

