

INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION BULLETIN

DECEMBER, 1951

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
THREE YEARS OF THE NEW COURSE OF TROTSKYISM (Report on the Activity of the IEC and the IS between the 2nd and 3rd World Congress -- by Walter)	1
MINUTES OF THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS	16
I. RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS ADOPTED AFTER THE REPORTS OF COMMISSIONS	21
II. DECLARATIONS	26
III. AMENDMENTS AND RESOLUTIONS REJECTED OR NOT INCLUDED	29

Note: The material in this bulletin has been translated from the French Internal Bulletins of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International. It contains documents of the Third Congress of the Fourth International not to be circulated to the public.

Published by the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

25¢

THREE YEARS OF THE NEW COURSE OF TROTSKYISM

(Report on the Activity of the IEC and the IS Between the
2nd and 3rd World Congress -- by Walter)

The 2nd World Congress of the Fourth International inaugurated a new stage in the history of international Trotskyism. The period of the elaboration of program and its defense against revisionist tendencies had led to the selection of an international leadership, which was a direct expression of the experience of the principal sections and enjoyed the confidence of the great majority of our movement. The leadership emerging from the 2nd Congress had as its task the realization of the orientation which the documents adopted at the Congress had laid down: the transformation of the Trotskyist organizations from propaganda circles into real revolutionary organizations rooted in the mass movements of their respective countries. With the aim of realizing this reorientation, the International leadership was to concentrate its activity in the following domains: begin to act as the leadership of a world party, i.e., to launch and direct international agitation and propaganda campaigns; to aid the national sections to grasp the peculiarities of the workers' movement of their countries so as to be able to determine the concrete road for the building of a revolutionary party in these peculiar conditions; to aid the sections in turn to select an adequate leadership, capable of stimulating and orienting the new course of Trotskyism, its integration in the mass movement in the concrete conditions of their country. The present report of activity will seek to determine to what degree the leadership elected at the 2nd World Congress succeeded in finding the solution for these tasks, what have been the principal successes and the principal failures and what obstacles have to be eliminated for the purpose of extending the transformation of Trotskyism into the genuine revolutionary leadership of the international workers' movement to the whole International in the coming years.

The new course of Trotskyism, as it began to be realized in the three past years not only signified the elimination of a series of defects, inevitable products of the past isolation of our movement: sectarianism, lack of understanding of the real mass movement, impatience and instability of leaderships, activity essentially turned inward, mechanical opposition between the formation of cadres and mass work, academicism, elaboration of plans of action without regard to the possibilities of their realization in practice, etc. For the first time it signified the establishment of an entirely new relationship in the history of the world workers' movement between the international leadership and the principal national sections. The Fourth International has substituted for the abstract internationalism of the 2nd International -- where the International appeared only as the sum of the national sections -- and for the mechanical internationalism of the 3rd International in the Stalinist epoch -- where the International appeared only as the extension of a single section, that of the USSR -- a really dialectical concept of internationalism, the expression of the contemporary world reality of the class struggle. It is precisely the international leadership which attempts to combine in itself the whole of the experiences of the world workers' movement and on this basis to determine a world strategy from the standpoint of world dynamism as a whole, which best succeeds in grasping the peculiarities and the specifically national tasks of the workers' movements of the principal countries. National leaderships really

integrated in the workers' movements of their countries provide the possibility for subjecting the orientation of the International to the only decisive test, that of action. Thus the international and national leaderships model themselves upon each other, reciprocally influencing each other in a more and more harmonious way, which is the real measure of the future progress of our movement.

1. The Functioning of the Leading Center of the International

The international leadership as it was constituted by the 2nd Congress in the International Executive Committee has undergone only minor changes within the past two years: the expulsion of Haston, regular member of the IEC and of Grant, alternate member, both representing the former majority of the RCP and embodying that tendency of British Trotskyism which obstinately refused to become integrated in the International and to assimilate the new course of Trotskyism. The history of this tendency which is being written by our British comrades should become known to the entire International; it represents a typical example of the rapid degeneration of any tendency which seeks its salvation in a national particularism outside of the broad paths of development of the International. It likewise indicates how theoretical eclecticism as well as a lack of understanding of the real mass movement rapidly leads to such political degeneration. Haston, who at the 2nd World Congress was still claiming to be the representative of the "true" orthodox Trotskyism, has today become the bitterest enemy of our movement; after having fought for years against entry into the Labor Party, he has become a direct agent of the reformist bureaucracy; after having long defended a pro-Stalinist orientation, he now plays second fiddle in the big anti-communist orchestra. His expulsion from the IEC at the 8th Plenum after he had left the organization and committed acts of open treachery terminated a long political struggle in which no one can deny the patient and flexible attitude of the International leadership which did everything possible to really integrate the Haston tendency in the International.

If all our difficulties are kept in mind, one can say without false pride that the IS has really succeeded in carrying out considerable work in numerous fields. Despite the limited number of its members, some of whom have had to travel frequently, the IS has held regular meetings almost weekly in which administrative questions of the center itself were discussed as well as very numerous organizational and political questions of interest to the International as a whole or to particular groups or sections. It has assured the publication of the resolutions, decisions and the Manifesto of the 2nd World Congress as well as a condensed version of the minutes (the political resolutions have moreover been published by the effort of various sections either as a whole or in part in the English, German, Spanish, Vietnamese, Dutch, Greek, Chinese, Italian, etc., languages). It has assured the publication of 33 issues of the IS Internal Discussion Bulletin, nine of which were for the discussion for the 3rd World Congress. It has published the resolutions and the minutes of the IEC plenums each time within a few weeks after their conclusion. It has assured the publication of 15 issues of the magazine Quatrieme Internationale as well as about 20 issues of the International Press Service. If the frequency of the monthly publication of the IPS and of a bi-monthly magazine have not been maintained it is due essentially to financial reasons. In addition the IS has published several public

statements (on the forged testament of Leon Trotsky, on the Tito affair, on the Korean war, on Natalia Trotsky's break with the International, etc.); it has prepared for plenums of the IEC with resolutions and draft resolutions; it has published four open letters to the YCP; an open letter to the Chinese CP and two First of May manifestoes (1949 and 1951). A more or less intimate collaboration in the leadership of several sections, to which we will return, should be added to this political activity.

The entire logic of the course our movement has now taken requires the maintenance and enlargement of all these activities. To react both theoretically and by agitation and propaganda actions to the principal turns of the international situation; to participate even more directly than in the past in the leadership of a number of sections or combination of sections, to prepare and to assure plenary meetings of the International leadership; to contribute to the various theoretical magazines which our international movement now publishes -- all these tasks are posed with even greater acuteness in the period of preparation of the imperialist war which is now ahead of us. Their execution requires the strengthening of the center both in cadres and in finances for which we will propose concrete measures.

2. The Elaboration of the Political Line of the International

The principal task of the International leadership remains that of the elaboration of the political line of the International, on the programmatic base which has been confirmed and definitively assimilated since the Second World Congress, in a period of sharp turns and tumultuous developments which submit the stability and the class line of every revolutionary organization to a heavy test, especially if the organization is weak and only slightly integrated in the ranks of the proletariat. The task of a genuine revolutionary leadership in an eminently revolutionary epoch is above all to maintain an orientation which can be utilized to take full advantage of the revolutionary possibilities offered the movement by the situation and to adapt the line and the language of the movement to the new needs which are caused by each new turn in the international situation. At the same time, this leadership has to maintain the organization on the basis of its own program and to react with tact and energy against petty-bourgeois pressures on the one side and Stalinist pressures on the other hand which attempt at each new turn to divert the International from its programmatic base.

The great international events which have occurred since the Second World Congress have on several occasions necessitated a re-examination of the international situation as a whole by the leadership. The fact that this re-examination has resulted in a correct interpretation within the framework of our Trotskyist program of convulsions often of colossal dimensions, has once more confirmed, if there was still any need for such confirmation, the validity of this program as a principal weapon for interpreting and changing the decadent capitalist world.

In face of the rupture of the YCP with the Cominform; in face of the development of the third Chinese revolution; in face of the beginning of the world economic depression, the outbreak of the Korean war, the changing of the international relationship of forces and the

speeded up pace of American imperialism toward the preparation and the unleashing of the Third World War -- in face of all these developments which have jolted the defective theoretical structures of all other formations in the international workers' movement from top to bottom, our International has known how to react in good time and how to base itself on a more correct comprehension of the objective situation in order to readjust or accentuate its revolutionary activity in its principal fields. The time of sterile discussions is definitively over in the Fourth International. And the important discussions which have taken place in our movement since the 2nd World Congress have been strikingly marked by this comprehension thus assimilated by the great majority of our cadres: for real revolutionists, theory has meaning only if it serves as the basis for real and effective activity in the class struggle.

The first great problem the International had to cope with after the 2nd World Congress, and in which it was able to demonstrate clearly and in practice the meaning of its new course of integration into the real mass movement, was the Yugoslav affair. On the morrow of Tito's rupture with the Kremlin, the IS formulated its opinion on this affair and summoned the entire International and the world revolutionary vanguard to the assistance of Yugoslavia. At the same time it outlined in resolutions submitted to and adopted by the 6th Plenum the general origins and the possible tendencies of development of the Yugoslav revolution. This analysis has entirely stood up under the test of events. These problems have been clarified after a long international discussion extending from the 7th to the 9th Plenum, the conclusions of which are contained in the resolution adopted by the 9th Plenum and now submitted with some amendments for adoption by the World Congress.

It is not necessary to return here to the political basis of this discussion which has been covered at length in the debate on the Yugoslav resolution presented to this Congress. Within the framework of the present report it will suffice to indicate here that the International leadership has constantly sought to combine the development of theoretical analysis with the needs of practical action of our sections in the Yugoslav affair. However, it has never for a moment allowed itself to be drawn into a pragmatic degradation of its all-sided conception of the Yugoslav affair; and the time it has devoted to the discussion of theoretical problems raised by this question, far from having been lost, has shown on several occasions that this was the precondition in adjusting its practical activity of the sections toward the successive turns of the Yugoslav affair. We can affirm today that only Trotskyism has been able to successfully demonstrate the importance, the promise and the limits of this affair, and that only our theory of the permanent revolution provides an understanding of both the greatness and the pitifulness of the YCP.

The discussion on the Yugoslav affair very soon aroused a discussion on the problem of the evolution and the nature of the buffer-zone countries. This discussion did not correspond as much to a need of re-examining what the 2nd World Congress had declared on the question of these countries as to the need of taking into consideration the new developments which had taken place since the 2nd World Congress and especially since the eruption of the Yugoslav affair. The resolution adopted on this subject by the 7th Plenum marked a first impor-

tant stage in the readjustment of our position. The discussion opened by that Plenum, as well as the events which followed in the buffer-zone countries, has enabled the IS to present to the 3rd World Congress a unanimous draft resolution on the nature of the buffer-zone countries which you have already discussed. The Theses of the 9th Plenum as well as the discussion documents written by IS members -- "Where Are We Going?" by Comrade Pablo and Comrade Germain's "Ten Theses" -- have attempted to place this re-evaluation of the nature of the buffer-zone countries within the framework of our conception of Stalinism as a whole and of the contemporary world and have demonstrated that this does not in any way destroy the cohesion and unity of structure of our program.

The discussion on the Yugoslav affair and the buffer-zone countries had hardly begun when an event occurred in the Far East whose historic importance is hardly even grasped by us today: the victory of the revolutionary armies of Mao Tse-tung over the power of the bourgeoisie and the landlords. This victory had not been foreseen, at least not within this period of time by our movement. The 2nd World Congress had rather counted on a prolongation of the civil war over a long period. A rapid re-evaluation was required here as well, connected with a re-examination of the nature and tendencies of development of the Chinese CP. This work was begun by the resolutions on this question at the 7th and 8th Plenums, by the Theses of the 9th Plenum, by various articles written by members of the International leadership. This analysis of the Chinese revolution permits the International leadership to deepen its comprehension -- which was already expressed in the documents of the 2nd World Congress -- of the exceptional importance, decisive for the present epoch, of all the revolutionary movements of the Far East. That is why the outbreak of the war in Korea did not take our movement by surprise but very rapidly permitted a unanimous alignment of the International on the position taken by the IS in its declaration of July 1950 and elaborated still further in Comrade Pablo's article on the Korean war and finally made precise in the 9th Plenum Theses. All the clarifications that we have made in our understanding of the international situation since the 2nd World Congress, of the importance of the Asian revolution, of the economic crisis threatening world capitalism and of the crisis of Stalinism represented the basis on which our organization once more was the only tendency in the entire world workers' movement to define a correct position toward the Korean war. The assembling of all these clarifications for the purpose of analyzing the world situation as a whole which has profoundly changed since the 2nd World Congress; to determine the perspectives of development for the years to come on the basis of this analysis and thus to work out the grand lines of political orientation of the International -- this task considered necessary by the great majority of the cadres of our movement was successfully realized by the Theses of the 9th Plenum. Its result is noticeable today. We can say without exaggeration that for the first time in its history, our movement is today united not only in its programmatic conceptions but even in its evaluation of the concrete political situation, in its evaluation of the political perspectives and the orientation which it will have to follow in the coming years. This remarkable progress in political homogeneity will mark an important stage of growth in the history of the Fourth International.

3. The Organization of Campaigns and International Actions

We have already indicated that one of the principal characteristics of the new course of Trotskyism resides in the fact that the International leadership has attempted to organize real international campaigns to realize a series of objectives which flowed from the analysis of the world situation as a whole. The necessity of such a campaign was evident after the 2nd World Congress with the eruption of the Yugoslav affair. Several circulars sent to the sections fixed the aims of this campaign as follows: (a) To draw the attention of the working class vanguard to the importance of the Yugoslav affair by means of press propaganda, leaflets, resolutions adopted in mass organizations, by public meetings and rallies, and to mobilize proletarian and liberal public opinion for the assistance of the RFPY threatened by the Kremlin and Wall Street. This campaign assumed an especially broad character in France and Great Britain. Some five meetings and public rallies were organized in Paris around the Yugoslav affair. For the first time in France our movement succeeded in becoming the center of a united front action with broad strata of youth, oppositionist communist intellectuals, centrist elements, etc., thanks to its resolute defense of Yugoslavia. In Great Britain the Trotskyists succeeded in mobilizing vanguard sections of the labor movement, the trade unions and the youth for the defense of Yugoslavia. This whole campaign reached its climax during the summer of 1950 with the sending of youth brigades to Yugoslavia in which our French comrades mobilized more than 1,000 youth. The dispatching of these brigades was coordinated on the spot by the International leadership. In addition to an important English brigade, also participating were the Belgian, Italian, Vietnamese and Dutch sections whose action for Yugoslavia, while assuming more of a propagandist form, was not lacking in vigor. The Trotskyist organizations in the USA, Canada, Uruguay, Argentina and Ceylon, while understandably late in entering the campaign participated in it energetically throughout the year 1950. In several of these countries, as well as in India and in Australia, it was thanks to the efforts of the Trotskyists that the Yugoslav affair was posed before working class public opinion. In the USA a broad campaign was undertaken which was to have culminated by the dispatching of a large youth brigade but the action was sabotaged and stopped by the Yugoslav leaders as was also partially the case elsewhere with similar possibilities and initiatives, in Italy and Germany for example.

(b) By means of contacts with representatives of the YCP abroad, by the sending of our comrades to Yugoslavia, by the penetration of our literature into Yugoslavia to inform the Yugoslav communist masses of the action undertaken in their defense in order to thus facilitate their comprehension of our criticism of the policy of their leaders and to penetrate their country with the ideas of Trotskyism, which had been unknown and slandered in the past. In a large number of countries (France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Canada, Argentina, etc.) these contacts were established and at first evolved favorably until September 1950 when they came to a sudden halt as a result of the right turn of Yugoslav foreign policy. Three trips to Yugoslavia were made by members of the International leadership. An international delegation composed of leading French, Vietnamese and Ceylonese militants went to Belgrade for May 1st, 1950. In Austria a group of our comrades collaborated in a paper edited by

the Yugoslavs on the line of our movement. In Italy a similar collaboration occurred on Politica Nuova which was inspired by the Yugoslavs. In France our comrades politically directed the paper of the youth brigades. Finally, it was in Germany that this action had its most important effects with the entry of our section into the UAP.

After the sharp right turn of the policy of the YCP as a result of the UN action in Korea, a clear delineation of our movement in regards to the YCP was called for, especially because certain sections had somewhat relaxed their criticism of the policy of the YCP. The delay with which the International made this turn gave it a very sharp form which caused hesitations notably in the ranks of the French section. Since then, despite the sending of the open letter of the IS to members of the YCP in January 1951, action in defense of Yugoslavia, especially in face of imperialist blackmail and pressure, has been very limited on the part of numerous sections. One can say, however, taking these negative aspects into consideration, that as a whole the Yugoslav campaign represents the first successful enterprise of this type undertaken by our movement since 1945.

The outbreak of the Korean war led the International leadership to launch a second international campaign for the support of North Korea and revolutionary China at grips with imperialism. The aim of this campaign was to denounce the lies of the imperialists and their agents to the international working class vanguard public, as well as to denounce all those who wanted to remain "neutral" in the just war carried on by the Korean and Chinese masses. It was to expose all the barbarism of the imperialist intervention, to exalt the heroism of the struggle of the colonial masses and to denounce the criminal game played by the Kremlin which utilized the struggle of the colonial masses to "neutralize" imperialist strength, while being careful not to give sufficient aid to North Korea and especially to China to permit a rapid victory on their part.

In a general way, all our sections carried on a vigorous press campaign on this subject, and in several countries like Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Australia, ours were the only voices to reveal the real enormity of the crimes of the imperialists in Korea. But it was especially the Trotskyists of Great Britain and the USA which were capable in this situation of unfolding a broad campaign of agitation and action. By a remarkable press campaign, by the three open letters of Comrade Cannon to President Truman and to Congress, by their electoral campaigns centered around the withdrawal of American troops from Korea, our friends in the USA defended the revolutionary line in the midst of the anti-communist war hysteria which was reaching its climax. In Great Britain, the Trotskyists have provided an example of the agitational possibilities of a vanguard organization in the present period. By its paper, by leaflets, by the publication of a pamphlet, by numerous speeches in LP meetings and in unions, and especially by the organization of anti-war conferences in London, Birmingham, Manchester, etc., in which hundreds of delegates officially representing sections of the mass movement participated, the British Trotskyists placed themselves at the head of the anti-imperialist mass movement and surpassed the Stalinists in possibilities of action.

Outside of these two campaigns for the defense of Yugoslavia and Korea, the International leadership has attempted, with rather partial

success, to coordinate actions of smaller scope: that of the Congress of the Peoples against Imperialism and that of the defense of the Spanish proletariat.

Beginning with the summer of 1948, the IS had drawn the attention of our sections to the importance of the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism which came together at the time on the initiative of two centrist leaders, Jean Rous and Fenner Brockway, and some important nationalist organizations of several colonial countries. Three members of the IS as well as representatives of our Ceylonese, French, Vietnamese and Palestinian sections participated in the first Congress of Peoples. A representative of the IS as well as of the French, English and Vietnamese comrades participated regularly, along with the intermittent participation of a representative of the Ceylonese section, in the work of the Executive Committee of the Congress. There seemed to be broad possibilities of penetration in the nationalist organizations, especially the African, especially after the pro-imperialist turn of the leaders of this movement at the time of the outbreak of the Korean war. But the fact that we encountered only the leaders of these movements in the Congress, who were partly opportunistic, and that the French and English Trotskyists particularly had not succeeded in organizing real work in the ranks of these colonial nationalist organizations limited the positive results of this action.

When the general strike in Barcelona took place, a broad campaign was launched in favor of the Spanish proletariat and against the deals of the Western governments with the butcher Franco. Unfortunately, in most cases this campaign did not go beyond the literary stage. The Trotskyists in the USA participated in a protest demonstration before the Spanish consulate. In Great Britain they succeeded in having resolutions adopted in a number of unions. Only in France and Switzerland did they take the initiative of a public demonstration against Franco. These were united front demonstrations although only the one organized by our Swiss comrades can be considered a success (around 500 participants).

4. Toward the Formation of Adequate Trotskyist Leaderships in the Principal Countries.

The situation of our movement in a number of countries at the time of the 2nd World Congress was hardly brilliant: Our section in France was going through a big crisis as a result of the desertion of its petty-bourgeois right wing which had joined the RDR before disappearing completely; in Great Britain, the movement was divided into two fragments, one of which entered the LP and the other began to disintegrate; in Germany, the organization, composed of completely isolated militants, was both disunited internally, without organizational structure or its own political physiognomy, and in disagreement with the International on important points of our program, notably the question of the USSR; in Italy, where we were concluding our unfortunate experience with the POC, there were no more than a half-dozen Trotskyists who had assimilated our program; in Spain, the small Trotskyist group had been disorganized by Munis and was beginning to disintegrate.

For all these sections, a reorganization was begun under the direct responsibility of the IS, partly before and partly after the 2nd World Congress. This work signified in the first place the forma-

tion of a central nucleus of Trotskyist cadres firmly attached to our program, capable of grasping the particular conditions of each country for the purpose of integrating our organizations in the mass movement. After three years of work, the balance sheet today presents an entirely different picture and Spain is the only country where it can be said that the base for a real Trotskyist party has not yet been laid.

In Great Britain, the work of our comrades has led to the unification of all the Trotskyist forces, those who had not assimilated the new course of Trotskyism having left, and then betrayed our movement. Through the real links of most of their militants with the mass movement the British Trotskyists are preparing a really leading role for Trotskyism in the struggles ahead. This experience must be considered as the most successful of all enterprises since the 2nd World Congress.

In Italy the majority of the leadership of the socialist youth of the PSLI had already been won to our ideas before the 2nd World Congress. What was involved then was the problem of winning this entire tendency to our ideas and of selecting real Trotskyist cadres from its midst who would be capable of building a revolutionary organization and of discarding all social democratic methods. Through the publication of the magazine Iva Internazionale, through the organization of a cadre school, through the constitution of the GCR, through their reorientation by the publication of the paper Bandiera Rossa, through the shifting of the center of gravity of the organization to the North, through the recruitment of militants from the CP and through the holding of three national conferences since 1948, this task is today on the road to a solution. The conference of Italian Trotskyists which was held at the end of July 1951 in Rome demonstrates the serious progress made not only in political maturity but even more in the organizational seriousness of our cadres and their comprehension of the specific roads for the building of the party.

In Germany, the IS attempted first of all to aid in the political clarification of our section by the publication of a theoretical magazine, Die Internationale, whose appearance however could not be maintained because of financial and technical difficulties. It was especially since the entry of our section into the UAP, realized in the summer of 1950 with the full approval of the IS that the new course of Trotskyism began in Germany. This entry permitted our comrades to overcome their isolation and to shake off their small circle existence past. It likewise enabled us to win over a number of cadres of great value who for the first time in Germany constitute the elements for a real Trotskyist leadership. But the most important result achieved through the organization of our tendency in the UAP is the attainment of a high degree of political homogeneity and the assimilation of the political line of the International, which will facilitate the solution of future tasks in the building of the party, on which a special commission of the Congress will report later.

The revival of our movement in France, which was successively deserted by both right wing and ultra-left tendencies, took place under the signpost of the building of a Trotskyist workers' party. For the first time our movement today has a number of proletarian cadres rooted in their class, even if most of them are quite young. The successes gained during the campaign in defense of Yugoslavia and in the trade union work around the "Unite" tendency demonstrate in fact that our movement in France is also realizing its new course. However the differences which have developed between the majority of the CC of the PCI and the International leadership since the beginning of this year demonstrate that this organization does not as yet possess a mature and homogeneous leadership which is capable of making the necessary turns with authority so as to build the party within the specific framework of the French working class movement. It is to be hoped that

this leadership will be definitively forged in the course of the present discussions between the PCI and the International and within the PCI.

After the ceasing of activity on the part of our small Spanish group, the GCI, our Spanish work has been for a long time limited to contact from above with the POUM. The prestige won by the International through its Yugoslav action has for the first time created a more appropriate climate for the penetration of our ideas in this organization. The political differentiation which has begun to take place within the POUM as a consequence of the revival of the resistance movement of the Spanish masses and of the false position of the leadership of this organization on the revolutionary movement of the colonial masses has favored the formation of the nucleus of a Bolshevik tendency within the POUM.

On the positive side of the balance sheet of the activity of the International leadership in Europe, mention should be made of the establishment of a contact with the revolutionary wing of the Ukrainian underground movement, the constitution of a Trotskyist organization in Sweden and the winning over of a former founding leader of the Albanian Communist party to our movement.

So far as our other European organizations are concerned, our Dutch movement which possesses solid cadres has evolved in close contact with the International, seeking especially to develop its already numerous roots in the workers' movement and attempting to take advantage of the ferment in left social democratic, centrist and communist oppositionist circles in the sphere of adult as well as youth work. In Greece, our organization which works in very difficult conditions has sought to regroup its forces after the end of the civil war and the IS has attempted to orient it toward entry into mass organizations which provide the possibility of legal activity. Our Swiss organization has made an important turn toward mass work and toward the building of the revolutionary party in its country, in the course of which it has succeeded in greatly improving its relations with the IS and in working in greater harmony with it. In Denmark, our small group working in contact with the International leadership has consolidated itself and has acquired a greater degree of political homogeneity.

Our organization in Austria, in whose ranks are some of the oldest cadres in our European movement, has in the same period gone through a crisis of growth which was brought about largely by the endeavor of the leaders of this section to find the specific roads for the building of the revolutionary party in Austria. The division of the section into two groups which occurred at the 8th Plenum, the experiences acquired by work in the SP by the entrust group as well as by the majority of the section we hope will permit a regroupment of our forces in the not too distant future for the serious work of building a revolutionary left wing in the Austrian SP.

We have to enter on the debit side of the ledger the disappearance of the small Irish group, whose Shachtmanite representatives at the 2nd World Congress have declined into bourgeois nationalism whilst the sole survivor of the group has gone over to the side of the supporters of "state capitalism." Mention should also be made of the crisis which occurred in the Czech section after the April days in

1948. The crisis was due in the first place to Stalinist repression which the group suffered but also to its own errors in orientation. Mention should finally be made of the Belgian section, which has been marked by a chronic crisis of leadership, the consequence of which has been that the entry into the SPB, which was advised and approved by the IS, has not, despite the serious possibilities offered by this work, led to a real reorganization. Finally, mention should be made of the split in our Cypriot section which has been forced by repression into illegality.

Concerning our non-European sections, the intervention of the International leadership has been much more circumscribed and has not always been able to propel a process of political clarification and organizational regroupment to the necessary degree for the further progress of our movement in these parts of the world.

The negative effects have been least noticeable in the Anglo-Saxon countries where the Trotskyist organizations have in general a leadership which has already in past years discovered the specific road for the building of the party. The American Trotskyist organization, armed with the solidity and experience of its large cadre and with its theses on the American revolution which assigns to the American proletariat the leading place in the world upsurge of the socialist revolution, has resisted the ferocious anti-communist and anti-labor pressure of the past years to which all intermediary organizations have been and are succumbing. Despite temporary difficulties (financial difficulties, expulsion of members from certain unions) they have in general maintained their many roots in the mass working class movement and are preparing to exploit the numerous opportunities which will be provided them by the growing resistance of the masses against the preparation and the unleashing of the war. Mention should also be made that the Johnson-Forest tendency has left the organization on the eve of the Congress. The integration of our Australian, Canadian and South African organizations into the Laborite and Negro nationalist movements of their respective countries represents the correct road for these countries for the building of a revolutionary leadership.

In Latin America, after the 2nd World Congress, the IS has attempted to stimulate the formation of a Latin American bureau and the preparation of a Latin American conference. These efforts failed at first for reasons that will be made clear to you in the discussion of the Latin American question at the Congress later. However, with the aid of the IS, an important regroupment of our Latin American sections has occurred within the past year. We want to particularly greet the effort made by our Argentinian comrades of the GCI to assure a Spanish edition Quatrieme Internationale as well as by the comrades of most of the sections in constituting a committee to aid our persecuted Bolivian comrades. Important political progress has also been registered at the last Convention of our Bolivian section. The lack of real ties with the International has proved to be one of the principal factors for causing the present crisis which exists in our Chilean and Brazilian sections.

Mention should also be made of the many endeavors made between the 2nd and the 3rd World Congresses through the initiative both of the IS and of the SWP to improve relations with Comrade Natalia. Unfor-

Unfortunately these efforts were not crowned with success, and despite four successive visits as well as long discussions with leading cadres of our organization, Comrade Natalia was led by the logic of her revisionist positions on the USSR into a regrettable public break with the International.

The lack of direct intervention by the IS in the life of our sections in the Far East has had the most regrettable effects. It must be said that the International has not at any time had more than an ephemeral contact with our Chinese, Indian, Ceylonese and Vietnamese sections, not to speak of the small Trotskyist group in Japan with which there has only been an exchange of three or four letters in the past two years. It is only since the last Congress of the LSSP, which itself noted the loosening of ties with the International center, that contacts with one of our most important sections have been somewhat regularized. Only the organization of a Far Eastern bureau can permit a more active intervention in the life of these sections. Unfortunately, numerous financial, technical and human difficulties have prevented the formation of this bureau up to now.

This does not mean that the evolution of our movement in the Far East since the 2nd World Congress has been a negative one. On the positive side of the balance sheet there should be noted the formation of the first small Trotskyist group in Japan, the establishment of a first contact with the Indonesian revolutionary movement both by correspondence as well as by the visits of Comrades X. and Colvin, and especially the fusion of the two Trotskyist movements in Ceylon which paves the way for a big forward surge of our movement in that country. It is nonetheless true that the negative side of the balance sheet is a heavy one. It consists in the chronic disorganization of our movement in Vietnam, which was temporarily overcome by the arrival of our Chinese leaders in that country but then it was still further aggravated by the arrest of the principal Trotskyist leaders. This disorganization will only be remedied by the repatriation of the main cadres of the Vietnamese group in France which has important experience in the leadership of mass struggles. It consists in the political as well as organizational crisis of our Chinese section since Mao Tse-tung's victory. This crisis, which occurs in an organization with nuclei in several parts of the country as well as serious organization in Hong Kong, can be quickly overcome by an assimilation of the principal lessons of recent events. It consists especially in the fact that our Indian section in the SP, whose entry was politically approved by the IS but which however had serious misgivings from the beginning on the organizational arrangements of the entry, has undoubtedly led to a disorganization of our movement despite the positive results attained in several domains by the entrust work. One can say without exaggeration that the principal responsibility of the International leadership in the period opened by the 3rd World Congress consists in the reorganization of the situation in India, where our movement still has a chance of becoming the revolutionary leadership of the masses, but where this chance can also be lost to the Stalinists in the years to come. In Pakistan, our young organization has wrested the leadership of a legal youth organization from the Stalinists and has penetrated into the unions. Mention should finally be made of the bad situation of our sections in Egypt and Israel, which have been victims of repression and isolation.

5. The Principal Tasks of the Leadership Designated by the 3rd World Congress.

If the retrospective part of this report has been placed under the signpost of the positive achievements of our International, it is logical that to establish the tasks of the leadership emerging from the 3rd World Congress we should begin in the first place with the serious shortcomings of our work and we should determine our essential tasks with these shortcomings in mind. It is clear that if we ourselves wish to seriously work for the achievement of what we have stated throughout the political discussions of this Congress, the life and death question for our movement will be whether it is able to integrate itself into the real mass movement of the principal countries of the world which will be progressively drawn into the revolutionary upsurge. To stimulate this integration on an international scale; to aid our national sections in understanding the specific conditions of the workers' movement of their country; to hasten, at least in several countries, the transformation of our organizations into real revolutionary leaderships of the masses -- these are the tasks which flow from our conception of the present situation in the world and its tendencies of development. This task can be summarized in one slogan: deepen, accentuate and extend the new course of Trotskyism to the entire world!

The countries where our movement is now faced with similar tasks to those which were successfully resolved in Great Britain since the 2nd World Congress are primarily India, Argentina and Germany. For a whole series of objective reasons and because of the particular political physiognomy of the workers' movement in these countries, our movement possesses a real chance of becoming the effective revolutionary leadership of the proletarian vanguard in these countries. Given the key position which these countries occupy in Asia, Latin America and in western Europe, these possibilities impose a particular responsibility on the International leadership in aiding these sections in the formation of an adequate national leadership and in finding the proper road for the construction of the revolutionary party. For this reason we must envisage the sending of IS representatives to these countries for an extended period. We must especially draw the attention of the Ceylonese section to its very great responsibility in the development of the Indian work. Unfortunately certain possibilities which existed in Indonesia have already been lost as a result of our belated intervention. No similar situation should be allowed at any cost to repeat itself in India.

The IS will also have the task, in face of the coming rise of the revolutionary movement of the Spanish masses, to stimulate more than in the past the formation of a solid Spanish Trotskyist nucleus. For Italy, France, etc., the IS as in the past will follow closely the efforts of these sections in integrating themselves in the mass movement of their countries. The IS will likewise attempt to impel the penetration of our ideas in North Africa, Negro Africa and to reconstitute our organizations in the Near East.

The period of revolutionary convulsions before us requires more than ever the theoretical development of our cadres to a very high level. The regular bi-monthly appearance of our magazine, Quatrieme Internationale, an essential weapon for political orientation, is an indispensable necessity for this purpose. Its publication in Spanish

should be continued and broadened by the publication of a Latin American theoretical organ. The development of the German theoretical organ, the publication of a theoretical organ in Great Britain and in the Far East, as well as the resumption of an Italian theoretical organ, even in mimeographed form, will be indispensable in continuing to train our leading cadres.

In the period between the 2nd and 3rd World Congresses, the IS had envisaged the possibility of publishing a series of educational pamphlets and popularizations of the essential points of our program. Our financial weaknesses and lack of time prevented us from achieving this project. It will be valuable in the period ahead for the training of our cadres to achieve a number of minimum objectives:

(a) To publish an elementary course for classes organized by our German, Italian, Latin American, etc., sections, a task which has already been partly resolved by this Congress.

(b) To publish at least several key works of our movement in the German language which up to now are not available to the German public.

(c) To begin the project of the publication of Trotskyist works in Spanish in Latin America. These works can also serve in the training of our Spanish militants.

(d) To systematize the publication of Trotskyist pamphlets in Ceylon in English, especially for the use of our sections in the Far East.

Thus are laid down the tasks of the International leadership which more and more takes shape as the political and organizational leadership of a single world party. The progress made in the understanding and the practical realization of this conception of the world party by our most important sections will at the same time denote their own transformation into an effective leadership of the working class vanguard of their country. We cannot promise rapid or easy victories to anyone, and the time is long past when anyone joined our movement in the hope of such rapid victories. It is precisely by combining our revolutionary optimism, based on our political perspectives, with a more realistic evaluation of the time element which is required for the construction of a revolutionary party that we will form Trotskyist leaderships which are patient, tenacious, stable and at the same time capable of taking advantage of all opportunities opened to them. This Congress has demonstrated that our movement possesses homogeneous cadres in the principal countries of the world. Therein resides the promise of our future victory.

#

REPORTERS SUMMARY

The discussion has faithfully reflected to what degree all of our sections, including the youngest, the Swedish section have been trying to grasp the peculiarities of the workers' movement and the mass movements in their countries. For this reason, I will confine myself to some of the special problems raised in the course of the discussion.

The expansion of our movement into colonial countries where we do not yet have sections or where a favorable situation already exists for the constitution of Trotskyist nuclei (Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, Iran, Negro Africa, etc.) should be followed up by the coordination of the following activities: (a) Contacts with students and emigres in the metropolitan countries and the organization of political work and study circles in these groupings by the metropolitan sections; (b) Organization of information by the IS or its bureaus in order to follow the political life in these countries and to benefit from ferment in the workers' movement (recent split in the Burmese SP, development of oppositionist tendencies in the Tudeh party in Iran, etc.).

Our conception of educational work should be largely motivated by our needs of rooting ourselves in the mass movement rather than by our past. That doesn't mean the abandonment of traditional educational work, but it means on the one hand that this work should have less of a formalist character and on the other hand, an attempt should be made to add a course on the history of the workers' movement and our movement in these countries. Efforts of this kind which have been made in the USA, Great Britain and France should be emulated everywhere.

The demand of the Danish Trotskyist group for recognition as Danish section of the International will be examined at the next Plenum of the IEC where we will have the opportunity to more closely study the situation of the movement in that country. Moreover, we should take the advice of our Swedish delegate and attempt to coordinate our Scandinavian work, and especially to penetrate into Finland where the communist movement and the Stalinist party are much stronger than in the other Scandinavian countries.

The situation in Germany should be approached in a realistic manner, starting with the condition of our own forces and the objective possibilities which actually exist in the country. We entered the UAP without illusions on the political character of the Titoist elements, but by understanding that through this work we could lay the basis for the building of our movement. This has been entirely confirmed. An ultimatum attitude on our part toward this or that individual would have led to a break-up in the UAP even before it was constituted and would have hurt us much more than the Titoists. We had every reason in allowing a political discussion to develop, in politicalizing the debates and in not concentrating our fire on this or that individual.

In conclusion, let us once again emphasize the necessity of strengthening the international center of the movement. Our movement is a very special type of movement in the history of workers' organizations. The First International was based on the British trade unions; the Second International on the apparatuses of the mass social democratic organizations; the Third International on the apparatus of the Russian workers' state. For long years, our organization has been based only on the community of ideas of its members, without any apparatus or material base whatever. We are proud of the political homogeneity we have achieved. But at the same time, as Bolsheviks, we understand that at a certain stage of development, ideas can develop effectively only if they are embodied in a serious organization, only if it possesses its own material base. It is only by building a stronger international center that we can better propagate the ideas emerging from this World Congress, that we can better contribute to the triumph of our ideas.

MINUTES OF THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS

FIRST DAY

Chairmen: P. Frank, Edward, Peng.

Morning Session

Opening address by Comrade Pablo.

The Congress elects a presidium at large composed of all comrades imprisoned in Bolivia, China, Greece and Vietnam and especially Comrades Rene and Liou of the Vietnamese section and Comrade Lora of Bolivia.

The Congress addresses its greetings to all members of the Fourth International and to all those who are fighting imperialism in the world.

Nomination of Organization Bureau of the Congress: Pablo, Edward, Bos, Livingstone, Peng, Marin.

Report on technical matters relating to the Congress by Comrade Pia.

Adoption of the agenda proposed by the IS.

Election of Commissions.

Afternoon Session

Political report by Comrade Pablo.

Discussion on the Political Report: Speeches by Comrades Bleibtreu, Bos.

SECOND DAY -- Chair: Sachs, Burns, Ortiz.

Morning Session

Continuation of the political discussion. Speeches by Comrades Herman, Burns, Frank, Livio, Livingstone, Charles.

Afternoon Session

Continuation of the political discussion. Speeches by Comrades Posadas, Peng, Theo, Ortiz, Jacques, Sinclair, Walter, Mestre.

THIRD DAY -- Chair: Livio, Tilak, Jules.

Morning Session

Continuation of the political discussion. Speeches by Comrades Sachs, Tilak, Collins, Bernard, Pia, Robert (Vietnam), Willy, Privas.

Afternoon Session

Continuation of the political discussion. Speeches by Comrades

Lerse, Jean, Cyprien, Renard, Marin, Moth.

Summary by reporter.

VOTES:

Proposal by Comrade Pia to postpone the vote until after the discussion on the buffer zone question and to prepare amendments. Defeated.

Proposal by Herman for an immediate vote. Adopted.

Proposal by Bleibtreu to vote first on the amendments.

Counter-proposal by Livingstone to vote on the general line of the Theses and the Resolution, and to refer the documents to the new IEC for inclusion of amendments conforming to the general line of these documents. Adopted by 37 votes for, 6 votes against (French majority 2; Swiss 1; Italy 2; Sachs, Austrian majority 1).

Votes on the Theses and the Political Resolution:

Adopted by 39 votes for, 3 against (French majority 2; Vietnamese minority 1) and 1 abstention (Switzerland).

(See section on resolutions and amendments for the declaration of the Swiss delegates on their vote.)

Proposal by Bleibtreu to vote on the Theses of the French Congress and on Comrade Germain's "Ten Theses."

Proposal to adjourn the session and to take up Bleibtreu's motion tomorrow, adopted.

FOURTH DAY

Chairmen: Bos, Bertold, Robert (Ceylon).

Morning Session

Motion by Bleibtreu.

Declaration by Walter.

Motion by Livingstone to proceed to the order of business for the reasons given in accompanying declaration (see section on resolution, amendments, etc.). Adopted.

Report on the Eastern Europe buffer zone by P. Frank.

Discussion on the buffer zone. Speeches by Comrades Jacques and Charles.

Afternoon Session

Continuation of the discussion on the buffer zone. Speeches by Comrades Sinclair, Theo, Privas, Victor, Bernard, Sachs, Mestre,

Moth, Robert (Vietnam), Bertold, Peng, Pia, Pablo.

Summary by reporter.

VOTE on the Resolution, with the IEC designated to amend and edit the final edition of the resolution. Adopted by 41 votes for, 2 votes against (Swiss 1; Vietnamese minority 1).

Comrades Bos and Charles unable to participate further in the Congress because of personal reasons.

Report of Credentials Committee by P. Frank: Adopted unanimously with 2 abstentions (Austria).

FIFTH DAY

Chairmen: Marin, Rosas, Jean.

Livingstone submits the proposal in the name of the Organization Committee for the alteration of the order of business. Adopted.

Report on the activity of the International by Walter.

Discussion on the report, including information on the sections.

Speeches by Comrades Burns, Bertold, Robert (Vietnam), Bleibtreu, Robert (Ceylon), Bernard, Livingstone, Kinch, Pia, Sachs, Jean, Edward, Willy, Herman, Livio, Peng, Lerse, Jacques.

Summary by reporter.

VOTE on the report. Adopted unanimously.

Proposal to put the report on the Yugoslav resolution as the first point on the order of business after the resumption of sessions following the work of the Commissions. Adopted.

Election of the IEC (in closed session).

Work of the Commissions: assignment of time and place.

Personal declaration by Comrade Pablo concerning a misunderstanding with Comrade Pia.

Address by Pablo closing the first part of the work of the Congress.

The Congress rose in a moment of silence in memoriam of Leon Trotsky (11th anniversary of his assassination).

Tribute to deceased comrades: Coover, Carl, Liu, Chatterjee.

Greetings to veteran comrades present at the Congress: Jules, Lerse, Edward, Peng, and also to Comrade Cannon.

Thanks to all those who collaborated in technical work of Congress.

Greetings to Lesoil's widow, to Natalia and to Comrade Hippe's wife.

* * *

SIXTH, SEVENTH AND EIGHTH DAYS: Work of Commissions.

* * *

NINTH DAY. Afternoon session.

Chairmen: Jacques, Lerse, Kinch.

Adoption of the agenda for the Ninth and Tenth days.

Report on the Yugoslav question by Comrade Livingstone.

Discussion on the report on the Yugoslav question.

Speeches by Comrades Cheng, Jacques, Walter.

The reporter proposes to go over to the vote.

VOTE on the Resolution:

Adopted by 37 votes for, 1 against (Switzerland), 1 abstention (Vietnamese minority). 4 absent (Germany 3, Cyprus 1).

Report of the Austrian Commission by Comrade Walter.

Unanimously adopted with 1 abstention (Sweden) because of inadequate information on the question.

Evening Session

Report of the Security Commission by Comrade Pablo. Adopted.

Report of the Far Eastern Commission by Comrade Bernard.

Proposal by Pablo to give Comrade Peng one-half hour to develop his essential ideas; there will be no discussion.

Speech by Comrade Peng.

The Congress adopts the proposal of the Commission for the holding of a meeting of the IS with all delegates of the Far East on the question of the Far Eastern Bureau on India.

The minutes of the Far Eastern Commission will be transmitted to the IS for the preparation of the discussion at the next IEC meeting.

Election of the International Control Commission.

Speeches by Comrade Livio and Burns.

Report adopted unanimously.

TENTH DAY. Morning Session.

Chairman: Cheng, Mestre, Minguet.

Report of the Latin American Commission by Comrade Pablo.

Speech by Comrade Moreno.

Afternoon Session

Interruption of the discussion on Latin America to hear the report of the Finance Commission by Comrade Livingstone.

Speeches by Comrades Burns, Bernard, Ortiz, Livio, Frank, Posadas

Report adopted unanimously and suggestions accepted by the reporter.

Continuation of the discussion on the report on Latin America. Speeches by Comrades Posadas, Guerra, Rosas, Ortiz, Moreno.

Summary by reporter.

VOTES:

Comrade Moreno proposes that the documents not become official until after the discussion of the next IEC meeting. Defeated.

Political Resolution on Latin America adopted by 37 votes for; 1 abstention (Vietnamese minority). Absent 5 (Germany 3; Switzerland 1; Cyprus 1).

Designation of the Latin American Bureau. Unanimously elected.

Recognition of the GCI as the Argentine Section of the Fourth International.

VOTE occurs between the proposal of the Commission and the proposal by Moreno: the Commission's proposal is accepted by 37 votes.

Designation of two other Latin American comrades and an alternate to the IEC. Unanimously elected.

Chilean credential. Unanimously upheld with 2 abstentions (Marin, Bertold). A letter of explanation will be sent to the Chilean Section.

Report of the French Commission by Comrade Pablo.

Speeches: Marin, Frank, Lerse, Marin, Pablo. Report adopted unanimously.

Miscellaneous questions:

Manifesto: It will be published in the name of the Third World Congress by the IS.

IEC: Representation of the Spanish Section. A place is to be left open for a member of this section.

There is to be no publicity on the Congress before a receipt of instructions from the IS.

Speech by Comrade Marin. Apology of French Section for not having been able to invite delegates to social gathering during the Congress because of the technical arrangements made for the holding of the Congress.

Adjournment of the Third World Congress. Address by Comrade Pablo.

* * *

I.

RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS ADOPTED AFTER THE REPORTS OF COMMISSIONS.*

(*With the exception of the Political Resolution on Latin America which will appear in "Quatrieme Internationale.")

Note: All these texts, except where specifically indicated to the contrary, have been unanimously approved.

AUSTRIA: Resolution on the Austrian Question.

1. Both parts of the Austrian section are of the opinion that any aggravation of the class struggle in Austria finds its expression especially in the aggravation of the internal contradictions of the Austrian SP, because this party has the support of the great majority of the proletariat and as a result of its historic development and the experiences which the Austrian workers have had with Stalinist policy.

2. For this reason, work in the SP is today recognized by both parts of the Austrian section as the field of action on which the forces of the organization should be concentrated. This signifies work in the units of the SP, in the Socialist Youth, and in the factory groups of the SP.

3. Work in the SP should be carried on in a way to facilitate and to support the creation of a broad left tendency in the SP with the aim of forming a left wing. This left wing should express the experiences and the will to struggle of the broadest workers' layers and it will only be able to take a first step in the direction of a revolutionary program. All other organizational tasks (individual recruitment for our own organization, etc.) should be subordinated to the tasks which flow from this orientation. In the course of the formation and of the development of this left wing, a real field of work will also be created for the growth of our own organization.

4. To successfully achieve the orientation thus defined, the majority of the members of both parts of the organization should

become members of the SP or of the Socialist Youth and actively participate in the work of these organizations. Exceptions are permissible for comrades with personal reasons or where the needs of our own organization run counter to work in the SP. The work of our members in the SP will be carried on under the firm direction of the leadership of both sections of the organization.

5. The activity of our members in the SP will be governed by the following directives:

- a. Not to come forward as Trotskyists with our full program.
- b. Not to push forward programmatic and principled questions.
- c. To begin with the level of consciousness of the workers in each sector of a given activity and to avoid the danger of isolation by going too far beyond this level.
- d. To impel the differentiation in the party with the aid of central questions of the day on which broad strata of workers are ready to fight (questions of prices and wages, rents, coalition policy, etc.).
- e. To impel forward and to resolutely encourage the members of the SP, etc., oriented towards the left so that they, influenced by us, can create a broad peripheral stratum around our own organization.

The general line of this activity aims to connect left groupings which appear in branches of the SP and of the Socialist Youth with the more advanced strata of the factory workers of the SP.

6. A tendency organ defending the line defined in point 5 represents an important aid to work in the SP directed towards creating and strengthening a left tendency. The organ "Y" which is now edited in this sense, will be maintained until the efforts of the members of the SP oriented to the left -- which we should support in this direction -- results in the publication of a broader left-wing organ.

7. The orientation thus defined has as its precondition that both sections of the organization, far from dissolving, remain organized as firmly as before under conditions of double illegality, with its own leadership, its own branch and educational activity, with an active participation in the political life of the International, etc. The IKO publishes its own organ whose distribution is to remain limited to members and sympathizers and is not thus to create obstacles for the principal activity which is to be carried on in the SP.

8. The present Resolution expresses the decision of the World Congress as to the orientation of work of both sections of our Austrian section and will be recognized by both parts as the immediate basis of their activity. A parity committee of four members will be constituted which will meet every fifteen days, and apply the directives of the present Resolution, will coordinate the practical steps which result from these directives, and will determine to a growing degree the line of the organ "Y." On the basis of the practical experience of this committee, the question of a reunification

of both parts of the organization will be put on the agenda by this committee.

RESOLUTION ON THE AUSTRIAN SECTION

The Third World Congress takes note that the Eighth Plenum had decided, after the exclusion of the opposition of the Austrian section, to effectuate a division of labor in this section: the excluded minority continuing to be recognized as a part of the section (IKO opposition) and working in the Austrian SP under the control of the IS, the majority of the IKO continuing its external work having the exclusive right to represent the IKO Austrian section of the Fourth International publicly.

In view of the political resolution on the Austrian question which has been adopted, the Third World Congress decides to continue the decision of the Eighth Plenum until the IEC can reexamine the progress made in realizing the decisions included in point 8 of the Political Resolution.

LATIN AMERICA: Resolution on the official recognition of the GCI as the Argentine section of the Fourth International.

The Third World Congress of the Fourth International decides to grant official recognition to the Grupo Cuarta Internacional of Argentina as the Argentine section of the International.

This recognition is based on the following considerations which were analyzed at length in the report presented by the Latin American Commission to the World Congress:

- a. The comprehension of the real mass movement in Argentina and in Latin America in general which this organizations has demonstrated, regardless of the often confused forms and of the often petty-bourgeois or even bourgeois leadership of this movement.
- b. The practical efforts which it has made to penetrate this mass movement in its own country.
- c. Its organizational seriousness.
- d. Its political and practical devotion to the International, of which it has given repeated and substantial proof.

The World Congress calls upon all the Trotskyists in Argentina who are loyal to the International to adhere to the official section and to give it all possible support.

It particularly calls upon the members of the POR, of the UOR and of the Octubre group to join the official Argentine section of the Fourth International on the following conditions: To enter individually three months after the publication of the present Resolution under the prohibition of forming factions within the section, which is to be subject to the regime of democratic centralism of the International and after having proved their worth as members, conforming to the Statutes of the International. Their entry into the section is subject to review by a commission composed of a representative of the

section, a representative of the organization to which they belonged and a representative of the IS as a member of the Latin American Bureau.

The official Argentine section will hold its first convention within a year and at this convention will adopt a new name which conforms to its new function as an embryo of the revolutionary party of the Argentine proletariat.

The recognition of the GCI as official Argentine section of the Fourth International does not signify that the International subscribes to all positions taken and to all actions of this organization, but that essentially the line followed by this organization and its practical conduct confirms the consideration set forward at the beginning of this Resolution and designates it as the most solid nucleus of our Argentine movement around which it is both necessary and desirable to consolidate all of our forces in this country.

RESOLUTION ON THE CONSTITUTION OF A LATIN AMERICAN BUREAU

With the aim of better coordinating and impelling our movement in Latin America, the Third World Congress decides upon the creation of a Latin American Bureau of five members, four of whom are to immediately designated. The fifth member will be designated by the Bureau itself, to be chosen from among the leading cadres of the Chilean section and subject to final approval of the IS.

A direct representative of the IS will participate in the Bureau from the outset.

One of the first tasks of the Latin American Bureau will be the publication of a theoretical organ popularizing and defending revolutionary Marxism and the program of the Fourth International in all Latin America.

The exact statutes for the Bureau will be laid down later by the IS.

RESOLUTION ON THE CREDENTIAL OF THE CHILEAN DELEGATE

The World Congress decides to validate the credential of the Chilean delegate who was designated as such by the conference of his section, the CC of the section not having the power to act afterwards contrary to this decision.

The IS will write to the Chilean section to explain this decision of the Congress to it.

FRANCE

Resolution on the PCI

"The Commission requests the World Congress to approve the general line of the Resolution prepared by the IS to serve as the basis for the elaboration of the text defining the orientation of the work of the French party and in accordance with the decisions of the World Congress. This text will be elaborated by the IS and the politi-

cal bureau of the French party as a whole. The World Congress gives its confidence to the present leadership to apply the line of the World Congress loyally and effectively and to assure adequate participation of members of the minority. If it transpires that the French leadership does not meet this hope, the IEC and the IS will be instructed to take all organizational measures to correct the situation in the PCI.

"There is no room for the continuation of factions on the basis of a sincere application of this line. The delegates will make declaration in this sense. The party should recover its homogeneity and its unity through the application of the line of the World Congress.

"The majority delegates have declared themselves ready to accept these conclusions but abstain on the IS text which, according to them, does not represent their real position and is ineffective for future work.

"If the conclusions of the Commission are approved and loyally applied it would signify the beginning of the liquidation of a difficult situation for the PCI and would constitute one of the best achievements of the World Congress." (Report by Comrade Pablo. Excerpt from the minutes.)

FINANCES

Adoption of various measures relating to the contributions of sections to the International.

SECURITY

Resolution on the Report of the Commission

The Security Commission designated by the World Congress after completing its work recommends to the Congress:

a. The immediate creation of an International Security Commission designated by the IS and working under its control.

b. The creation of Security Commissions designated by the leaderships of each section which will work in conjunction with the International Security Commission.

c. The immediate constitution after the World Congress of a special fund by each section with the aim of realizing security measures, to be obtained by the allocation of a percentage of the monthly income of each section which should not be used for any other purpose.

The International Security Commission is instructed to check on the application of these measures and to do its best to assist the sections in realizing their objectives in this field.

FAR EAST

a. Comrade P's report to the Commission will be transmitted to the IS which is to prepare the discussion on the Chinese question

for the next meeting of the IEC.

b. After the Congress, the IS and the delegates from the Far-Eastern countries will meet to take measures relating to our movement in India, Ceylon and for the constitution of a Far-Eastern Bureau.

II

DECLARATIONS

DECLARATION BY COMRADE LIVINGSTONE (appended to his motion, 4th day of the World Congress).

1. The Congress can not properly consider and vote on the "counter-theses" because it was not submitted in time for the preparatory discussion for the Congress so as to permit the sections to give adequate attention to it and to designate their delegations on this basis. The only position of the French majority known to the sections was the resolution adopted by its April CC Plenum which was published in a discussion Bulletin, but Comrade Bleibtreu has not demanded a vote on this resolution by the Congress.

2. Comrade Germain's "Ten Theses" were written by him and discussed by the International not as a resolution or as a supplementary document to the Theses of the 9th Plenum, but as a contribution to the discussion dealing with various questions raised by the Theses of the 9th Plenum and in support of these Theses.

DECLARATION BY THE SWISS DELEGATES PIA and JACQUES TO THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

A. Theses and Resolution on the international situation and its perspectives.

We have noted with satisfaction that for the first time the elaboration of the political resolution takes as its point of departure a global analysis of the international situation. We have also noted with satisfaction that for the first time the catastrophe of a threatening war is recognized as an immediate danger and is related to the fundamental contradiction of the world capitalist system. Thus there have been introduced decisive criteria for a Marxist analysis of the situation as we have always demanded since 1946. The result therefore is a correct estimation of the tendency of general objective development of the international situation.

Consequently, if there had been a fundamental opposition to these documents we would have voted for them -- voted for them with the necessary reservations. But this is not the case; we have therefore abstained; we could not approve them for the following reasons:

1. These documents consider that the peculiarity of the present period (deep-going convulsion of the world capitalist system, etc.) is a consequence only of the war years 1939-45 and of the years that followed with their colonial revolutionary events, while in reality, this period, mainly "the death agony of capitalism" (transitional program) had already begun before 1939. Our estimation of the situation rests on this fact, which considers that the war phase 1939-45

which arose from this mortal crisis, could not change the capitalist contradictions of this period in any way (as for example, the imperialist war was still to show!); the war phase 1939-45 on the contrary had aggravated the specific contradictions of our period and consequently renders impossible even a temporary peaceful stabilization. This is the real basis of the "algebraic formula" defended by us to characterize the phase since 1945: "the world war continues."

2. Formulas such as "the Stalinist world" and the identification of the "Stalinist camp" with the proletarian camp, such as appeared in Comrade Pablo's article and in his report (and we have to consider this article and this report as official parts of the interpretation of the political text), mean in their consequence an identification of the proletarian class front with the Stalinist camp. We on our part, however, consider the USSR and the colonial revolutions only as a part of the whole proletarian front.

3. The documents (and particularly Comrade Pablo's report) estimate the character and the role of the Stalinist parties in an erroneous way. They admit that the Stalinist parties, under a pressure of an appropriate mass and in face of other peculiar external circumstances, can be moved to a revolutionary line. They conclude, moreover, that these parties can establish a workers' power. This, in our opinion, is a revision of the correct estimation of these parties which we have had up to now: they are petty-bourgeois "workers'" parties of bureaucratic apparatuses which can no longer be led into a revolutionary line and which consequently are no longer in a position to lead the masses to the establishment of workers' states. Our task on the contrary is to detach the masses from these parties. But this line in fact condemns the International to being only a mere left opposition of the Stalinist parties and thus renders impossible and wipes out the only correct orientation for the building of independent proletarian revolutionary parties, parties of the Fourth International.

4. The documents finally characterizing the "peoples' democracies" as workers' states is a characterization which in our opinion is false. We have presented our conception on this question in the resolution of the Political Bureau of our section as well as in various articles on the question of the buffer zone and of Yugoslavia.

5. These errors which are still contained in the documents arise, in our opinion, from the fact that the consistent application of the Marxist method against an empirical examination of the realities which has been previously predominant and the eclectic representation of the whole has not yet been completely realized, a condition which clearly appears in Comrade Pablo's article as well as in a series of discussion votes.

PIA and JACQUES

B. (Vote on the report of the Secretariat)

We have voted for this report because we recognize that the IS -- to the best of its ability and in all sincerity -- has defended and carried out in practice the line of the majority of the Second World Congress and of the IEC. Nevertheless, we must formulate our reservations so far as the political content of the activity of the IS is

concerned, particularly on the Yugoslav question. Our recognition of the very appreciable work of the IS (taking into consideration its forces and its limited means) does not therefore mean that we can approve the organizational practices of the IS in all cases.

PIA and JACQUES

* * *

DECLARATION OF THE DELEGATES OF THE FRENCH MAJORITY

The Congress of the PCI rejected the resolution of the 9th Plenum not because of its totally erroneous character, but because of its inadequacies, its contradictions and the considerable confusion which it creates. This is particularly the case because of the inclusion of correct amendments besides false ideas which are maintained in contradiction to these amendments and has obliged the Congress of our party to present a complete document for the World Congress discussion. The eclectic character of the resolution made this method necessary for political clarification particularly after the publication of the article "Where Are We Going" in the press of the International which explicitly develops the erroneous ideas which are only indicated in the Plenum resolution. We do not renounce our rights to fight in the World Congress for the adoption of a correct orientation on the part of all the delegations who have in the majority taken a position in favor of the line of the resolution of the Plenum.

The conditions of a correct orientation for us are:

-- the adoption not in doses, but in its totality of the Ten Theses written by Comrade Germain and adopted by our Congress;

-- the abandonment of all ambiguous formulations on the role of the Soviet bureaucracy and on its relations with the CP and the masses;

-- a serious analysis of the present situation and the perspectives of development of the mass movement in the entire world, including the countries controlled by the bureaucracy of the USSR which is directly counter to the idea of the division of the world into "the capitalist system and the Stalinist world";

-- a clear definition of revolutionary perspectives in the two to four years up to the outbreak of the war;

-- the reaffirmation of the Trotskyist analysis on the role of the Soviet bureaucracy as a caste in the unfolding of the Third World War whose outcome can only be the victory of the world revolution or that of imperialist barbarism;

-- a definition of the tasks of the International in the USSR in line with that defined by the Second World Congress;

-- a clear analysis of the lessons of the Yugoslav and of the Chinese revolutions, and a clear definition of the tasks of the International in the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

* * *

DECLARATION OF THE VIETNAMESE MINORITY

The minority of the Vietnam group vote against all political resolutions of the IS because of their confused and contradictory character and their tendency to subordinate Trotskyism to Stalinism.

CHARLES

* * *

DECLARATION OF THE FRENCH MINORITY DELEGATES

The members of the minority of the Seventh Congress of the PCI (French section of the Fourth International) participating in the work of the Third World Congress, declare their complete agreement with the conclusions of the French Commission.

They declare their agreement with the draft resolution elaborated by the IS. Presented as a first contribution, it should serve as a basis for the elaboration of a more complete document, which will define the orientation of activity and tasks on the basis of the political line adopted by the World Congress, the texts adopted by the Seventh Congress of the PCI not corresponding to this line.

They will participate in the elaboration of this document, which should be presented for discussion and vote at the next session of the CC.

The factional struggle which has developed in the PCI has not been created by the minority; the latter came together only after the rejection of the Theses of the Ninth Plenum by the majority of the CC and by the Seventh Congress of the party.

The minority hopes that the next CC will adopt the Resolution and the tasks applying the political line of the Third World Congress and will put an end to the factional struggle.

The application of this orientation will have as its consequence the clarification of political positions in the party and thus the reestablishment of fundamental unity of opinion in the ranks of the party on the basis of the line defined by the Third World Congress and will thus remove all objective bases for a factional struggle.

III.

AMENDMENTS AND RESOLUTIONS REJECTED OR NOT INCLUDED

Amendments proposed by the majority delegates of the PCI to the Theses of the Ninth Plenum.

THESES V, 2nd paragraph -- Instead of "the war which by its very logic will be transformed..." etc., substitute: "The class war during which there will inevitably develop a revolutionary action of the masses on an international scale."

THESES V, 3rd paragraph -- Substitute: "The latter (Western

Europe) runs the risk in case of war of coming under the control of the Red Army or of experiencing a revolutionary development beyond the direct control of the bureaucratic and military apparatus of the Kremlin, even if the CPs are pushed forward by the mass movement in several countries."

THESES V, last paragraph -- Substitute: "...the victory of imperialism will become problematical in face of the expansion of the revolution on the scale of the European, Asiatic and probably African continents, which has strong chances to overwhelm the ability of the Kremlin bureaucracy to control it and to engage in counter-revolutionary repression."

THESES XII -- Eliminate the past phrase: "which the bureaucracy has not yet been able to destroy completely."

THESES XIII -- Eliminate the phrase: "this extension would on the other hand, by the organization and rapid development of the world productive forces, remove the objective reasons for the existence and the omnipotence of any bureaucracy."

THESES XV, 3rd paragraph -- ("to undertake a struggle for power"), substitute: "if they wish to avoid the masses advancing directly to the second stage of the overturn which is that of the organizational break with the leadership of these parties and the direct struggle against them."

Then incorporate the entire conclusion of Comrade Germain's 3rd Thesis from "The projecting of a struggle for power is one thing, and the effective conquest of power is quite another..." up to "to the degree that they lead the CP to positions imperiling the bonapartist character of the Soviet bureaucracy whose power also rests upon an international balance between the fundamental classes of modern society." (See "Ten Theses")

THESES XV -- Eliminate the 8th paragraph and replace by: "The International should clearly draw the lessons of the errors of estimation committed in the past in Yugoslavia and in China, which arose from a faulty estimation of the relationship between the revolutionary masses and the counter-revolutionary apparatus of the Kremlin.

"Conscious of the gigantic struggle which will emerge from the contradictions of imperialism, even and especially when the latter seeks its salvation in the unleashing of a general war and of the struggle already begun in several colonial countries, it should give increased attention to the evolutions of the CPs which have mass influence and influence the ranks of these parties by penetrating more deeply into the mass struggles."

THESES XVI -- Eliminate the second paragraph and replace by: "In reality, the bureaucracy does not pursue a systematic policy of 'expansion'. On the contrary, the extension of its bureaucratic control (buffer zone) strengthens the disintegrating elements of its control. Above all the victory of the proletarian revolution, even in backward countries, even under the leadership of the CP such as has taken place in Yugoslavia and in China, represents an immediate and direct threat to its very existence."

THESES XVII, second paragraph -- Eliminate "proceeded prudently."

THESES XX -- third paragraph:

"In backward countries and especially under these reactionary regimes Stalinist propaganda can still find an important echo although the experiences of the masses in certain countries can either limit the ability of Stalinism to organize and control the masses (Spain, Algeria), or create new relationships between the CP and the bureaucracy (China)."

(Here there is a need for a detailed analysis of the now existing relationships between the masses, the CPs and the Kremlin bureaucracy.)

THESES XXI, 4th paragraph -- Eliminate the phrase: "imposed by the dialectics of evolution."

THESES XXII, 3rd, 4th and 5th paragraphs:

"The Fourth International, conscious that the action of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy represents the principal trump of the imperialist bourgeoisie, especially in case of world war, fights for the independent development of the masses in relation to the Kremlin. The real leadership of the revolutionary struggle and the power conquered by the proletariat and by its direct class organs -- Party, Trade Unions, Soviets -- is a condition for the victory of the world revolution in the third world war which can be realized in the development of the struggle itself through the conscious intervention of the Fourth International.

"The international extension of the revolution and its completion as a world revolution including the advance sectors of world economy excludes all possibility of bureaucratic deformation reproducing the experience of the USSR in the organs of proletarian power.

"The other alternative element can in no case be a new bureaucratic society but the victory of imperialist barbarism."

THESES XXIV, first phrase:

"The rapid and inevitable appearance of centers of civil war, at least in Europe and Asia, within the framework of the class war unleashed by imperialism against the workers' states..."

-- Seriously develop the passage on the crisis of Stalinism.

THESES XXV -- eliminate: "and aiding to the best of our ability with maximum effect the objective revolutionary process in a crumbling world."

Amendment Presented by the German Delegates to the Political Resolution and Supported by Comrade Jacques (Switzerland).

After the paragraph ending with: "...can again endanger the cohesion of the bourgeoisie." (Chapter III, "The Evolution of International Relations"), add:

"The struggles of the masses in the capitalist countries and even revolutionary convulsions in these countries transform the international relationship of forces in favor of the proletariat and decidedly collide with the strategy on the progress of American imperialism. In this way the tempo of development towards war can be slowed down. In the event of an immediate intervention of imperialism, war, from the beginning, will reveal its character as a civil war." (This perspective allows for the substitution of the inevitability of war by the theses of the inevitability of the final struggle in which the proletariat is not an object but a subject of history.)

Amendments of the Austrian Majority to the Political Resolution

1. First paragraph, last phrase. Substitute: "and the new upsurge of the workers' movement in the metropolitan centers" by: "as well as by the fact that the workers' movement of the metropolitan countries has remained intact."

2. Third Paragraph. Substitute "to checkmate the powerful movement of emancipation of the colonial and metropolitan masses" by: "to suppress the powerful movement of emancipation of the masses in the colonies and to destroy the working class movement in the metropolitan countries."

3. In the chapter on the situation of the workers' movement, in the part on social-democracy, last paragraph, before the analysis of Stalinism: eliminate the section of the phrase which deals with entrism.

4. In the chapter on tasks, substitute the entire 6th paragraph (except the last phrase) by the following: "Among the most important tasks of our movement the building of autonomous and independent organizations must be mentioned along with the ideological and organizational consolidations of organizations where they already exist. If we can base ourselves on such organizations it will be possible, even more than in the past, to link our cadres to the real class movement. It is only on this basis that a flexible tactic toward the traditional workers' parties and mass organizations will be able to succeed."

Motion presented by the delegate of the Argentine POR on the recognition of the GCI as official section of the Fourth International in Argentina.

The Third World Congress of the Fourth International accepts the political criteria of unifying our Argentine groups into one organization.

With this aim and in order to prevent the present division of the Latin American movement from hindering the application of the International in Latin American policy adopted by the World Congress, the World Congress decides:

1. Given its organizational seriousness and its loyalty to the International on the organizational as well as on the political plane, the GCI is recognized as the official section of the International, this recognition constituting the best guarantee that the line approved by the World Congress will be applied.

2. This recognition of the GCI does not signify the acceptance of the policy of the tendency represented by the GCI; it signifies the best means of finding a solution of the present disorganization of the Argentine Trotskyist movement.

3. The POR, as well as all other Argentine Trotskyist organizations which have demonstrated militant activity and their serious and responsible attitude towards the International, may adhere to the official section of the International. The new adherents are not to be permitted to constitute factions within the ranks of the section nor to prevent the application of the political line by the section.

4. The GCI will change its name; it is prohibited from raising old questions.

5. The Argentine section of the Fourth International will hold a national congress within a period of six months to one year at the maximum.

RESOLUTION ON INDIA -- (Unanimously adopted)

After an exhaustive and thoroughgoing examination of the situation in India and our tasks the IS, in a joint meeting with representatives from the countries of the Far East and other representatives to the World Congress and to the IEC, has come to the following conclusions:

The situation and perspectives in India are of central strategic importance for the Fourth International and the Far East. We reaffirm what has been said in the Political Resolution of the Third World Congress on the excellent possibilities for the building of a strong section of the Fourth International which can become the leading revolutionary vanguard for us in the country. These possibilities exist primarily because of the absence of a strong Stalinist party in the country. However, it should also be strongly emphasized that if we do not act in time and decisively with all the forces at our disposal these chances can be lost and the Stalinists who, despite their present weakness, possess vast material resources, a powerful apparatus and the prestige of Mao's victory in China can benefit from our inability and create a powerful Stalinist movement in India. Such a development can seriously compromise the work of the Fourth International in all Asiatic countries including Ceylon.

After a lengthy discussion, we underscore the fact that our best opportunities in India today are to be found within the SP where it is possible to crystallize a strong left wing under our leadership which will eventually furnish the forces for the building of a strong revolutionary party in India. The first condition for the success of such work is intelligent and patient activity in the SP, based on firm loyalty to the policy and the program of the Fourth International and its application with necessary tactical adaptations to the specific needs of the situation in the SP.

To realize these aims, we have unanimously adopted the following decisions for the purpose of coordinating and strengthening our work in India which are indispensable for the realization of the political objectives of the strategy of the International in this part of the world:

1. Comrade B. to return immediately to India to aid in the reorganization and in the work of our forces in the country.

2. Steps will be taken to convene an all-India conference with the participation of a representative of the International center and a fraternal delegate from the LSSP.

3. Immediately after his return to Ceylon Comrade T. will go to India and remain there for a period of approximately six months to aid in the reorganization of the group and on the carrying out of the decisions of the IS. The length of this period should be fixed so as to permit Comrade T. to return to Ceylon in order to participate in the crucial period preceding the coming elections in Ceylon.

4. After the reorganization of our forces in India and the establishment of an all-Indian leadership, measures should be taken to establish a Far-Eastern Bureau with the participation of representatives of the LSSP and the IS.

5. The LSSP will take practical measures to assure material support to the all-Indian center and to the Far-Eastern Bureau.

#

The following amendment submitted by the Italian delegates to the Political Resolution on "The International Situation" adopted by the World Congress was not accepted.

ITALIAN AMENDMENT

The spring elections (1951) in ITALY demonstrated that the workers' parties generally maintained their positions (and strengthened them in some localities) and on the other side a shift of the bourgeois votes of the ruling catholic party toward the parties of the right (neo-fascists, liberals, etc.). This indicates the retention of powerful working class positions and the beginning of a crisis in the ranks of the bourgeoisie.