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Contents

MINUTES OF THE THIRD CONGRESS SINCE REUNIFICATION

(Ninth World Congress)

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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MINUTES OF THE
THIRD WORLD CONGRESS SINCE REUNIFICATION
(NINTH WORLD CONGRESS) OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL,
WORLD PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

First Session

Chairman: Thérèse

Convened: 4:45 p.m.

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS

Congress convened by Walter.

The Congress honors comrades who have died since the last World Congress, including: Rose Karsner, Beatrice Hansen, Leo Bernard, Mallikarjun Rao, the leaders of the Indonesian Partai Acoma, and Ernesto Che Guevara.

Motion by Walter: To elect an honorary presidium composed of comrades victimized by imperialist or Stalinist repression, including: Hugo Blanco, Eduardo Creus, Pedro Candela, Daniel Camejo Guanche, Carlos Sevilla, Jacek Kuron, Karol Modzelewski, Mohamad Harbi, Neville Alexander, arrested Greek and Spanish Trotskyists, oppositional Soviet communists arrested for opposing the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and two Argentine comrades gravely wounded during a strike.

Motion carried.

Motion by Walter: That the following comrades constitute the Presiding Committee of the Congress: Tom, Thérèse, Manuel, Said, Rienzi, Sterne, Gormley.

Motion carried.

Procedural motions from the outgoing United Secretariat:

a. That a security committee of three be elected, including: Clito, Adair, Vergeat.

Motion carried.

b. To accept the following rules:

1. The time limit for reports and counterreports be 1½ hours.
2. The time limit for contributions to the discussion be 20 minutes.
3. The time limit for summaries be 30 minutes.
4. All amendments must be written.
5. On disputed procedural points and points of order there will be one speaker for and one speaker against, each with 5 minutes.
6. The time limit for commission reports be one-half hour.

Motion carried.

c. To approve the following agenda:

1. Organization of the Congress - First Session.

2. Report on Political Theses - First Session. Discussion and summary - Second Session.

3. Report and minority report, discussion and summaries on the Latin-American resolution - Third Session.

4. Report, two minority reports, discussion and summaries on the Chinese Cultural Revolution resolutions - Fourth Session.

5. Report, discussion, and summary on the International Youth Radicalization resolution - Fifth Session.

6. Report, discussion, and summary of Tactics in Western Europe resolution - Sixth Session.

7. Report, discussion, and summary on Algeria resolution - Seventh Session.

8. Reports, discussion, and summaries on the German, Ceylon, and British Commissions - Seventh Session.

9. Report and discussion on the Activities of the International - Eighth Session.

a. Financial report - Eighth Session.

b. Mandates report - Eighth Session.

10. Voting on resolutions and election of the International Executive Committee - Eighth Session.

11. Report and discussion on the Youth Commission and Argentine Commission - Ninth Session.

Amendment to the agenda by Diego: That the elections to the IEC be held after the Argentine Commission report.

Amendment carried.

Agenda carried as amended.

Motion by Kurt: That there be a commission on Spain.

Countermotion by Walter: That no decision be taken on whether to constitute a commission on Spain until the Spanish comrades arrive.

Countermotion carried.

d. That the following commissions be constituted with the following members:

1. Mandates and Auditing Commission - Hans, Willy, Vergeat, Rienzi, Kailas.

2. Argentine Commission - Juan, Livio, Rachèle, all Latin-American comrades at Congress.

3. Ceylon Commission - Thérèse, Abel, Kailas, Pia, Peng, Okatani (if he arrives).

4. German Commission - Susan, Martine, Fritz, Pierre.

5. British Commission - Sirio, Walter,

Kent, Sterne, Eduard, Diego, Okatani (if he arrives).

6. Youth Commission - Martine, 1 or 2 representatives engaged in youth work from each delegation.

Bala raises question as to the basis for constitution of the Ceylon Commission.

Clarification by Livio for the outgoing United Secretariat that the Ceylon Commission was constituted to review an appeal and charges made by Comrade Edmund, a member of the outgoing IEC.

Amendment by Kurt: That the decision on the composition of the German Commission be postponed for a day to allow the Bolshevik Left Faction of the German section to find supporters among the delegates at the Congress.

Amendment defeated.

Amendment by Capa: That Pedro and Albert be added to the Argentine Commission.

Amendment by Ruiz: That Ruiz be added to the Argentine Commission.

Ruling by chair: The Congress should vote separately on the additional nominations to the Argentine Commission.

Amendment to add Pedro to Argentine Commission carried.

Amendment to add Albert to Argentine Commission carried.

Amendment to add Ruiz to Argentine Commission defeated.

Pia requests that he not be a member of the Ceylon Commission.

Amendment by Kurt: That Pierre be excluded from the German Commission.

Amendment defeated.

Amendment by Pia: That Pia be removed from Ceylon Commission.

Amendment by Kurt: That Pia be added to the German Commission.

Amendment by Pia defeated.

Amendment by Kurt carried.

Motion by Thérèse: To approve the composition of all commissions as amended.

Motion carried.

II. REPORT ON THE UNITED SECRETARIAT DRAFT RESOLUTION "THE NEW RISE OF WORLD REVOLUTION" by Walter.

Session adjourned at 7:50 p.m.

Second Session

Chairman: Tom

Convened: 9:30 a.m.

Discussion on report on "New Rise of World Revolution": Capa.

Proposed amendments to Political Theses prepared by Capa and Andres were read.

Proposal by reporter that amendments be mimeographed, circulated to delegates, and submitted to Editing Commission.

Agreed to by Capa and Andres.

Continuation of discussion on Political Theses: Capa, Peng, Lewis, Edmund, Kailas, Sam, Tom, Gulam.

Session adjourned for lunch.

Session reconvened.

Continuation of discussion on Political Theses: Antonio, Alex, Baran, Bala, Livio, Lillo, Luis, Cruz, Abel, Petros, Vergeat, Baker, Roca, Andres.

Summary of report on Political Theses by Walter.

Session adjourned: 7:25 p.m.

Third Session

Chairman: Rienzi

Convened: 9:15 a.m.

III. MAJORITY REPORT ON LATIN-AMERICAN RESOLUTION by Roca.

MINORITY REPORT ON LATIN-AMERICAN RESOLUTION by Juan.

Discussion on Latin-American resolution: Manuel.

Session adjourned for lunch.

Session reconvened.

Chairman: Said

REPORT FROM MANDATES COMMISSION by Hans.

Because of the size of the Congress and the fact that major disputed political reports and counterreports are before the body for decision, the Mandates Commission makes the following motions:

- 1a. Elected delegates mandated by sections have voice and decisive vote.
- 1b. Fraternal delegates from supporting groups and IEC members who are not elected delegates have voice and consultative vote.

- 1c. Observers have no vote. Observers have no voice.
2. No delegates shall speak a second time under a point if other delegates who have not spoken have asked for the floor.
3. All elected delegates from sections that have asked for the floor have the right to speak before fraternal delegates.
4. Delegates have one (1) vote on procedural questions regardless of the number of mandate votes they have on political questions.

Discussion of Mandates Commission report.

Bala objects to Mandates report's designating the Ceylon mandates as provisional until decision on the Ceylon Commission report. Mandate Commission agrees to drop the term "provisional" from Ceylon's two mandates.

Amendments by Walter:

1. To add to the last sentence of point 1c the following: "unless the body decides otherwise on an individual basis for a single point."
2. To add to point 3 the following: "except former IEC members."

Amendment by Eduard: That Otto take the place of Horst as one of the two German delegates with provisional voice and vote on procedural questions.

Mandates Commission accepts Walter's two amendments and Eduard's amendment.

Mandates Commission report and motions approved as amended.

Continuation of discussion on Latin-American resolution: Lillo, Peng, Rachèle, Walter, Kailas, Capa, Tom, Bala, Andres, Edmund.

Motion by Walter: That the discussion of Latin America be extended until noon the next day, and that changes in the schedule be referred to the Presiding Committee.

Motion carried.

Session adjourned at 7:40 p.m.

Fourth Session

Chairman: Manuel

Convened: 9:20 a.m.

Continuation of discussion on Latin-American resolution: Pedro, Rienzi, Luis, Diego, Felipe.

Objection by Juan to Valdes' name being on the speakers list, since he is neither present nor a delegate.

Motion by Juan: That Valdes' letter be mimeographed and distributed to the delegates.

Countermotion by Livio: That Valdes remain on the speakers list and that the letter by him be read.

Countermotion carried by 20 to 12.

Motion from Presiding Committee: to close the speakers list.

Motion carried.

Continuation of discussion on Latin-American resolution: Kent, Gormley, Horst, Albert, letter read from Valdes, Antonio.

Session adjourned for lunch.

Session reconvened.

Continuation of discussion on Latin-American resolution: Marc.

Summary of minority report on Latin America by Juan.

Motions by Juan:

1. To reject the general line of the draft resolution on Latin America, which projects the strategy of rural guerrilla war on a continental scale for a prolonged period.
2. To open an internal discussion in the Fourth International on the questions raised by the draft resolution on Latin America and the various written criticisms of it submitted to the World Congress.

Summary of majority report on Latin-American resolution by Livio.

Motion by Presiding Committee: That commissions convene now until 5:45 p.m. and that the session reconvene at 6 p.m. with the majority report on the Chinese Cultural Revolution resolution.

Motion carried.

Session adjourned at 4:30 p.m.

Session reconvened at 6:15 p.m.

Chairman: Gormley

IV. MAJORITY REPORT ON THE CHINESE CULTURAL REVOLUTION by Livio.

Session adjourned for supper at 7:25 p.m.

Session reconvened at 8:30 p.m.

Continuation of majority report on the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

Motion by Jebrac: That Livio be given a one-hour extension of time to finish his report.

Discussion.

Ruling by chair: The speaker has not requested additional time, therefore the motion to extend his time is out of order.

MINORITY REPORT ON THE CHINESE CULTURAL REVOLUTION by Kent.

Session adjourned at 10:25 p.m.

Fifth Session

Chairman: Sterne

Convened: 8:10 a.m.

MINORITY REPORT ON THE CHINESE CULTURAL REVOLUTION by Peng.

Discussion on Chinese Cultural Revolution: Capa, Charlier, Juan, Walter, Gulam, Petros, Pierre, Bala, Edmund.

Session adjourned for lunch.

Session reconvened.

Chairman: Thérèse

Continuation of discussion on Cultural Revolution: Adair.

Question raised by Charlier: Since Maud is an alternate, is she allowed to speak next?

Motion by Pedro: That alternate delegates who are seated by the delegation to replace a delegate for an entire point have full rights of a delegate on that point.

Motion carried.

British delegation states that Maud is seated in place of Bob on the point on the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

Continuation of discussion on Cultural Revolution: Maud, Kailas, Alex, Pedro, Diego, Rienzi, Antonio, Sirio, Tom, Peterson.

Summary of minority report on Cultural Revolution by Peng.

Summary of minority report on Cultural Revolution by Kent.

Summary of majority report on Cultural Revolution by Livio.

Motion by Gulam: That Livio be given an extension of one-half hour to complete his summary.

Discussion.

Motion carried.

Motion by Juan: That the two minority reporters be given an extension of one-half hour for their summaries also, so that each reporter will receive the same amount of time.

Discussion.

Motion carried.

Continuation of summary of majority report on Cultural Revolution by Livio.

Motion from Presiding Committee: That all further changes in the schedule must be made through the Presiding Committee.

Motion carried.

Session adjourned at 7:30 p.m.

Sixth Session

Chairman: Manuel

Convened: 8:25 a.m.

Continuation of summary of minority report on Cultural Revolution by Peng.

Continuation of summary of minority report on Cultural Revolution by Kent.

V. MAJORITY REPORT FROM THE BRITISH COMMISSION by Sirio.

MINORITY REPORT FROM BRITISH COMMISSION by Walter.

Statement from the British delegation made by Peterson:

1. We accept that part of the United Secretariat commission report which says that the expulsion of Comrade Kork was not carried out in the traditions of the Fourth International, in that we failed to use this experience to have a political discussion about the differences which led to the breaking of discipline by Kork, and that the expulsion was carried out too swiftly.
2. The IMG, if recognized as a section, will issue a call to all individuals and groups which agree with the program and policy of the Fourth International to open up talks with us with a view to their joining the IMG.

Discussion on British Commission reports: Bob, Adair, Gulam, Gormley, Pia, Diego, Sterne.

Summary of minority report of British Commission by Walter.

Summary of majority report of British Commission by Sirio.

Session adjourned for lunch.

Session reconvened.

Chairman: Manuel

VI. REPORT ON UNITED SECRETARIAT DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH RADICALIZATION by Hans.

COUNTERREPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH RADICALIZATION by Jebrac.

Motion from Presiding Committee: That observers from sections engaged in youth work be given voice on this point.

Motion carried.

Motion by Pedro: That observers be given the floor only after all delegates wishing the floor have spoken.

Motion carried.

Discussion on the International Youth Radicalization: Peggy, Kurt, Peter, Bob, Gulam, Antonio, Sterne, Diego, Fred, Thérèse, Vergeat, Abel, Capa, Susan, Vollodar.

Session adjourned at 7:55 p.m.

Seventh Session

Chairman: Sterne

Continuation of discussion on the International Youth Radicalization: Fritz, Manuel, Ben, Bala.

Summary of counterreport on the International Youth Radicalization by Samuel.

Summary of report on United Secretariat draft resolution on International Youth Radicalization by Hans.

VII. REPORT FROM THE ARGENTINE COMMISSION by Livio.

MINORITY REPORT FROM THE ARGENTINE COMMISSION by Andres.

Session adjourned for lunch.

Session reconvened.

Chairman: Sterne

Continuation of minority report from the Argentine Commission by Andres.

Motion by Capa: That Andres' time be extended for one-half hour.

Discussion.

Motion carried.

Request by Luis for extended time in the discussion to clarify certain points.

Proposal by chair that all speakers

after Luis be limited to five minutes to stay within the schedule.

Motion by Hans: That Luis be given extended time, that he be the first speaker, and that each speaker after him be given 10 minutes.

Motion carried.

Discussion on reports from the Argentine Commission: Luis, Peterson, Edmund, Maud, Manuel, Roca, Juan.

Motion by Juan: To refer the proposals from the Argentine Commission back to the Argentine Commission.

Discussion.

Motion carried.

VIII. REPORT FROM GERMAN COMMISSION by Pia.

Letter to World Congress from the "Bolshevik Left Faction" of the German section was read.

Discussion on the German Commission report: Vergeat.

Motion by Martine: That if there are any German comrades who wish to speak in opposition to the report, they should speak first.

Motion carried.

No further discussion.

IX. REPORT ON ACTIVITIES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL by Walter.

Discussion on Activities report: Juan, Gormley, Peng, Edmund, Tom.

Session adjourned at 8:00 p.m.

Eighth Session

Chairman: Gormley

Convened: 10:15 a.m.

Motion from Presiding Committee to proceed with the following agenda and to conclude the Congress by 7:30 p.m.:

1. Financial report
2. Argentine Commission report
3. Ceylon Commission report
4. Voting on resolutions
5. Election of the IEC

Motion carried.

Continuation of discussion on Activities report: Vergeat.

X. FINANCIAL REPORT by Martine.

Motions by Martine:

1. All sections and groups are obliged to pay monthly dues, even if only nominal.
2. Dues should be fixed by the incoming International Executive Committee, and no section or group representative should

leave the Congress without having fixed their monthly dues.

3. All bilateral financial arrangements for specific purposes can only be made with agreement of the IEC, so that the IEC can start drafting the budget.

Discussion on Financial report: Rachèle, Kent, Livio, Andres.

Livio reported that the Argentine Commission had not been able to meet.

Discussion: Juan.

Motion by Pedro: That the Argentine Commission meet now.

Motion carried.

XI. REPORT FROM THE CEYLON COMMISSION by Pia.

Motions from Ceylon Commission:

1. That the leading bodies of the International be instructed to appoint a small investigating committee along the lines mentioned above. This committee will submit a report of its findings and its recommendations for action to the next meeting of the IEC.

2. That the IEC act with all possible speed on the recommendations of this committee with the full powers of a World Congress, including the power to disaffiliate the LSSP(R) as the Ceylon section of the Fourth International if it feels this is the proper action.

3. That until the IEC decides otherwise, the LSSP(R) remains the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, and thus should be given all possible assistance in its work by all bodies of the International.

4. That the double function of Comrade Bala as secretary of both the CMU and the section be terminated as rapidly as possible.

5. The RSP would not be recognized as the Ceylon section even were there not already a recognized section in Ceylon. The unacceptable methods by which this tendency carried through its factional fight before and after the split dictate a very reserved attitude on this question. We appeal to the RSP to prove its proclaimed loyalty to the Fourth International in renouncing at once the pretension of being the recognized section, by retracting the above-mentioned unacceptable attacks upon Comrade Bala, by renouncing further attacks of a factional nature upon the LSSP(R) and its leadership, and by this means prepare the eventual regrouping of the Trotskyist forces of Ceylon in a united section.

Motion by Pia: That Bala and Edmund be given each one-half hour to explain

their positions.

Motion carried.

Discussion on Ceylon Commission report: Edmund, Bala, Pierre.

Motion by Pierre: That the only question to be discussed now is the recognition of the Ceylon section.

Discussion.

Motion carried.

Continuation of discussion on Ceylon Commission report: Walter, Abel.

Motion by Abel: That the International Executive Committee investigate with the full power of the World Congress the allegations made by the comrades from Ceylon and that the incoming IEC have the power to disaffiliate the Ceylon section pending the results of the investigation.

Continuation of discussion on Ceylon Commission report: Lewis, Walter, Abel, Gulam, Pierre.

Summary of Ceylon Commission report by Pia.

Session adjourned for lunch.

Session reconvened.

Chairman: Gormley

XII. CONTINUED REPORT FROM THE ARGENTINE COMMISSION by Livio.

MINORITY REPORT FROM THE ARGENTINE COMMISSION by Juan.

Motions by Juan:

1. That the World Congress recognize that the forces associated with Luis hold a majority in the Argentine section of the Fourth International.

2. That as an exceptional, temporary measure taken in view of the special circumstances, the minority be permitted to have its own public journal.

3. That both sides are to refrain from any public attacks on each other.

4. That the World Congress urge both sides to do everything possible to heal the split.

Discussion on the Argentine Commission reports: Livio, Capa, Luis, Walter.

Motion by Walter: To change the last sentence of point No. 30 of the statutes of the Fourth International in the following way: "Where a section exists, the International will in no case recognize any other formation as a 'sympathizing group,' except with the approval of that section."

Session adjourned for short break at 4:29 p.m.

Session reconvened at 4:45 p.m.

XIII. VOTING ON RESOLUTIONS AND COMMISSION REPORTS.

1. Motion by Walter: The Ninth World Congress warmly accepts the affiliation of the Ligue Communiste as the French section of the Fourth International. The World Congress charges the new United Secretariat to send in the name of the Congress a message to all the members of the International indicating the importance of this decision.

Motion carried by acclamation.

2. Motion by Otto: Because of the departure of the representatives of the Bolshevik Left Faction of the German section, according to the proposal from the German Commission we would now have only one delegate vote. We ask the World Congress to give us the two mandates, because of the special situation mentioned above, so that the German section may have its due representation at this Congress.

Motion carried unanimously.

3. Motion by Pia: The World Congress strongly recommends to the German section to act according to the proposals of the German Commission in regard to the distribution of the mandates for the pending National Conference of the German section.

Motion carried unanimously.

4. Motion by Walter: That the International Marxist Group be recognized as the British section of the Fourth International.

Motion carried unanimously.

5. Motion by Abel:

a. That this World Congress rejects the request that the LSSP(R) be disaffiliated and that the RSP of Comrade Edmund be recognized as the Ceylon section.

b. The LSSP(R) is and remains the Ceylon section of the Fourth International.

c. That in view of the charges leveled, we instruct the International Control Commission to carry out a thorough investigation and to submit a report containing its findings and its recommendations for action to the coming meeting of the IEC.

Motion by Pierre:

a. The World Congress rejects the request by Comrade Edmund for disaffiliation of the LSSP(R).

b. The LSSP(R) is and remains the Ceylon-

ese section of the Fourth International. c. The next session of the IEC will have on its agenda the activity of the Ceylon section.

Points a. and b. of both motions carried unanimously.

Roll call vote on point c. of Abel's motion.

Full delegates: 14 for, 28 against, 8 abstentions.

Fraternal delegates: 8 for, 8 against, no abstentions.

Motion defeated.

Voice vote on point c. of Pierre's motion.

Motion carried unanimously.

6. Motion by Walter: To change the last sentence of point No. 30 of the statutes of the Fourth International in the following way:

"Where a section exists, the International will in no case recognize any other formation as a 'sympathizing group,' except with the approval of that section."

Motion carried unanimously.

Motions from the majority of the Argentine Commission presented by Livio:

The Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International, considering that at the moment of the split in the Argentine section the tendency El Combatiente represented the majority of the Central Committee, that according to the report of the representative of the United Secretariat and the information given by other comrades, it held the majority in the organization as a whole, and that the relationship of forces has not fundamentally changed since then, decides that the PRT -El Combatiente continues to be the section of the Fourth International and that the tendency La Verdad should be given the status of sympathizing organization.

The Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International makes an appeal to the two organizations that they should refrain from public factional polemics and should establish a fraternal relationship.

7. Motion by Capa and Andres:

The PRT which publishes La Verdad should be recognized as official section of the Fourth International for the following reasons:

1. It represents the majority of active militants, and not simply sympathizers.

2. It has proved, during and after the process of split, a real proletarian-Bolshevik attitude, by never attacking publicly any member of the other faction.

3. It has not used physical attack in order to reduce existing methodological, organizational or political differences.

4. It has offered a real way of showing where the majority really was, by proposing, immediately after the split, a reunification congress within six months, under the control of the leadership of the Fourth International.

5. It follows a political line of relationship with the working class and student masses, without in any way abandoning technical military preparation.

6. For its unconditional defense of proletarian internationalism, Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

7. Because the other organization which is proposed for recognition did not observe and does not observe any of these aspects, and fundamentally does not respect point 6, as we proved by reading the paragraphs of the book El Unico Camino hasta el Poder Obrero y el Socialismo (The Only Road towards Workers Power and Socialism), written by three members of the Secretariat of the El Combatiente faction.

Roll call vote on Capa and Andres motion.

Full delegates: none for, 32 against, 13 abstentions.

Fraternal delegates: 2 for, 6 against, 6 abstentions.

Motion defeated.

Motion by Hans: To divide the vote on the motion from the majority of the Argentine Commission, taking one vote on the recognition of the Argentine section and the existence of a supporting group, and another vote on the evaluation of the majority of the Argentine Commission.

Motion carried.

8. Motion from Majority of Argentine Commission: To recognize the Luis group as the section of the Fourth International in Argentina and the Capa group as a sympathizing group of the Fourth International.

Full delegates: 43 for, none against, 2 abstentions.

Fraternal delegates: unanimous in favor.

Motion carried.

9. Motion: to accept the evaluation made in the majority report of the Argentine Commission.

Full delegates: 30 for, none against, 15 abstentions.

Fraternal delegates: 6 for,

none against, 6 abstentions.

Motion carried.

10. Motion from the Mandates Commission: That the Argentine section be granted 5 mandates and that Luis be recognized as the Argentine delegate with 5 votes. That Andres be given a fraternal vote as a fraternal delegate from a sympathizing group. That Capa be given fraternal vote as a former member of the IEC.

Motion carried unanimously.

11. Motion to approve the report of the British Commission.

Amendment by Volldar: To add the following to the report of the British Commission: "The Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International calls on all members of the Fourth International in Britain to immediately rejoin the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International."

Amendment accepted by Sirio for the British Commission.

Walter withdraws the motion contained in his minority report from the British Commission.

Hand vote on British Commission report as amended.

54 for, none against, 1 abstention.

Motion carried.

Chairman announces that Comrade Kailas has had to leave the Congress, but that he has left a written vote on those points where he was able to fully participate.

Objection by Livio to the principle of recording written vote of delegate not present.

12. Motion by Walter: The Ninth World Congress, considering that Comrade Kailas was present at all the discussion on three political documents submitted to the Congress for vote; considering that the normal procedure of voting at the end of each of the discussions has been set aside because of difficulties in defining the mandates; considering that the departure of Comrade Kailas from the Congress is for reasons of militant activity which he explained before the Congress began; decides to register his vote, left in writing, within the precise limits of his expression.

Counter-motion by Livio: Votes can be expressed only by the delegates who are present at the moment of the vote.

Roll call vote on Walter's motion.

Full delegates: 36 for, 6 against, 8 abstentions.

Fraternal delegates: 11 for, 4 against, no abstentions.

Motion carried.

Livio withdraws his countermotion.

13. Motion by Walter: That the Congress adopt the general line of the report by Walter and the written resolution "The New Rise of World Revolution," and authorize the IEC and the authors of the Theses to incorporate all amendments compatible with the line of the document.

Discussion: Juan, Peng, Walter, Livio.

Countermotion by Hans: To approve the general line of the report and the Theses and to accept those amendments approved by the Editing Commission, leaving the remaining amendments to be accepted into the Theses under the condition of unanimous agreement of the incoming United Secretariat.

Hand vote on general line of Theses and report.

Full delegates: 53 for, 2 against, no abstentions.

Fraternal delegates: unanimous in favor except 1 abstention.

Motion carried.

Hand vote on amendments already accepted by Editing Commission:

Unanimous in favor.

Motion carried.

Hand vote on procedure that remaining amendments be accepted under condition of unanimous agreement of incoming United Secretariat.

44 for, none against, 11 abstentions.

Motion carried.

14. Motion by Livio: The Congress approves the draft resolution on Latin America submitted by the United Secretariat, the report of Comrade Roca, and the summary by Comrade Livio.

Countermotion by Juan:

1. To reject the general line of the draft resolution on Latin America, which projects the strategy of rural guerrilla war on a continental scale for a prolonged period.

2. To open an internal discussion in the Fourth International on the questions raised by the draft resolution on Latin America and the various written criti-

cisms of it submitted to the World Congress.

Objection by Walter to including, in the motion by Juan to reject the line of the Latin-American resolution, his characterization of that line.

Statement by Juan: The motion is designed to bring political clarity into the discussion. That is how I see the line of the majority.

Motion by Hans: Juan's characterization of the resolution should be written into the minutes as his motivation for rejecting the Latin-American resolution, and the countermotion before the body should be to reject the general line of the Latin-American resolution.

Juan accepts the reformulation.

Discussion on the motions: Bala.

Vote on Livio's motion vs. Juan's motion to reject the general line of the draft resolution.

Full delegates: 36 for, 18 reject, 1 abstention.

Fraternal delegates: 8 for, 6 reject, 2 abstentions.

Motion by Livio carried.

Motion by Livio: To postpone vote on Juan's second motion until later.

Motion carried.

Motion by Livio: That the World Congress adopt the draft resolution on the Chinese Cultural Revolution submitted by the majority of the United Secretariat as supplemented by the report and the summary of the reporter.

Motion by Hans: That the Congress first vote on the two texts as countermotions and then vote on the general line of the majority report and summary.

Motion carried.

Clarification by Walter: That the motion to approve the majority resolution on the Cultural Revolution include the addition of the two points on proletarian culture and the Sino-Soviet border dispute which were raised in the discussion.

15. Vote on the majority and minority texts as counterresolutions:

Full delegates: 42 for majority, 13 for minority, no abstentions.

Fraternal delegates: 10 for majority, 3 for minority, 2 abstentions, 1 against both.

Majority resolution carried.

16. Vote on general line of majority report and summary:

Full delegates: 36 for, 2 against, 12 abstentions.

Fraternal delegates: 9 for, none against, 7 abstentions.

Motion carried.

17. Motion by Kent: That a literary discussion on China should continue after the Congress, supervised by the United Secretariat.

Hand vote: 52 for, none against, 2 full delegate abstentions, 1 fraternal abstention.

Motion carried.

18. Motion by French delegation and reporter for United Secretariat resolution on International Youth Radicalization:

The Ninth World Congress reaffirms that work among the youth is the central task facing the International in the immediate period.

It calls on all of the sections to mobilize their forces to promote this work.

Members of the Fourth International must continue their integration in the mass movements of the students and of the working youth and become their best agitators, propagandists and organizers.

The fundamental importance given to student and youth work must be reflected in the publications of the world movement such as Quatrième Internationale. These publications must systematically analyze the theoretical and practical problems of this work.

The document presented by the United Secretariat entitled "The Worldwide Radicalization of Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International" is an initial contribution. It should be viewed as launching a discussion to further develop and clarify the political orientation of our world movement toward the youth radicalization.

A document making a synthesis of the different experiences of the sections in youth work will be presented by the U.S. for adoption at the next IEC.

Hand vote on motion:

54 for, 1 fraternal delegate against, 1 abstention.

Motion carried.

Motion by Juan: To open an internal discussion in the Fourth International on the questions raised by the draft resolution on Latin America and the various written criticisms of it submitted to the

World Congress.

Discussion: Roca.

Statement by Hans: The issues involved in the Latin American discussion are and will continue to be of major importance to the entire world movement. It should also be noted that the sections had the text of the resolution and the criticisms of it for a very brief period prior to the Congress and one-third of the delegates to the Ninth World Congress voted to reject the line of the resolution.

19. Therefore, the following Motion by Hans: The Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International instructs the incoming IEC to open a discussion on the issues facing the Latin-American revolution that are raised in the adopted resolution on Latin America and the written criticisms of it submitted to the World Congress. This discussion is to be controlled by the United Secretariat and is to be conducted in a manner that will be in no way detrimental to the implementation of the resolution by any section.

Juan withdraws his motion.

Hand vote on Hans' motion:

54 for, none against, 1 fraternal vote abstention.

Motion carried.

20. Motion by Walter: The World Congress approves the Activities report of the United Secretariat and the propositions concerning the areas of intervention which should receive priority in the work of the International leadership in the current period.

Motion carried unanimously.

21. Motion by Martine: To approve the Financial report and the three motions made by Martine (see page 7).

Motion carried unanimously.

XIV. ELECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Motion by Walter: That the following comrades make up the IEC: Pierre, Delphin, Samuel, Jebrac, Hans, Juan, Diego, Pedro, Kent, Gormley, Adair, Livio, Sirio, Kallas, M. Gan, two from Japan to be chosen by the Japanese section, Luis, another to be chosen by the Argentine section, Walter, Charlier, Horst, Eduard, Peterson, Roca, Valdes, Montes, Gulam, Pia, Bala, Said, Blanco, Peng, Christos, Tom.

That the following comrades be alternate members of the IEC: Susan, Thérèse, Sandor, Vergeat, Bruno, Bastillo, Albert,

Abel, Marc, a comrade from Bolivia to be chosen by the section.

That the following comrades constitute the Control Commission: Willy, Rienzi, Ernesto, Maud, Sterne.

Discussion: Gormley.

Amendment by Lillo: That Manuel be a member of the IEC.

Amendment accepted by Walter.

Amendment by Luis: That Felipe be a member of the IEC.

Amendment accepted by Walter.

Samuel objects to the inclusion of Peng on the proposed IEC.

Discussion: Bob, Hans, Gormley, Pedro.

Motion by Gulam: That Peng be removed from the proposed slate for the IEC.

Formal request by Hans: That their delegation be given time for a caucus meeting following the discussion if the motion to exclude Peng from the IEC comes to a vote.

Continuation of discussion: Manuel, Vollandar, Livio, Juan, Peterson, Walter, Lewis.

With agreement of maker of motion, Vergeat withdraws Gulam's motion.

Motion by Walter: To accept slate as amended by inclusion of Manuel and Felipe as full members.

Motion carried unanimously.

Closing short speech by Walter.

Congress adjourned at 8:50 p.m.