

# INTERNAL BULLETIN

VOL. IX, No. 7

December, 1947

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PRINCIPAL POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE MEETING OF  
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL,  
SEPTEMBER, 1947

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Issued by:  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
116 University Place  
New York, N. Y.

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For information purposes, we are reprinting from official publications of the Fourth International the main political resolutions adopted by the September 1947 meeting of its Executive Committee.

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RESOLUTION ON THE PREPARATION OF THE WORLD CONGRESS

-I-

The IEC, in its Fourth Plenum, September 1947, reaffirms the resolutions adopted at the Plenum of October 1946 as well as that of March 1947 concerning the preparation and holding of the World Congress.

Having examined the criticisms formulated against these resolutions, particularly by S and Comrades Munis, N. and P., considers these criticisms to be entirely unfounded and to have no other objective than to discredit in advance the democratic character of the World Congress, thus preparing the ground for centrifugal tendencies to reject its discipline and its decisions.

The IEC mandates the IS to send to all sections a letter explaining the reasons which have motivated the measures adopted up to the present by the IEC concerning the World Congress and demonstrating the unfounded character of the criticisms of S and of Comrade Munis.

Carried - 11 for  
1 against  
1 abstention

-II-

The IEC provides that the IS shall do all in its power to publish all the documents relative to the preparatory discussion for the World Congress which shall reach it at latest by November 15. For documents reaching it after that, the IS shall decide to publish them in the following order: First - Counter Resolution submitted for a vote; Second - Discussion articles in the order of their arrival to the IS and in line with practical possibilities.

Carried unanimously

-III-

Concerning the Agenda of the World Congress, the IEC includes for the present the following questions:

a) Report on the activity and policy of the International during the war and up to the World Congress (with special reference to the National Question).

- b) Report on the International Economic and Political Situation and Our Tasks.
- c) Report on the Question of the USSR and of Stalinism.
- d) Report on the Colonial Question.
- e) Statutes of the International.

All the reports shall be followed by resolutions summarizing their main points, which shall be submitted to the Congress for vote.

The IEC hopes, furthermore, that programs of action of a whole series of sections, either already elaborated or in the course of elaboration, will also be submitted for international discussion, so as to better define the orientation of the World Congress towards the transformation of the sections of the Fourth International into organizations carrying on genuine mass work.

Carried unanimously

COUNTER-RESOLUTION OF COMRADE GEOFFROY ON THE  
ORGANIZATION OF THE WORLD CONGRESS

The IEC confirms the resolutions adopted during the Plenum of October 1946 as well as that of March 1947 concerning the preparation and holding of the World Congress.

After taking cognizance of the criticisms and proposals formulated against these resolutions, particularly by S and by Comrades Munis, N. and P., the International Executive Committee, in its Fourth Plenum (September 1947) 1) rejects the proposal made by Comrades Munis, N. and P. concerning the establishment of mandates of the various sections at the World Congress, as not corresponding to the principle adopted previously by the IEC and confirmed by the present Plenum - of a representation which takes into account both the importance of each country in the world-wide class struggle as well as the specific weight of each section in the International - this principle is the only one capable of giving the World Congress its real face as a combat organization for the world socialist revolution; 2) makes clear, concerning the representation of minorities at the World Congress, that it will defend before the World Congress, as broad and as flexible an application of the principle previously established (all minorities constituting at least one-fourth of all members of a section); 3) makes clear, that the principle previously established of the acceptance in advance by parties and groups desiring to participate with vote at the World Congress of the discipline of the World Congress, constitutes the only guarantee established for the sincerity of requests for participation coming from elements as yet outside the International; that no other guarantee of this order has been proposed by anyone; that consequently this clause remains valid; that, nevertheless, groups and parties who

still remain outside of the International and who demand to participate at the World Congress with the right to vote, while protesting against this clause, retain the possibility of presenting themselves at the Congress as observers without the right to vote and of requesting the Congress itself to accept them with full rights by accepting the discipline of the Congress at the Congress itself.

Lost - 9 against  
2 for  
2 abstentions

#### RESOLUTION ON THE YOUTH

1) The orientation of our parties toward the organization and leadership of mass movements makes indispensable the construction of national organizations of Youth and of a Youth International belonging to the Fourth International. These organizations shall have as their task propaganda and agitation for the program of the Fourth International in forms appropriate to the milieu of young workers, as well as the education and formation of the future cadres of our parties.

2) The parties of the International are requested to name Commissions for Youth Work from among their leading members and their youngest militants, which shall have as tasks:

- a) to study the special conditions for this work in each country;
- b) to carry out there where this is possible, agitation and organization tasks among young workers;
- c) to maintain international contacts, so as to coordinate the experiences and to elaborate an international youth program;

3) An international Commission for youth work shall function up to the World Congress. Its tasks, among others, shall be:

- a) the preparation of an international conference (particularly, the elaboration of a draft program);
- b) to provide contact between the national commissions and to stimulate their work;
- c) to supervise all youth tasks carried out in the International;
- d) to publish all theoretical and historical material possible, in order to facilitate discussion on the youth question;
- e) to report to the next IEC on the question of international organization.

Carried unanimously

#### RESOLUTION OF THE IEC ON THE POLICY OF THE PCI (FRANCE)

1) The Fourth Plenum of the IEC notes that the leadership of the PCI elected at the party's third Congress has been utterly incapable of giving a firm orientation and clear leadership to the Trotskyist militants and sympathizers as well as to the broad sectors of vanguard workers who are observing the PCI

in the course of the past months of increased social agitation and political and economic crisis.

This incapacity of the present leadership of the French PCI derives fundamentally:

a) From the incorrectness of its political orientation. The present majority of the PCI has been hypnotized by a fiction of a "retreat" of the French proletariat, which has not understood either the explosive character of the coming social struggles or the need of tying up, in every important struggle, the economic objectives with political objectives, a tie-up which the working class has very well understood.

b) From the false conception of methods for building a mass party which exhausted the party during months of relative calm by superficial and sterile agitation and thus tired it and rendered it incapable of really "rolling" at maximum capacity at the time of the strike struggles.

c) From its false conception of La Verite as an informational newspaper, which has had a tendency constantly to drag down the political level of the paper and which has deprived it of its main role, that of a guide, leader and educator of the vanguard sectors who are turning toward our movement. Particularly grave in this connection, was the false conception of La Verite during the April-May and September strike waves, which kept the paper at the level of the backward layers and did not permit it to give effective leadership to the vanguard of the strikers.

2) The Fourth Plenum of the IEC draws the attention of the militants of the PCI and of the whole International to the grave strategic and tactical errors which derive from the fundamental orientation of the present PCI majority and which have to a large degree limited the party's progress, perfectly possible in the present extremely favorable conditions:

a) The lack of any systematic campaign around the slogan of the general strike. This slogan, launched first of all much too late during the first strike wave, at the moment when Renault was already returning to work, was abandoned almost immediately after the end of the strike. The months of July and August, which were extremely important for the preparation of the working class vanguard for the second wave expected after the vacation period, should have been used for the systematic education of the paper's readers concerning the lessons of the first wave. The slogans "General Strike" and "Committees of Struggle" should have systematically reappeared in every number of the paper. The line of the paper was clearly tail-endist, incapable of foreseeing and preparing, it limited itself to listing and encouraging the strikes when they broke out.

b) The lack of any systematic campaign around the government question. On three different occasions, during the "scandals"; during the proclamation of the RPF (de Gaullist Rally of the

People of France) and during the Schuman decrees-laws, the government question and the question of state power was posed in its fullest scope before the French proletariat. At a time when the whole bourgeois reformist and Stalinist press was talking openly on these three occasions of these "crises of regime," the PCI limited itself to a completely passive and negative attitude "denouncing" the scandals and the "fascist" danger, and crying "Down with the Ramadier government," without proposing any positive measure. At the present time, when the vast majority of the proletariat is concentrating its attention on the government question, the obstinate refusal of the PCI majority to launch the slogan "SP-CP-CGT Government," correctly explained, means once more objectively to reduce the struggle to a level already surpassed.

c) A hesitating line, sometimes conciliatory, sometimes of "friendly criticism" towards Stalinism, both toward the leadership of the C.P.F. as well as toward Stalinist expansionism. Particularly to be condemned is the campaign carried on for months on end by La Verite accusing Stalin of "betraying" because he abandoned Trieste etc..., instead of denouncing systematically the severe exploitation and oppression of the masses in the "glacis" by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Although a slight "turn" has been sketched out along this path since April 1947, the PCI's line towards Stalinism lacks clear and sharp delimitation and tends to turn away from our party that part of the vanguard which is definitively disgusted with the Stalinist traitors and aids the development of defeatist currents inside the organization.

d) A hesitating and confused line on the colonial question. The plenum of the IEC calls to the attention of the PCI that, while unconditionally supporting the struggle of the Viet Nam against imperialism and while concentrating its struggle against its own imperialist bourgeoisie, the revolutionary party in France does not have the right to sow confusion regarding the class character of the Ho Chi Minh government and its conciliatory orientation towards French imperialism. The central slogans of the PCI in this question should be: Complete and unconditional independence of the Viet Nam outside of the French Union (Union Francaise)! Immediate withdrawal of the expeditionary troops.

e) The lack of any systematic propaganda campaign around the slogan "Socialist United States of Europe." At a time when the toiling masses are clearly conscious of the decisive importance of the international situation for the evolution of France, when the attention of public opinion has been concentrated on the Marshall Plan, to which the Stalinists oppose the miserable slogan "Defense of National Sovereignty," the PCI has not known how to concretize for the masses the revolutionary solution, nor to give this question the importance it deserves.

f) The lack of systematic revolutionary propaganda of a dynamic and resolute sort showing the concrete perspective of the proletarian revolution as being the only way out of the capitalist morass. At a time when the general atmosphere of the country is

expressed in the sentiment "It is time to put an end to this," la Verite, far from showing the revolutionary way out, has limited itself to a passive and timid criticism of the regime and tried as much as possible to keep the final aim of our movement out of the pages of the paper. All these deviations can be summarized as opportunist and erroneous applications of the transitional program whose whole significance requires the constant linking of immediate to higher demands, every campaign culminating in the propagandistic posing of the necessity of the revolutionary overturn of capitalism by the proletariat.

3) The Fourth Plenum of the IEC regrets that the majority of the PCI has not deemed it necessary - in the interests both of the party's progress and of rendering more healthy its internal atmosphere - to carry out and remain faithful to the agreement which the majority of the Political Bureau had previously signed with the Minority and the IS. The Plenum of the IEC wholly approves the attempt of the IS to straighten out the line of the PCI and to turn the whole of the party's efforts outward at the time of the Renault strike, and to facilitate in the light of this experience the regroupment of the greatest possible number of militants belonging to all present tendencies of the party on a correct political basis in line with the policy of the International.

The Plenum of the IEC salutes the many party militants who at their combat posts succeeded in the past months in becoming active participants in the mass movement and in playing front rank roles at the various stages in the development of the political and social struggles. It expresses the full confidence of the International in the temper and the deep consciousness of the PCI militants, who tomorrow, at the time of their fourth congress, will know how to correct the errors committed, to define a clear revolutionary orientation for the coming months to root themselves deeply in their class and thus consolidate and broaden their positions therein at the head of the growing vanguard of the French proletariat and at the spearhead of the whole Fourth International.

Carried - 10 for  
4 against

#### MOTIVATION OF THE VOTE OF COMRADES HASTON, CONRAD AND BERNARD

1) There are a number of questions and criticisms contained in Germain's resolution with which we are in general agreement.

2) We are entirely against the spirit of the resolution which is that the present French leadership is "incapable" and must be replaced.

3) We are equally against the entirely one-sided and negative criticism of one PCI tendency and believe it necessary for the IEC to formulate its ideas in a positive fashion.

AMENDMENTS PRESENTED BY THE SWISS DELEGATE

1) The IEC declares that in this situation the French section has not fulfilled its task, that of giving a clear and firm orientation to the Trotskyist sympathizers as well as the proletarian vanguard who observe the PCI attentively.

2) The French section has not fulfilled this task for the following reasons:

a) Due to the complete lack of a broad and systematic theoretical education and consolidation of its members.

b) Due to the lack of a timely, opportune and effective intervention of the IS and - to the extent to which there was such an intervention - due to its doctrinaire and bureaucratic fashion and the lack of a revolutionary orientation on the part of the IS itself.

3) The Fourth Plenum of the IEC draws the attention of the revolutionists of the PCI and of the entire International to all the grave strategic and tactical errors which flow from the profoundly false perspective of the present majority of the PCI as well as from the opportunist application of the transition program. These are the principal causes which helped to obstruct the development of the PCI in the present very favorable conditions:

a) The false application of the united front tactic. (Instead of a united front from below and from the top, it conducts a campaign for a united front only from the top.)

b) In the resolution of the IS paragraph 2) section (a) eliminate the first two sentences.

c) In the resolution of the IS paragraph 2) section (b) replace "governmental question" by "state question."

Lost - 1 for  
13 against

d) In the resolution of the IS, paragraph 2) section(d) replace "Socialist United States of Europe" with "Soviet Socialist United States of Europe."

Lost - 6 for  
6 against  
2 abstentions

(Note: Other amendments by the Swiss delegate were incorporated by common consent in the resolution put to the vote.)



COUNTER RESOLUTION BY HASTON ON THE QUESTION OF THE FRENCH PCI

The Fourth Plenum of the IEC having discussed the present political situation in France and examined the orientation, strategy and tactics of the PCI, adopted the following theses and proposals:

In the present unstable economic and political situation in France the deterioration in the conditions of life for the working class and the mass of the population due to the cut in the rations, the rapidly rising prices of all the prime necessities of life, has created the objective conditions for a series of great strikes and manifestations of class struggle which although primarily economic struggles commencing in the industrial field, must increasingly pose the question of the fate of the present government and its replacement by a government which expresses the aspirations of the working class and poor peasants, and thus poses the question of power.

In this situation the struggles of the workers and poor peasants of France will profoundly affect the evolution of the whole working class movement of Europe. France is the key to the European situation for the period that lies immediately ahead. At the same time every important struggle must bring the most class conscious militant and courageous workers, who at the moment continue to follow the leadership of the Stalinist and Socialist organizations, into collision with the leadership of these organizations in ever increasing numbers.

These conditions open up favorable possibilities to participating in the daily experiences and struggles of the working class, to rapidly extend the influence of the PCI, to expose the treacherous leaderships and policies of the CP and the Socialist Party of France and to transform the PCI into a mass party of the working class.

As the victorious successes or failures of the French workers will affect the masses of Europe so also will the successes or failures of the Trotskyist Party of France affect the Parties of the Fourth International, especially in Western Europe. Considerable successes for the PCI in France will give a tremendous impulse to all our organizations, blows will be struck at the Fourth International if the party fails in its task to transform itself into a combat party of the workers, into an organization based upon mass support.

In this period, when every important struggle of the workers poses the question of power, it is impossible to stress sufficiently the urgent necessity to seek every opportunity to participate in the struggle of the workers for bread and a rising scale of wages but to lead these struggles, to extend their scope wherever possible, to deepen them, unify them and in harmony with the evolution of the struggle itself, to seek to transform them into decisive political struggles for the overthrow of capitalism and

the establishment of working class power. To succeed in this task, it is essential for the Party to have a clear orientation and concretisation of our transitional slogans for power in the form of the "CP-SP-CGT to Power" and on the basis of this orientation to increasingly conduct a propaganda campaign in the press of the party as the organiser and director of the Party members in their daily contact with the workers.

The decision of the last congress of the PCI to push the negative slogan of Break the Coalition, without at the same time campaigning positively on the basis of the slogan of the CP-SP-CGT to Power, therefore was an error on the part of the leadership and majority of the Party, politically disarming the members and sympathisers in their struggle to raise the level of consciousness of the advanced guard and of the masses themselves by directly linking the daily problems and needs of the workers with the problem of power. This was demonstrated with great clarity by the failure of the Party to play any role in the mass demonstrations of the Paris workers and more recently that at the Champ de Mars. In these demonstrations the failure of the Stalinist leaders to pose the question of the Workers' Government was the subject of loud and spontaneous criticism by large groups of workers and where the clear slogans of our Party could have roused an echo and helped to bring these advanced workers into collision with the Stalinist leaders.

The IEC appeals to the leadership of the PCI to seriously reconsider the experiences, reorientate its entire political activity around the slogan of the CP-SP-CGT to Power as an immediate agitational demand. The IEC requests the leadership of the PCI to formulate a programme of action which concretises our International transitional Programme into the conditions of French economic and political life, to carry a summary of this programme of action prominently in the press and consistently utilise the problems of the French working class to popularise our programme and make it conscious in their daily life.

Given the necessity to deepen the coming struggles and to unify them and the favourable objective conditions which make this possible, the IEC appeals to the PCI leadership to direct a consistent propaganda in La Verite to force the leadership of the trade unions to prepare for and to organize a general strike against the rising prices and for a sliding scale of wages, and to link this call for action directly to the slogans of Power.

To ensure the rapid reorientation of the Party in line with what is said above, the IEC calls upon the leadership of the PCI to exercise a firm control over the contributions to La Verite eliminating all articles or formulations in contradiction to the above orientation, or which can be held to place it in doubt by sections of the Party or its sympathisers, and thus to carry out the task of preparing all who look to Trotskyism in France with a clear and consistent political line and directives for the great struggles that lie immediately ahead and may decisively settle the fate of the French working class for generations.

In saluting the members of the PCI and congratulating the Party for its splendid work in winning the cadres of the SP Youth towards the Party, the IEC believes that in the period of completing the evolution of the SPY and preparing for fusing the Socialist Youth into the French Section of the Fourth International, the surest guarantee of completing the education of the Socialist Youth and finally destroying the remnants of Social Democratic reformist ideas will be carried out precisely on the basis of the fighting campaign waged for our transitional slogans and concretised on the basis of the slogans of Labour to Power.

Lost - 3 for  
6 against  
5 abstentions

#### MOTIVATION OF THE VOTE OF COMRADE GEOFFROY

I wish to make known that, after fully studying the Haston resolution on the PCI, I abstain on this resolution because while agreeing with the general estimate of the present workers' struggles and on the tactics to be applied on these struggles, I am opposed to the concretization of our governmental slogan in the form "SP-CP-CGT to Power."

#### RESOLUTION ON THE MAGNIN CASE

1) The PCI has been engaged in a political struggle of tendencies. The outcome of this struggle will be determined by the party membership at the next congress of the PCI. It is the responsibility of the two main tendencies in the party to place as clearly as possible before the membership their political positions so that the rank and file militants can judge for themselves which of the contending tendencies defends the correct revolutionary line and which tendency has departed from it.

2) To pose in the midst of such a political discussion the question of split or the expulsion of the leaders of the Minority tendency, as was done in Comrade Magnin's letter is a crime against the party. The crime is particularly reprehensible since this split perspective is in no way motivated either politically or organizationally. Such an injection of the split perspective by a leader of the Majority tendency can do great harm to the party. It obscures the political issues, creates an atmosphere of hysteria which hinders the political resolution of the party crisis. It can only spread discouragement and pessimism in the party ranks, thus accentuating the party crisis.

3) The refusal of the Majority to disavow the split or expulsion perspective in clear terms and to condemn it sharply, and assure the party militants of the unity of the party, makes them responsible before the party and the International for the views expressed by Magnin.

4) The Plenum states its conviction that the present tendencies in the PCI have their place inside the party and the

International. It therefore calls on the Central Committee of the PCI for an explicit condemnation of the split perspective so that the atmosphere in the party could be cleared and the membership assured of the continued unity of the party. This is indispensable so that the party rank and file can intervene in the party crisis and resolve it by its democratic decisions at the party congress.

Carried - 9 for  
3 against  
2 abstentions

COUNTER RESOLUTION OF COMRADE GEOFFROY

The IEC has had its attention drawn to certain terms employed in a letter addressed by Comrade Magnin to the Majority members of the Central Committee, and especially to two passages saying:

- a) That if it becomes impossible to collaborate with the Frank minority, it is necessary to head toward its expulsion;
- b) That if it was too late to apply a whole series of organization measures (and he indicates that he thinks the contrary), it is necessary to prepare a split.

Although expressed privately, that is to say, expressing to the fullest extent the thoughts of their author, these ideas do not contain proposals of expulsion or of split. Consequently, the IEC declares that it is not obliged to take a formal position on this matter. However, it believes that these are ideas which can become very dangerous for the unity of the French party and calls upon the leadership of the PCI to reenforce its vigilance against everything which can develop a sharpening of the struggle of the tendencies and the danger of split in the party.

Lost - 3 for  
9 against  
2 abstentions

RESOLUTION ON THE ZELLER ARTICLE

The Fourth Plenum of the IEC notes with astonishment that the leadership of the PCI has published in No. 178 of LaVerite an article signed by Fred Zeller, in which is contained the following:

"We have entered into a new stage of capitalism, which requires without a doubt a party of a new type with a strategy and tactics that still remain to be defined."

It notes with even greater astonishment that the editorial board of La Verite, after having been called to order by the IS, has felt that it had to reply in No. 185 by linking the above quotation to the article by Comrade Thomas which appeared in the latest issue of "Quatrieme Internationale".

Concerning the statement of Zeller, it is impermissible that an organ of the International, whose programme is based on a very clear characterization of the epoch in which we live and of the type of party which this epoch requires, and thus distinguishes itself from all the various tendencies in the labor movement, should insert texts of this kind without any precise opinions of its own and without distinguishing its own position therefrom. No one denies to any militant in the International the right to question the fundamental bases of our program, but that should be done in an internal bulletin and not "in passing," in a newspaper article.

Concerning the insertion of the note in No. 185, it is either a matter of a misplaced pleasantry or of a political falsification. For, a perusal of the article by Comrade Thomas shows clearly that the latter, far from putting into question the character of our epoch and the nature of the party which it requires, on the contrary arrives at the conclusion that the present stage of monopoly capitalism even accentuates the exactness of the analysis of our programme relating to it.

After discussing the article of Zeller in La Verite, the IEC requests the editorial board of La Verite to develop in an editorial the perspectives, policy and tactics of the Fourth International, so as to leave no room for such ambiguity as might have resulted for readers of La Verite on the subject of these questions, from a reading of this article.

The IEC also requests Comrade Fred Zeller to put forward in the Internal Bulletin of the PCI, the exact ideas which he may have in the matter of the formulation which has aroused considerable criticism.

Carried - 13 for  
1 against

#### COUNTER RESOLUTION OF COMRADE GEOFFROY ON THE ZELLER ARTICLE

The IEC, after discussing the article which appeared in No. 178 of La Verite under the signature of Comrade Zeller,

Believes that the question of a new party and a new International is posed correctly, and without any prejudice to the PCI and the International, but on the contrary entirely to the advantage of the PCI and the International, as is evidenced by the entirety of the following passages treating this question:

"When, at the time, we denounced backsliding and put forward the necessity of a Revolutionary Party in order to take into hand the interests of the proletariat, we were insulted and beaten. The more clever people smiled and shrugged their shoulders while calling us 'splitters.'

"After the strikes of the postal workers, the railwaymen and the metal workers, the necessity of a new workers' party was

apparent to tens of thousands of workers.

"The new cadres of the great future workers party are only awakening at present. Tremendous forces are in gestation. We must approach them without sectarianism."

In the passage which follows immediately an ambiguous formulation can give rise to a revisionist interpretation: "We are entering into a new phase of Capitalism which will require without a doubt, a party of a new type and a strategy and tactics which remain to be defined." The words "which remain to be defined" on the intention of the author are equivalent to the formulation used in the appeal of the CC of the PCI of July 12th: "To such a revolutionary unity, our party does not put any pre-conceived condition. It requests you to come and discuss with us fraternally the policy of the revolutionary party, its method, its statutes, the line of conduct of its leadership..."

But these words could have given rise to a false interpretation. While approving the line of the appeal of the CC of July 12th the IEC considers the ambiguity noted above as regrettable and requests the leadership of the PCI to exert a more careful control upon the editorial board of the party's newspaper.

Lost (same composition in reverse as on previous resolution)

#### ORGANIZATIONAL RESOLUTION ON THE PCI

The IEC calls upon both tendencies of the PCI to herewith make a solemn declaration rejecting every idea of split and in favor of unconditional acceptance of the decisions of the coming congress.

The IEC at the same time calls upon the whole party to maintain the strictest Bolshevik discipline in carrying out the decisions of the party leadership up to the congress. It decides to constitute an arbitration commission composed of one member each of the two tendencies and of a member of the IS acceptable to both tendencies in order to supervise the democratic preparation of the congress and the Bolshevik maintenance of discipline.

Carried - 8 for  
4 against

#### GEOFFROY COUNTER RESOLUTION

After having heard and discussed the report of Comrade Germain on several internal organizational questions of the French party, the IEC calls to the attention of every member of the PCI that the party has only one leadership and one discipline and that every infraction against democratic centralism must be dealt with according to normal procedure. That up to the next congress the only leadership of the party is that which was elected by the 3rd congress of the party; that loyalty towards this leadership is the

only means of obtaining a healthy internal regime in the party, now as well as after the next congress; that the continuation of a struggle of the tendencies which leads to violation of discipline and creates an atmosphere of split in the French party must cease.

The IEC condemns every kind of splitting conduct and all acceptance of an idea of an inevitable split as well as any orientation that can endanger the perspective of revolutionary unity as outlined by the appeal of the CC of the PCI of July 12th.

The French party has indeed arrived at the decisive moment of its existence with the approach of a considerable acquisition of revolutionary militants coming from the Socialist Youth and undoubtedly also from the Socialist party. The integration of these militants won over to our program will be impossible within an atmosphere such as that prevailing at present in the French party. A failure of the French party in these conditions would signify a terrible blow to the development of the forces of the International in France. Whoever does not understand the necessity of a stricter discipline in the PCI at the present moment is taking a heavy responsibility upon himself.

If the CC of the PCI (or its Political Buro) considers it useful at the given moment, the IEC is prepared to constitute together with the representatives of the big tendencies of the French party a commission which will help in regulating all conflicts that may arise within the French party in the sense of discipline and organic cohesion in the course of action.

Lost - 4 for  
8 against

#### RESOLUTION ON THE BRITISH QUESTION

The IEC, after having discussed again for the third time in its plenum of September 1947, the question of the orientation of the work of the British section in the light of the entire recent development of the situation in England as well as that of the party, reaffirms the correctness of the orientation towards the Labour Party.

The development of the economic and political situation in Great Britain, far from taking place along the lines of the RCP leadership's perspectives, is characterized by growing difficulty faced by the Labour Government in view of the aggravation of the economic situation in the country which determines a policy of anti-working class measures and of the lowering of the standard of living of the masses, and therefore a growing discontent in the ranks of the workers politically affiliated to the Labour Party.

The IEC regrets that the recent congress of the RCP did not recognize the urgent character of a decisive turn towards the Labour Party, and that it persisted along a line which will accentuate the isolation of our movement in England, in the face of a

development of an objective situation which makes more and more clear the need for such a turn. The IEC, in view of the refusal of the RCP to decide upon such a turn, considers that it is not useful to force by its decision, the whole of the party to undertake this work, whose fruitful accomplishment must be the result of the political understanding of its importance and not a formal discipline towards a decision of the International. Furthermore, the IEC considers that, in view of the development of the situation in Great Britain and the dangerous stagnation of the RCP it cannot remain indifferent and be satisfied with simple recommendation.

For this reason, and with the additional aim of persuading the British comrades as a whole of the correctness of its orientation by practical example, the IEC declares itself in favor of the entry of the Minority of the RCP into the Labour Party.

Carried - 8 for  
5 against

Faced with situation concerning the RCP (Great Britain) where the majority at the last congress of the party declared itself against total entry into the Labour Party at this time, while the IEC has on three occasions favored such an orientation, the IEC is of the opinion that it would be wrong to impose its view on the RCP majority by instructing it to enter the Labour Party.

On the other hand, the RCP minority, which favors total entry, has made an appeal to the IEC to make it possible for it as a group to enter the Labour Party and apply its own policy within it.

The IEC therefore authorizes the minority to enter the Labour Party under the following terms acceptable to the RCP representatives on the IEC:

1) The minority as a group, when it enters the Labour Party, shall function independently under the direct discipline of the executive bodies of the International.

2) Both organizations are recognized as an integral part of the Fourth International with all rights and obligations. On the IEC there shall be one majority and one minority representative. On the IS there shall be one majority representative. At the World Congress, representation shall be accorded in proportion to numerical strength.

3) There shall be a coordinating committee of the RCP and the Entrist Group to supervise collaboration wherever possible of the work inside and outside the Labour Party, of both organizations.



The IEC emphasizes that this solution is exceptional and cannot be considered as a precedent in regulating the life of the sections. This solution shall be reviewed periodically in the light of the experiences of the work inside the Labour Party as well as the independent work of the RCP for the purpose of reestablishing the unity of the BSFI as soon as possible.

The RCP is to hold a national convention within 30 days devoted to the consideration of this proposal and its practical application. The decisions of the IEC are to be put into effect immediately following this convention.

(Resolution submitted by unanimous decision of the special commission 17-9-47.)

Carried - 11 for  
1 against  
1 abstention

#### RESOLUTION ON THE ITALIAN SITUATION AND THE P.O.C.

1) The Italian situation is characterized at present by a series of factors foreshadowing the approach of the coming crisis:

a) Inflation and the high cost of living are throwing the laboring masses of the towns and villages into ever greater misery and accentuate to the extreme the social contradictions.

b) The De Gasperi government is incapable of meeting the growing economic difficulties and maintains the country in a state of permanent crisis.

c) The reactionary policy of De Gasperi exasperates the laboring masses and opens the perspective of a second wave of political struggles following the vast movements for bread and wages which are unfolding at present.

d) The rise of neo-fascism, the revival of anti-working class terrorism and of the reactionary schemes of the army, the monarchists and the landed gentry in the South, create a favorable terrain for a powerful counter-offensive of the masses.

2) With this objective situation as a background, there is developing a process of differentiation and ideological fermentation inside the labor movement;

a) The fundamental orientation of the Italian CP remains that of the "peoples block" (the Italian formula for the Peoples Front). The CP is exposed to criticism and to growing disaffection on part of the worker's vanguard in view of its class collaboration policy. Its youth organization is disintegrating completely.

b) The Italian Socialist Party (PSI) has definitively dropped the perspective of adhesion with the CP. This has deprived its rank and file militants of their fundamental orientation and thrown the party into a serious crisis. The struggle between the Nenni and Basso tendencies is characterized by the fact that in both of those tendencies the centrist elements left are questioning the entire maximalist "strategy".

c) The Italian Socialist Labour Party (PSLI) is torn by a very serious internal crisis foreshadowing convulsions that can become fatal for this party. The reformist right wing (the "Critica Sociale" tendency of Saragat) wants to re-enter the government is orienting towards the closest collaboration with the Demo-Christians (Catholic Democrats). The center ("Iniziativa Socialista" tendency) has made a sharp and violent turn to the right, accepting governmental collaboration and collaboration on the Marshall Plan. As a result, a left wing is crystalizing around the Socialist youth, which is opposed to class-collaboration and has broken as a tendency with the "Iniziativa Socialista."

d) The Bordigist party is stagnating and its worker militants are being discouraged and demoralized as a result of its vain efforts to win the masses on the basis of its sectarian policy.

All of this fermentation is expressed by the fact that the industrial proletariat clearly senses the need for a new revolutionary policy, that it is deeply disillusioned with the existing parties and consequently maintains an ever more passive political waiting attitude. The situation is more than ripe for the building of a genuine revolutionary party. If the present period continues without the appearance of such a party, the elements of demoralization in the working class as a whole may overwhelm it in the face of the latent danger of civil war.

3) Faced with this situation, the POC, the section of the Fourth International has been incapable of translating into life the Trotskyist program in Italy as well as of establishing a serious pole of attraction for the various currents of radicalization which are crystalizing in the traditional organizations. Constituted by a fusion between the small Trotskyist group around Nicola Di Bartolomeo and the Federation of Puglia led by Mangano, the POC ever since its creation has been unable to assimilate the spirit and the meaning of the Transitional Demands. Its new leadership, originating from the Puglia Federation, at present substitutes for this spirit a completely anti-Leninist doctrinairism which disarms the party in the face of the grandiose tasks that it has to resolve. This sectarian doctrinairism is characterized by:

a) The establishment of a mechanical and imaginary link between "the transformation of war economy into peace economy" on the one hand, and the revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat on the other hand. The leadership of the POC is thus incapable of understanding precisely what the difficulties are that prevent a broad economic revival and which give the present situation a pronounced

explosive character, permitting the working class, under a proper leadership, to shake the entire capitalist regime proceeding from the struggles for immediate demands.

b) The inability to understand the fundamental need for a revolutionary party, at the present stage in Italy, of politicalizing the economic movements of the masses. The leadership of the POC confines itself to supporting the economic struggles and to issuing a few slogans on the subject of wages. It calls upon the masses to disinterest themselves in elections, in the Constituent Assembly, and in all political life and recognizes only one political "slogan": The dictatorship of the Proletariat.

c) It confuses the class collaboration policy of the traditional workers parties, in the form of "Peoples Front", "Peoples Block" etc... with the Leninist tactic of the united front of workers organizations, rejecting the latter in "principle" as equivalent to the former. The present situation in Italy, in view of the increasing hostility to the reactionary government, and the demagogic exploitation of it by the Stalinists, makes particularly necessary for the revolutionary party agitation around the slogan: "For a united front of the workers parties against the rise of reaction," "down with the De Gasperi government! against a new three party block (with the bourgeoisie)! for a CP-SP-PSLI-CGIL (Trade union Federation) government." Here too the sectarian attitude of the POC leadership disarms the party.

d) The lack of understanding of the role of the revolutionary party as the motive force of the workers struggle and the decisive power it exerts, in the course of these struggles to lead the masses to an understanding of the need to overthrow capitalism. For the present leadership of the POC the party must confine itself to supporting at present the workers struggles, without attempting to raise them to a higher level. Only when the objective conditions will be ripe (?) will the masses come to the party and the party itself become the revolutionary element in these struggles. This purely fatalistic conception reduces the POC to the role of a passive and impotent spectator at a moment when events are unfolding and will continue to unfold, which will decide the fate of the Italian proletariat for years to come.

This sectarian policy of the POC leadership would by itself repel all the currents of radicalization that are detaching themselves from the traditional organizations. But in addition to that the POC leadership has formally prohibited its members from participating in fraction work within the other workers organizations thus completely tying its hands with regards to influencing any of the new currents.

4) The present POC leadership elected at a national conference which was not preceded by a broad programmatic discussion, had as its essential task the preparation of the first congress of the party which was to result in the real act of constituting the Italian section of the Fourth International: The elaboration

and adoption of its program of action. However not only has the present leadership done nothing in this respect, but it has introduced organization principles and methods which if adopted, would give the party an entirely anti-Leninist physiognomy:

a) The present POC leadership wants to substitute for democratic centralism a "revolutionary centralism" which proceeds from the absurd standpoint that every minority in the party is "an objectively counter-revolutionary tendency," against which the leadership must "defend" the party. This conception leads the POC leadership to prohibit "in principle" the right of factions inside the party, to be against any organized tendency to work, and to limit the internal democracy of the party to the printing of minority articles in the bulletin.

b) The present POC leadership arrogates to itself the right to decide sovereignly upon the transmission or non-transmission of documents of the International to various sections of the party: it arrogates to itself the right to expel from the party all elements who "break" the "discipline" it itself established, and of prohibiting the International from intervening politically or organizationally in the POC aside from publishing "documents", under the pretext that such intervention constitutes "fraction work." It holds the position that the International exists only "potentially" and will only exist in reality when it will abandon its own line and adopt that of the POC.

5) In view of all of the preceding considerations the Fourth Plenum of the IEC

a) Declares that the genuine revolutionary party of the Italian proletariat still remains to be built.

b) Declares that the entirety of the political and organizational conceptions of the POC are in fundamental opposition to the program of the Fourth International.

c) Requests the leadership of the POC to make clear, in view of this opposition of its principles to those of the International, for what reasons it remains affiliated to the International, and to what extent it is prepared to fulfill the obligations of the political and organizational discipline of the International.

d) Formally instructs the Central Committee of the POC to postpone the first congress of the party towards the middle of the month of November, in order to permit the International to submit for the discussion preparatory to this congress its own programmatic documents and its own political line for Italy.

e) Instructs the IS to intervene energetically in the course of the preparations and the holding of congress of the POC, in order to defend therein the general line of the International, to group a maximum of militants on that basis and to admonish the congress of the POC that the adoption by the congress of the political and

organizational thesis of the present leadership will oblige the IEC and the World Congress to re-examine the whole question of the affiliation of the POC to the International.

Carried unanimously

MOTION ON ORGANIZATION OF THE POC (ITALY)

To inform the CC of the POC that its decision to expel members of the party engaged in fraction work in other organizations is contrary to the policy of the International. Such expulsions will not be recognized by the International. On the contrary, we consider such fraction work at this time of primary importance in Italy and we call upon the Bolshevik Leninists comrades in Italy to engage in such work. The IEC and the IS will render all aid possible to the comrades engaged in this work, which will be carried on under the direct control of the IS.

Carried unanimously

MOTION: The IEC instructs the IS to gather the necessary documentation on the organizations in Indo-China ("La Lutte" and Internationalist Communist League) and to report on this at the next plenum.

Carried unanimously

POLITICAL REPORT: The IEC has taken cognizance of the political report and of the declaration of the IS that a resolution along the general line of the report is soon to be submitted for International discussion.