

February 15, 1978

To the Political Committee

Dear Comrades,

Attached are the minutes from the January 27-29, 1978 United Secretariat meeting. (Pages 1-12, 26.)

Please note that Attachments A,B and C are not included in this packet. You have already received these in the packet of material on Colombia and the Bolshevik Tendency (sent to National Committee members dated February 14, 1978.)

Attachment A: Page 13: Letter to the United Secretariat from the PST of Colombia, dated January 25, 1978.

Attachment B: Page 21: Appeal from Members of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency, dated January 20, 1978.

Attachment C: Page 24: Resolution on Fausto Amador Adopted by the Central Committee of the Colombian PST.

Comradely,

Natalie

Natalie

MINUTES OF THE UNITED SECRETARIAT MEETING

January 27-29, 1978

PRESENT: Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Duret, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Jones, Kurt, Marline, Melan, Otto, Pepe, Riel, Roman, Romero, Rudi, Stateman, Susan, Thérèse, Walter

IEC PRESENT: Ahmad, Dunder, Fedeli, Karl, Mecky, Petersen, Sylvain, Williams

GUESTS: Allio, Cannon, Dario, Elettra, Ellis, Hassan, Holden, Jorge, Rocco, Sahber, Webster

AGENDA: 1. Iran
2. International Women's Day
3. World Congress Preparations
4. Indochina
5. Britain
6. Italy
7. Portugal
8. Colombia
9. Bureau Report

Chairpersons: Stateman, Holden, Petersen

MOTION by Romero: to postpone the point on Colombia until the next United Secretariat meeting on the request of the Colombian PST leadership (for full motion, see point 8 of these minutes).

AGREED: to postpone consideration of the motion until the last day of the United Secretariat meeting.

1. Iran

Ahmad and Sahber reported on the political situation in Iran, and on the present situation of Iranian Trotskyists and the perspectives for fusion of the two organizations (the Sattar League and the Iranian Group of the Fourth International in Europe).

Discussion.

MOTION by Stateman: to concur with the plans of the Iranian comrades to establish a parity committee to discuss fusion, and with their request to ask the Bureau to assign a United Secretariat member to work with the parity committee.

CARRIED

2. International Women's Day

Susan reported on a proposal that the Bureau be delegated to write a declaration of the Fourth International on the occasion of March 8, International Women's Day, which will be sent to sections for use in their press and will also be printed in Inprecor-Intercontinental Press.

Allio reported on the situation of international coordination of actions concerning repression against women and the right to abortion and employment.

Discussion.

3. World Congress Preparations

A. Thérèse reported on progress in writing a new draft resolution on the women's liberation struggle for the next World Congress. Following a meeting of the International Women's Commission of European comrades January 14-15, Thérèse, Allio, and Susan have written a new draft, which will be discussed at an International Women's Commission meeting in North America February 27-28 and then will be placed before the March 31-April 2 meeting of the United Secretariat. The draft will be distributed to members of the United Secretariat prior to this meeting.

B. Duret reported on the situation regarding the resolutions on Europe and on the World Political Situation for the next World Congress. The Bureau will send an outline of a draft resolution on Europe to IEC members, and will organize a meeting of European Political Bureaus to discuss the outline. On the basis of this discussion, a draft will be written. After consultation with the European sections, the Bureau will send a letter notifying comrades of the date and location of the meeting of European Political Bureaus.

Comrades Walter and Celso have begun work on an outline of the World Political Resolution.

C. Susan reported on several points concerning the International Internal Discussion Bulletin (IIDB).

1. Procedures for submissions to the IIDB.

In 1976 the United Secretariat adopted a set of guidelines for dividing the space in the IIDB. This corresponded to a situation in which the International was divided into two major formations (IMT and LTF), and most of the discussion contributions were coming from the two formations. These guidelines obviously do not apply any longer, since the majority of the International is not in any tendency at the present time. Thus, we return to the normal procedures for submissions to the IIDB with no special division of pages. Contributions to the IIDB are normally submitted to the United Secretariat for its approval by leaderships of sections or sympathizing organizations, by members of the International Executive Committee, or by international tendencies. In the case of contributions from individual comrades, these should be submitted first to the leadership of the section or sympathizing organization of which they are a member. The national leadership should consider whether the contribution in question belongs in the international discussion bulletin, or whether it would be more appropriate to publish it in the internal bulletin of the section (which are normally circulated internationally as well). The national leadership should make a recommendation to the United Secretariat along these lines, which the United Secretariat can take into account in making a decision on the contribution.

2. Suggested priorities for discussion contributions.

It was agreed at the December 13-14, 1977, meeting of the United Secretariat that the agenda of the next World Congress should be restricted to at most four or five points, in order to hold the congress relatively quickly. It appears clear now that the resolutions on women's liberation, the world political situation and Europe will be prepared early enough to be placed on the

World Congress agenda for a vote. Therefore these points should be priorities for contributions to the IIDB (although, of course, discussion remains open on all the points that have been proposed for the World Congress agenda, enumerated in the motion from the last United Secretariat meeting).

Discussion.

3. Spanish-language discussion bulletin.

Until now, the Spanish-language bulletin has been published in a decentralized and haphazard manner.

MOTION: That the Bureau take responsibility for assuring the publication and distribution of the IIDB in Spanish, in collaboration with the Spanish-speaking sections.

CARRIED

4. Indochina

Roman introduced a discussion on the statement by the Bureau on the Vietnam-Cambodia conflict, published in the January 20, 1978, issue of the French-language edition of Inprecor-Intercontinental Press (no. 20).

Discussion.

5. Britain

Brewster reported on the perspectives of the International Marxist Group regarding the possibilities for regroupment of revolutionary Marxists in Britain.

Discussion.

6. Portugal

Jorge reported on the current political situation and the prospects for fusion between the PRT and the LCI

Romero made additional report on fusion prospects.

PROPOSAL by Jorge: that the Bureau write its comments on the fusion proposals put forward by both the LCI and the PRT.

AGREED: to refer this question to the Bureau.

7. Italy

Rocco (GCR -- Italian section) and Dario (LSR) reported on the political situation in Italy.

Fedeli (GCR) and Dario (LSR) reported on prospects for fusion between the GCR and the LSR.

Discussion.

8. Colombia

MOTION by Romero: In view of the fact that several weeks ago the leadership of the Colombian PST asked that the discussion on Colombia be postponed until the next United Secretariat meeting, since already-planned activities regarding the electoral campaign made it impossible for them to send representatives of their leadership to the January meeting;

In view of the fact that, for the above-mentioned reasons, the representative of the Argentine PST asked one week ago to postpone the discussion on Colombia in order that the Colombian PST comrades could participate in it;

The United Secretariat decides to postpone the discussion on Colombia to its next meeting.

COUNTERMOTION by Petersen: To proceed to hear a reading of two letters to the United Secretariat, one from the leadership of the Colombian PST and another from the Proletarian Democracy Tendency of the PST, which explain the importance of maintaining the point on Colombia on the agenda.

MOTION BY PETERSEN CARRIED

Letter from PST(C) leadership read (see Attachment A). Appeal from Proletarian Democracy Tendency read (see Attachment B).

Statement by Romero: Despite the request made by the comrades of the Colombian PST to postpone discussion on Colombia until the next meeting in order that they could participate in it, the United Secretariat Bureau decided to include Colombia on the agenda. The United Secretariat majority has now rejected the proposal I made in the same sense, and thus has decided to have a discussion from which the most interested parties (or, as it were the principal indictees) will be purposely excluded. This decision, which violates the elementary rights of the Colombian party and leadership to hear the charges against them and to answer them, is aimed at taking further steps in the frame-up being prepared against the Colombian PST, the Bolshevik Tendency, and in the final analysis once more against the leadership of the Argentine PST and Comrade Moreno himself. It is also a decision which breaks with the practice of the United Secretariat, which often postpones for months discussions and decisions as important or even more important than this one. For instance, to give only some examples, the discussion on the character of the famous document entitled "The Red Book" ("El Libro Rojo") written by the PRT Combatiente, as well as on the break of this organization from the Fourth International. More recently, discussions have not been carried out with the same speed on the case of Fausto Amador. The attitude taken by the United Secretariat majority is determined solely by the factional interests of the unprincipled bloc which is attempting to obstruct the fight in which the comrades of the Colombian PST are engaged, the fight for a real Leninist combat party and, more generally, the fight of our tendency to defend truly Bolshevik policy, party regime, and morality inside the International. This profoundly anti-democratic decision deepens the action initiated by comrades Jean Pierre and Hansen in their intervention in the PST Central Committee meeting; in this way, it opens a new and serious situation in the International to which my party and the Bolshevik Tendency will not fail to respond.

These considerations have led me to decide to refrain from

from intervening (and from participating in any kind of vote) on the item on Colombia, to ask that my declaration be added to the minutes, and, as a member of the United Secretariat, the leadership of the Argentine PST and the Bolshevik Tendency, to denounce the arbitrary nature of the decision taken by the new majority of the United Secretariat, which I do not consider valid.

Statement by Duret and Stateman: In light of the report made by Comrade Riel at the United Secretariat meeting held at the end of October, the United Secretariat Bureau asked comrades Riel, **Pepe**, and Enrique to attend in the capacity of observers the meeting of the Colombian PST Central Committee, held December 9-12, 1978.

1. The United Secretariat Bureau, through a letter and telephone calls, immediately informed the leadership of the Colombian PST that this delegation would be sent. The leadership did not have any objections. The Bureau asked the delegation to make a report to the next meeting of the United Secretariat. At the end of the CC meeting, the delegation made it known to the meeting that a point on the internal situation in the PST would be placed on the agenda of the United Secretariat meeting of January 27-29, and not the meeting scheduled for December 17-18.

2. In a letter dated January 5, 1978, sent to the leadership of the PST, the United Secretariat Bureau confirmed that the point on Colombia would be placed on the agenda of the January United Secretariat meeting. In another letter dated January 17, the Bureau explicitly invited the leadership to participate in this United Secretariat meeting. In order to ensure that this invitation would reach the leadership, on January 18 Comrade Sylvain spoke on the telephone with Camilo Gonzalez, political secretary of the PST-C, in order to repeat this invitation. In another telephone call on January 20, Comrade Sylvain informed Comrade Gonzalez that the point on the internal situation in the PST would be on the agenda.

3. Thus, comrades Riel, **Pepe**, and Enrique had been mandated to report to the January United Secretariat. Following this, every step was taken in order to inform the leadership of the PST of all procedures and in order to ensure the presence of a representative of this leadership. Finally, the United Secretariat received an appeal from seven members of the PST Central Committee, along with a list of more than 300 members and candidates who had been "separated from the party" for having demanded the right to form a tendency or for calling for a special convention of the PST. These disciplinary actions were a violation of the statutes of the PST and those of the Fourth International.

All this not only justified, but made it necessary to place the point on the situation in the Colombian PST on the agenda of this United Secretariat.

Riel reported on developments in the Colombian PST.

Discussion.

MOTION by Riel: to adopt the following resolution on the crisis in the Colombian PST:

A communication dated January 20, 1978, was received by the United Secretariat from leading members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) of Colombia who formed the Proletarian Democracy Tendency. The communication appeals the disciplinary

measures consisting of both temporary and permanent expulsions (suspensions, "separation from the party," etc.) taken against them by the majority of the Central Committee essentially for having called for the formation of a tendency and for having demanded a special convention to consider what to do about the crisis that threatened to split the party.

After hearing the reports of the comrades designated by the United Secretariat to attend the Central Committee and help the process of unification in Colombia, after studying the documentation, and after discussing the crisis in the PST and its ramifications, the United Secretariat reached the following conclusions:

1. In their decision of December 10,11,12, 1977, banning tendencies and factions, the majority of the Central Committee of the PST violated the provisions in the statutes of the Fourth International upholding internal democracy.

"El CC no autoriza la formacion de la tendencia democracia proletaria ni ninguna otra tendencia o fraccion antes del proximo periodo precongreso después de las elecciones presidenciales de 1978."

("The CC does not authorize the formation of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency or any other tendency or faction before the next precongress period after the presidential elections of 1978.")

The statutes read as follows on this point: (Section VII, point 29, letter g)

"g) les décisions sont acquises par vote à la majorité. Les minorités sont obligées d'appliquer les décisions majoritaires. Mais les minorités ont le droit incontestable de se constituer en tendances ou fractions sur la base d'une plate-forme établie et de jouir de droits démocratiques tels que:

- présenter leurs positions aux membres de leurs sections nationales pendant la période de discussion préparatoire aux congrès nationaux;
- présenter leurs positions aux membres de l'Internationale au moyen du Bulletin intérieur pendant la période de discussion antérieure au Congrès;
- être représentée dans les organismes dirigeants en considération de leur importance numérique et politique. Cela ne signifie pas que toute minorité, si petite soit-elle, a droit de représentation dans un organisme dirigeant ni qu'il y ait représentation proportionnelle des minorités. La Quatrième Internationale décide par vote majoritaire et cela implique le droit de la majorité de s'assurer une majorité opérante lorsqu'il existe de vives divergences. Mais c'est également le devoir de la majorité de sauvegarder les droits de la minorité et ceci signifie qu'une minorité ne doit pas être pénalisée parce qu'elle a une position minoritaire."

(This refers to the right to form tendencies and factions and not the form of the debate, which remains the responsibility of the leadership.)

It should be observed that the majority of the Central Committee of the PST compounded their violation of the statutes of the Fourth International by banning only one tendency, the one formed by comrades critical of the practices of the majority of the Central

Committee. For themselves, the majority of the Central Committee use a formation of their own, the Bolshevik Tendency, to promulgate their views.

2. In rejecting the call of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency for a special convention, the majority of the Central Committee also violated the provisions of the statutes of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. The statutes read as follows on this point:

"El Congreso Especial del Partido podra citarse en cualquier momento por un tercio (1/3) de la militancia o de las celulas de base, por un tercio del Comite Central (1/3), o por la mayoria del Comite Ejecutivo. El lapso entre su citacion y el momento de su realizacion no puede ser menos de un (1) mes."

("A special convention of the party can be called at any time by one-third (1/3) of the rank-and-file members or cells, by one-third of the Central Committee (1/3), or by a majority of the Executive Committee. The lag between the call and the time of its realization cannot be less than one (1) month.")

This provision of the statutes has been met.

Citing association with the call for a special convention and adherence to the Proletarian Democracy Tendency as grounds for expulsion (other grounds were also cited -- all of them of a flimsy or dubious nature), the majority of the Central Committee launched a purge that may well involve a majority of the ranks of the party.

The violation of internal democracy committed by the majority of the Central Committee has done serious damage to the PST and threatens to lead to still worse consequences.

The "separation" of Comrade Socorro Ramirez from the PST was a heavy blow to her presidential candidacy and to the entire electoral campaign of the PST and the Unidad Obrera y Socialista. News of the expulsion, as was to be expected, spread rapidly throughout Colombia, creating a first-rate political scandal, much to the delight of the enemies of Trotskyism.

The purge of the party, involving hundreds of members, provided fresh bits of scandal for the use of enemies of Trotskyism.

The antidemocratic actions of the majority of the Central Committee set up fresh barriers to the unification of Trotskyist forces in Colombia (organized in the PST and the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria) and greatly lessened the attractiveness of the Trotskyist movement as a whole among the left. The old myth about Trotskyism being the same thing as Stalinism was given fresh currency.

Worst of all has been the effect on the party of the course followed by the majority of the Central Committee. Their antidemocratic procedures have led to the destruction of cadres and now threaten to shatter the PST.

The Central Committee acts under the control of the top leadership of the Bolshevik Tendency, which intervenes directly in the decision-making process. Thus, the top leadership of this international faction bears responsibility for the acute crisis of the Colombian PST.

In view of the above facts and the refusal of the majority of the CC to abide by the statutes, the United Secretariat recognizes the validity of the appeal of the Proletarian Democracy Tendency.

The positions taken by this tendency, it should be added, are in accordance with the principles of the Fourth International. This is clearly shown by the tendency's programmatic declarations and course of action.

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

(translation)

Un comunicado fechado el 20 de enero de 1977, fue recibido por el Secretariado Unificado de parte de ciertos miembros de dirección del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) de Colombia, quienes formaban parte de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria. El comunicado hace un llamado a la medidas disciplinarias consistentes tanto en expulsiones permanentes como temporales (suspensiones, "separación del partido", etc.) tomadas en contra de ellos por la mayoría del Comité Central, esencialmente por haber llamado a la formación de una tendencia y por haber pedida una convención especial para considerar que hacer en relación a la crisis que amenazaba con escindir al partido.

Después de escuchar el reporte de los comaradas designados por el Secretariado Unificado para asistir al Comité Central y ayudar al proceso de unificación en Colombia, después de estudiar la documentación, y después de discutir la crisis en el PST y sus ramificaciones, el Secretariado Unificado llegó a las siguientes conclusiones:

1. En la decisión tomada el 10, 11, y 12 de diciembre, donde se prohíben las tendencias y facciones, la mayoría del Comité Central violó las especificaciones de los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional que fundamentan la democracia interna.

"El CC no autoriza la formación de la tendencia democracia proletaria ni ninguna otra tendencia o fracción antes del próximo período precongreso después de las elecciones presidenciales de 1978".

Los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional especifican lo siguiente sobre este punto: (Sección VII, 29, g)

"g) Les décisions sont acquises par vote à la majorité. Les minorités sont obligées d'appliquer les décisions majoritaires. Mais les minorités ont le droit incontestable de se constituer en tendances ou fractions sur la base d'une plateforme établie et de jouir de droits démocratiques tels que :

- présenter leurs positions aux membres de leurs sections nationales pendant la période de discussion préparatoire aux congrès nationaux;
- présenter leurs positions aux membres de l'Internationale au moyen du Bulletin intérieur pendant la période de discussion antérieure au Congrès;
- être représentées dans les organismes dirigeants en considération de leur importance numérique et politique. Cela ne signifie pas que toute minorité, si petite soit-elle, a droit de représentation dans un organisme dirigeant ni qu'il y ait représentation proportionnelle des minorités. La Quatrième Internationale décide par vote majoritaire et cela implique le droit de la majorité de s'assurer une

majorité opérante lorsqu'il existe de vives divergences. Mais c'est également le devoir de la majorité de sauvegarder les droits de la minorité et ceci signifie qu'une minorité ne doit pas être pénalisée parce qu'elle a une position minoritaire".

(Esto se refiera al derecho de formar tendencias o facciones, y no a la forma del debate, la cual sigue siendo una responsabilidad de la direccion.)

Debe observarse que la mayoría del Comité Central del PST fue mas lejos en su violacion de los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional al proscribir solamente a una tendencia, la formada por los camaradas criticos a las practicas de la mayoría del Comité Central. En cuanto a ellos mismos, la mayoría del Comité Central utiliza una formacion propia, la Tendencia Bolchevique, para promulgar sus puntos de vista.

2. Al rechazar el llamado de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria para una convencion especial, la mayoría del Comité Central tambien violo las previsiones de los estatutos del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. Los estatutos especifican lo siguiente en este punto:

"El congreso especial del Partido podra citarse en cualquier momento por un tercio (1/3) de la militancia o de las celulas de base, por un tercio (1/3) del Comité Central, o por la mayoría del Comité Ejecutivo. El lapso entre su citacion y el momento de su realizacion no puede ser menos de un (1) mes".

Este requisito de los estatutos fue cumplido.

Al citar la asociacion con el llamado para una convencion especial y la adherencia a la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria como fundamentos para expulsar (otros elementos fueron citados -- todos de naturaleza fragil o dudosa), la mayoría del Comité Central lanzo una purga que puede muy bien implicar a una mayoría de las filas del partido.

Las violaciones a la democracia interna cometidas por la mayoría del Comité Central han provocado un serio daño al Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores y ellas amenazan con llevarnos aun a peores consecuencias.

La "separacion" de la camarada Socorro Ramirez del PST fue un golpe fuerte a su candidatura presidencial y para el conjunto de la campaña electoral del PST y de la Unidad Obrera y Socialista. Las noticias sobre la expulsion, como era de esperarse, se extendieron rapidamente por todo Colombia, creando un escandalo politico de primer orden, para el gran placer de los enemigos del trotskismo.

La purga del partido, que involucra a cientos de miembros, proveyo un material nuevo de escandalo para el uso de los enemigos del trotskismo.

Las acciones antidemocraticas de la mayoría del Comité Central levantan nuevas barreras para la unificacion de las fuerzas trotskistas en Colombia (organizadas en el PST y la Liga Comunista Revolucionaria) y han lesionado gravemente la fuerza de atraccion del movimiento trotskista como un todo entre la izquierda. El viejo mito, en torno al trotskismo considerado como algo similar al stalinismo, recibio un nuevo aliento.

Lo peor de todo ha sido el efecto sobre el partido, del curso seguido por la mayoría del Comité Central. Sus procedimientos antidemocraticos han conducido a la destruccion de cuadros y ahora amenazan con destrozarnos al PST.

El Comité Central actúa bajo en control de la alta dirección de la tendencia bolchevique, quien interviene directamente, en su proceso de toma de decisiones. Así, la dirección de esta fracción internacional carga con la responsabilidad de la aguda crisis del PST colombiano.

En vista de los hechos arriba mencionados, y del rechazo de la mayoría del CC de apegarse a los estatutos, el Secretariado Unificado reconoce la validez del llamado de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria. Las posiciones de esta tendencia, hay que añadir, van de acuerdo con los principios de la Cuarta Internacional. Esto se demuestra claramente con las declaraciones programáticas y el rumbo de acción de la tendencia.

El Secretariado Unificado urge fuertemente a la mayoría del Comité Central de poner fin a sus violaciones de los estatutos de la Cuarta Internacional y del PST, retirando las medidas disciplinarias tomadas en contra de los miembros de la Tendencia Democracia Proletaria, reinstalándolos inmediatamente a sus posiciones en el partido, y realizando una convención especial convocada por más de un tercio de la membresía del PST.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 22 (Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Enrique, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Holden, Marline, Otto, Pepe, Petersen, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Sylvain, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 0

Abstaining: 0

Not voting: 0

Statement by Marline: I agree with the resolution proposed by the United Secretariat on the crisis in the Colombian PST. But I stress that:

1) the question of the relation and articulation between the statutes of the International and those of national sections must be spelled out clearly and made the object of a discussion on democratic centralism in the framework of the preparation for the World Congress;

2) this discussion must enable us to differentiate between factions and tendencies: a resolution adopted by the French Central Committee has defined the LCR's position on this question.

MOTION by Riel: The United Secretariat has been informed of the grave crisis that Editorial Pluma is now experiencing and of the many consequences that it has already had, particularly in Colombia.

1. The United Secretariat reaffirms the principle of the necessary separation between any autonomous commercial enterprise and the political organization.

2. The United Secretariat specifies that, on the basis of this traditional criterion, Editorial Pluma, which is a strictly autonomous commercial enterprise, has never been dependent on any body of the Fourth International nor is it linked to it in any way whatsoever. Moreover, no organism of the Fourth International has ever discussed or been consulted on the activities of Pluma.

3. As a result, the name and the authority of the Fourth International or any of its bodies cannot be invoked or used in relation to the present crisis of Pluma and its implications on all levels.

(translation)

El Secretariado Unificado, informado de la grave crisis que atraviezan las ediciones Pluma y de las multiples consecuencias que esta tiene desde ahora, particularmente en Colombia :

1. Reafirma el principio de una separacion necesaria entre cualquier tipo de empresa comercial autonoma y la organizacion politica.

2. Precisa que, sobre la base de este criterio tradicional, las ediciones Pluma, que son una empresa autonoma estrictamente comercial, nunca han dependido de ninguna instancia de la Cuarta Internacional, ni han estado ligadas a ella de ninguna manera. Nunca ningun organismo de la Internacional ha discutido, ni ha sido consultada sobre la actividad de Pluma.

3. En consecuencia, tanto el nombre y la autoridad de la Cuarta Internacional como de cualquiera de sus instancias no pueden ser invocados o utilizados tratandose de la crisis de Pluma, ni de cualquiera de sus implicaciones en todos los ordenes.

Vote on the above motion:

For: 22 (Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Claudio, Dunder, Duret, Enrique, Fourier, Frej, Georges, Holden, Marline, Otto, Pepe, Petersen, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan Sylvain, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 0

Abstaining: 0

Not voting: 0

9. Bureau Report

A. Duret reported on a proposal to discuss the elections for a European Parliament and what should be the Fourth International's intervention in these elections at a meeting of European political bureaus. A date will be proposed in a letter from the Bureau to sections.

B. MOTION by Stateman: To publish in the International Internal Discussion Bulletin the motion on developments in the Colombian PST, the report by Riel on Colombia, and documentary materials.

Discussion.

CARRIED

C. Sylvain read a motion passed by the Colombian PST leadership (see Attachment C).

MOTION by Sylvain: To reject the "Resolution on Fausto Amador Adopted by the Central Committee of the PST," since there exist no new elements which would make it necessary for the United Secretariat to reconsider this case. This means that the motion concerning Comrade Amador passed at the October 29-31, 1977, meeting of the United Secretariat remains in force. The United Secretariat also rejects the proposal for a public discussion concerning Comrade Amador, which could only be harmful to our movement.

For: 17 (Adair, Aubin, Brewster, Dunder, Duret, Frej, Holden, Otto, Pepe, Petersen, Riel, Roman, Stateman, Susan, Sylvain, Thérèse, Walter)

Against: 1 (Romero)

Abstaining: 3 (Claudio, Georges, Marline)

Not voting: 0

D. Melan reported on a letter received from Comrade Antonio (see Attachment D) reconsidering his previous request to resign from the Fourth International (see minutes of December 13-14, 1977, meeting of the United Secretariat).

AGREED: That Comrade Antonio remains a member of the Fourth International, and a comrade from the Bureau should try to discuss with him his future work in a section of the International.

E. Proposal by Romero: to include a point on the agenda of the next United Secretariat to discuss relations with the Dissident Faction of the MIR.

AGREED: to refer this proposal to the Bureau.

Meeting adjourned.

ATTACHMENT D

Letter from Antonio to the United Secretariat

Camaradas:

Hace unos dias me ha llegado vuestro planteamiento para que reconsidere mi salida de la IV, que como anuncié en mi carta anterior se debió al trabajo liquidador realizado por N. Moreno en la sección venezolana, así como a otras graves divergencias políticas y metodológicas con la TB, de cuya dirección y cargo hemos sido corresponsables desde su fundación. También he tenido la oportunidad de conocer la actual discusión encaminada a superar la dinámica fraccional y a lograr un régimen interno saludable de cara al próximo Congreso.

Este hecho, más la comprensión de que mi ruptura, en ningún caso justificable con la IV, ha sido una decisión precipitada y con las gabas sectariás de la TB puestas, me lleva a daros una respuesta positiva y a pedir mi reingreso en las filas de la Internacional en la forma que estimeis más conveniente.

La carta aparecida en la minuta del SU firmada por Andrés Romero el 11/11/77 y titulada "A necessary piece of information" es una pieza maestra de pequeñas verdades, omisiones y mentiras considerables. Responderá a sus 11 puntos. Pero resulta realmente sorprendente que Romero hable con tanta seguridad sobre hechos acaecidos en Venezuela en los que no tuvo participación alguna. Su esfuerzo por dar una explicación psicológica a nuestra ruptura será vano: para ocultar la crisis de la TB va a necesitar otras armas. Muy bien. Si la Internacional nos readmite, discutiremos el contenido político de estos "incidentes", "tan inconsistentes" y a los que seguramente "no valdrá la pena responder".

Fraternalmente
Antonio (Tarquin)

(translation)

Comrades,

A few days ago I received your invitation to reconsider my resignation from the FI which, as I explained in my previous letter, was provoked by the liquidationist activity carried by N. Moreno in the Venezuelan section as well as by other serious political and methodological differences with the BT, for whose leadership and orientation I have coresponsible since its foundation. I also had the opportunity to be aware of the present discussions aimed at overcoming the factional dynamic and at creating a favorable internal situation with a view to the next World Congress.

This fact and the understanding that my resignation -- in no way justified as far as the FI is concerned -- was a hasty decision and was marked by the sectarian characteristics of the BT, lead me to give a positive answer and to ask to be reintegrated in the FI in the way you consider most convenient.

The letter published in the USec minutes which was signed Andres Romero, dated November 11, 1977, and entitled "A necessary piece of information," is a masterpiece of half-truths, omissions, and considerable lies. I will answer each of its eleven points. However, it is really astonishing that Romero speaks with such great assurance about events that occurred in Venezuela and in which he did not participate in any way. His attempt to give a psychological explanation for my resignation is in vain: he will need different weapons to hide the crisis of the BT. Okay. If the FI accepts me again, I'll discuss the political content of these "incidents" that are "so immaterial" that it's "not worth responding to them."

Fraternally, Antonio (Tarquin)