

PROPOSED

STATUTES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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for the United Secretariat of the Fourth International

#### EDITORIAL NOTE

The following draft statutes are as they were presented to the delegates 8th World Congress of the Fourth International.

The references, therefore, in the preface to the "definitive adoption" by delegates refers to that congress.

In actual fact these statutes will be discussed throughout the sections of the International between now and the 9th World Congress (to be held later this year)) where they will be adopted, modified or rejected according to the results of these discussions and that at the congress.

PREFACE

When the Fourth International was founded in 1938, the statutes that were adopted were rather brief. In essence, they outlined the general lines the movement should follow in working out its rules and regulations.

In 1948 these statutes underwent considerable extension at the second world congress. They were amplified in detail to correspond with the needs of the time. As a result, the centralist side of democratic centralism received heavy emphasis.

Seventeen years have passed since then, with such major events being recorded as the victory of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions and the break-up of the Stalinist monolith. The need to take account of these happenings and their effect on the task of building the Fourth International has been felt for some time. Many sectors of the Trotskyist movement have also felt that greater emphasis should be placed in the statutes on the democratic side of democratic centralism.

To meet these needs, the United Secretariat has prepared a proposed draft for consideration of the delegates at the coming world congress.

The United Secretariat does not propose definitive adoption of this draft by the delegates. It recommends instead that the draft be referred to the sections for further consideration and suggestions before it is placed on the agenda for definitive adoption at the succeeding congress. Pending final decision, the United Secretariat recommends that the proposed statutes be used on an interim basis.

# STATUTES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(Proposed Draft)

## Preamble

### I.

In advancing and defending the historic interests of the world proletariat, the Fourth International stands on the programme and organizational concepts of revolutionary Marxism represented in their time by the First, Second and Third internationals.

The First International, founded in London in 1864, declared in the preamble to its Rules and Administrative Regulations, adopted in 1866:

"Considering,

"That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties; and the abolition of all class rule;

"That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

"That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

"That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labour is neither a local, nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

"That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious (industrialized) countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements."

The First International was unable to obtain the historic objective which it had set out to achieve. Marx and Engels and their collaborators could not save the organisation from disintegration due to the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871, and centrifugal tendencies set up by anarchist groupings within its ranks. Nevertheless the First International set an imperishable example in the task of uniting the working class on a world-wide scale in the struggle for a socialist society.

The banner and programme of the First International were taken up by the Second International, founded in Paris in 1889 under the solemn pledge to carry on the work begun in 1864. In the following decades the Second International gave a socialist political education to great masses of workers, particularly in Europe, and established powerful parties in a number of countries.

But capitalism was still rising; and with the opening of its imperialist stage, was able to broaden and intensify its exploitive system sufficiently to grant substantial reforms to the toiling masses in the industrially advanced countries.

Thus, primarily in the imperialist countries, a whole social layer appeared, the "labour aristocracy", a stratum of workers imbued with illusions about reforming capitalism and winning socialism gradually by means of the ballot. Theoretical expression for these illusions was provided by revising Marxism. The conservatism of the "labour aristocracy", expressed by the right-wing rooted in the bureaucracy of the organisation, led to the degeneration of the Second International as a revolutionary formation. Upon the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the Second International proved to be a mere federation that broke up under the impact of the crisis. The majority of the leaders of the national parties composing the federation betrayed the internationalist socialist programme and their own solemn, oft-repeated pledges, ending up by providing the decisive political support needed by their own capitalist classes to block the revolutionary aspirations of the masses following World War I

The Third International, founded in 1919 in Moscow, restored the principles of proletarian internationalism and revolutionary Marxism, applying them to the period of the death agony of capitalism. Its statutes declared:

"The Communist International aims at armed struggle to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and create an international republic of Soviets(councils) as the first stage on the road to complete liquidation of any government regime. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat to be the only available means to save humanity from the horrors of capitalism. And the Communist International considers the power of Soviets to be the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat imposed by history.

"The Communist International supports, completely and without reservation, the conquest of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious socialist revolution in history, and calls on the world proletariat to take the same road. The Communist International pledges to support by every means within its capacity any socialist republic no matter where it is established."

But the Third International degenerated like the Second, although from quite different causes.

Due to its success in leading the first proletarian revolution, the Russian Communist party became the dominant section of the Third International. Because this revolution occurred in a backward country where it was extremely difficult to repair the damages of the imperialist war and the following civil war, and to increase the productivity of the economy sufficiently in a short period to overcome the enormous shortages of consumers' goods, a bureaucracy arose. On account of the delay in the proletarian revolution in other countries and the growing political apathy of the Russian workers, the bureaucracy managed to usurp control of the Soviet state apparatus and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Through this control, the Third International was converted into an instrument limited to defending the narrow diplomatic interests of the Soviet bureaucracy at the expense of the broad interests of the world revolution.

The struggle against the Stalinist deformation of Lenin's policies begun on a national scale in Russia in 1923, by Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition, developed until 1928 when, as the International Left Opposition, it was extended on a world-wide scale under the name "International Communist League". Despite the bureaucratic expulsions carried out by the Stalinist faction against the oppositionists in all the sections of the Comintern, despite the gaolings and murders in the USSR, the International Communist League held that it was still possible to reform the Comintern, viewing itself as only an opposition, trying to gain reinstatement in the various national sections.

But in 1933 when the powerful German Communist Party capitulated, under Stalin's guidance, in face of Hitler's drive for power and permitted the German proletariat to be defeated and decimated without the slightest effort at a united and organised struggle, it was clear that it was no longer possible to reform the Comintern. In September 1933 the International Left Opposition called for construction of a fourth International. Under the guidance of Leon Trotsky, the Movement for the Fourth International achieved its goal at a founding conference held in Europe in 1938. Five years later, Stalin dissolved the remnants of the Third International.

As heir to the traditions and principles of revolutionary Marxism and proletarian internationalism, the Fourth International undertook the task of carrying forward the work begun by the First, Second and Third internationals- construction of the leadership needed by the working class to overturn capitalism and open the way to socialism.

## II

The level of economic development required to go beyond capitalism to a higher form of society has already been achieved by humanity. On a global scale, the premises exist for the socialist organisation of society, for planned world-wide production directly linked to the broad needs of humanity rather than the chaotic production of capitalism which is dehumanised by the aim of profit-making for the benefit of a minute class of exploiters.

In a certain sense capitalism has become overripe for socialism. As a historic punishment for not yet having achieved socialism, humanity has had to pay a fearful cost. This includes two world wars with their tens of millions of dead and immense material destruction; the endemic threat of fascism which has already disclosed its features in countries like Germany, Italy and Spain; the repeated bloodletting inflicted upon the colonial areas by imperialism; the ever more ominous threat of a third world war in which the use of nuclear weapons could destroy civilisation if not, as the atomic scientists warn, mankind itself and all the higher forms of life on this planet.

The broad masses have repeatedly rejected this perspective. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Western Europe witnessed a revolutionary upsurge that could easily have brought the Social Democratic and Communist parties to power, had the bureaucratic leaderships not decided instead to save capitalism once more. In the colonial world, country after country became the scene of uprisings. Here the strength of the masses, the weakness of world capitalism and the relative militancy and capacities of the leadership were such as to make possible the great victories of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and the Cuban Revolution ten years later. Coupled with the victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, the successful Yugoslav Revolution and the appearance of a number of new workers states in Eastern Europe and the Far East, the world relationship of class forces altered to the disadvantage of imperialism.

It is quite clear that socialist revolutions in a few more colonial or semicolonial countries or in any industrially advanced country would spell the rapid end of capitalism. This is the situation precisely when the United States, as the inheritor of the colonial empires of the European capitalist powers and the

possessor of instruments of destruction outstripping by far the wildest dreams of past conquerors, visualises dominating the entire earth. The very nearness of the final socialist victory, coupled with the rise of the United States as a malignant "super" world power, has compounded the crisis in proletarian leadership faced by the working class for a number of decades.

The crisis in proletarian leadership is made still more acute by the fact that the Soviet Union has not yet recovered the attractive image it had in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. With proletarian democracy still to be reestablished through a political revolution, the Soviet Union continues to suffer from a blight of bureaucratic rule. Stalin's heirs have proved to be no better than their master despite their denunciation of some of the worst evils of his time. In the footsteps of Stalin they advance "peaceful coexistence" as a substitute for Leninism. "Polycentrism", a new substitute for internationalism, is becoming increasingly common among the Communist parties as a modern version of the centrifugal tendencies that destroyed the Second International.

Sectors of the Communist movement under the influence of Mao Tse-tung have advanced biting criticisms of the revisionism and illusions in "peaceful coexistence" fostered by the Soviet bureaucracy, but have not offered a genuine Marxist-Leninist alternative. The clearest evidence of this is Mao's failure to follow Lenin in the field of proletarian internationalism. A decade and a half after the victory of the Chinese Revolution, Mao preoccupied himself with refurbishing the image of Stalin.

The leaders of the Cuban Revolution have come much closer to Lenin's precepts by continually holding up their own development of the class struggle as an example for other countries in seeking to defeat imperialism and end capitalism. These leaders are the first contingents of a new generation of revolutionaries belonging to a different tradition than the school of Stalinism and the Social Democracy which blocked the world revolution for so many decades.

But as yet the Cuban Revolution has not found its proper international organisational expression. The Cuban leaders have remained silent about the concrete task of building an international organisation.

Nevertheless, the very defence of the Cuban Revolution, like the defence of the Russian and Chinese revolutions and the defence of all the workers states, logically calls for construction of an international organisation. In face of the counter-revolutionary pressure emanating from imperialism, the working-class conquests must be extended until the entire capitalist system is itself liquidated. To unite and properly organise this international struggle, to imbue it with the best fighting spirit and provide it with a correct revolutionary-Marxist

policy, an international organisation is an absolute necessity. Both theory and historic experience confirm this conclusion.

The politics and economy of capitalism, its market, its crises, its wars- all have an international character. Never before has this been so plain as today. The revolutionary party that seeks to overturn capitalism must also be international. Just as socialism cannot be realised in one country without a world revolution, so no revolutionary national grouping can develop completely without a world party.

Such a world party, such an international, cannot at all be a mere association of national parties having contradictory programmes, held together merely by loose ties, an association of federative or "polycentrist" character. It must have a common international programme which the national parties adapt to the particular problems of their country. Neither the temporary adherence of the revolutionary masses, nor material power, whether derived from a massive bureaucracy or control of a state, nor a dynamic organisation, nor intense activity, nor the most detailed statutory safeguards can save an international that has seriously deviated from the principles of revolutionary Marxism.

The Fourth International, direct heir of all that was revolutionary in the First, Second and Third internationals, stands on a programme that has met the test of history. Its programme includes the documents of the first four congresses of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky; the programmatic documents of the International Left Opposition; the Movement for the Fourth International; the Transition Programme adopted at its own founding conference in 1938, The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International; the key documents of the world Trotskyist movement since then.

Thus armed, it will inevitably find its way to the toiling masses on all continents, establishing the great revolutionary international party which alone can guide mankind to the world victory of socialism.

### III

A party begins with a programme which it converts into an organised structure of human beings seeking a common political goal. The international nature of capitalism requires the working class to advance a programme of international scope; similarly the international nature of the working class demands organisation of its revolutionary party on an international scale. The strategy of its party must be global, taking into account all the major problems facing the working class and co-ordinating all the major efforts to solve them. From this international strategy flows

national tactics, adapted to the specific peculiarities of each country. This international approach constitutes the best school for educating the national leaderships that must be built as the key link for final victory in the world revolution. A world-wide organisation and a centralised international leadership are clearly called for.

That is why the Fourth International is governed by the principles and practices of democratic centralism both internationally and nationally, meaning that the greatest possible democracy is practised in internal discussion in working out a political line, whether on an international or a national scale, while the firmest discipline is followed in applying this line once it has been decided on by majority vote. This is not merely a preferred method; it is an organisational principle. In accordance with the tradition established by the Bolsheviks under Lenin, the Fourth International has nothing in common with the concepts exemplified by the reformist and centrist organisations, which consist of a loose association of autonomous national parties or groups (including sometimes several groups in one country) with conflicting political lines.

Such organisational concepts derive, in the first analysis, from the pressure of the capitalist class. At best they may meet temporary local, or transitional, needs of the proletariat; they are utterly inadequate or positively harmful in meeting tasks of an historic level.

Against federalist organisational concepts, the Fourth International stands on the Leninist concept of a single world party and a centralised international leadership. For the Fourth International, a unified internationalist policy is not a decorative facade but the genuine axis of its theoretical views and its politics, requiring a rigorously-formulated ideological framework. The Fourth International is not for democracy in the abstract but for centralised democracy.

On the other hand, the Fourth International genuinely believes in and practices proletarian democracy. Its internal life stands in striking contrast to that of the bureaucratised parties of Stalinist or Social Democratic origin in which all tendencies or factions are banned- except the one controlling the party apparatus. The Fourth International encourages and educates its members in a critical outlook, teaching them to follow developments in other organisations with an open mind. Freedom of thought serves a practical purpose in the Fourth International- it helps assure the highest possible intellectual level among its cadres. It helps to safeguard the party from ossification, keeping it receptive to fresh currents and new developments. And it is the most efficient way of pooling collective thought and experience.

The Fourth International welcomes sympathisers; but membership, with its rights duties and firm discipline is the

prerogative of activists. This provision, drawing a firm line between members and sympathisers in contrast to reformist and centrist formations, helps assure that democracy does not degenerate into a mere discussion club. It helps at the same time to guarantee effective control by the rank-and-file activists over the leadership. As an organisation for action, the Fourth International views discussion as a means of reaching correct decisions.

The Fourth International reaches its political positions in a democratic way through regularly-held world congresses where decisions are made on the basis of majority vote. Delegates to the World Congress are democratically elected by national sections after a free and democratic discussion on the basis of written documents in which every member has the right to participate and which the right to form tendencies is guaranteed.

The International Executive Committee, which is the highest body between world congresses, is individually nominated and democratically elected by the delegates at world congresses. The International Executive Committee, in turn, elects a secretariat and such other committees or commissions as it requires to carry out decisions.

The need for a centralised international leadership imposes grave responsibilities upon those composing it; therefore the national sections do everything possible to provide such leadership, assigning their best national leaders to this field of duty when occasion requires it.

An international, and the democratic centralism which governs it, are not created by mere decision, but develop dialectically with the advance of the national sections. If the primary base of the Fourth International is an international political programme, its growth along democratic centralist lines remains nonetheless linked to the growth and reinforcement of the national sections, their revolutionary political experience and ideological homogeneity. The political and moral authority of the central leading bodies hinges on this as well as their own activity.

The present statutes of 1965 are based on the preceding statutes of 1938 and 1948, which have been amplified or modified in the light of experience and the present needs of the Fourth International. They are not intended to be a "definitive" code but merely a set of rules subject to change at coming congresses. The statutes do not stand higher than the International; they are only one of the means designed to further the task of creating a leadership and a party able to achieve the decisive victory of socialism.

STATUTES

Section I

Name-- Objectives-- Programme

(1) The Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolution) is composed of militants who accept and apply its principles and programme. Organised in separate national sections, they are united in a single world-wide organisation governed by the rules and practices of democratic centralism.

(2) The aim of the Fourth International is to help educate and organise the proletariat and its allies in order to abolish capitalism, with its oppression, poverty, insecurity and bloodshed. It seeks to establish a World Socialist Republic of Workers and Peasants' Councils, governed by proletarian democracy. Working class rule of this kind will make possible the construction of socialism, the first stage toward the coming classless society of enduring peace, material abundance, social equality, the brotherhood of man and boundless progress under a world-wide scientifically-planned economy.

(3) The Fourth International seeks to incorporate in its programme the progressive social experiences of humanity, maintaining the continuity of the ideological heritage of the revolutionary Marxist movement. It offers to the vanguard of the international working class the indispensable lessons to be drawn from the October 1917 Revolution in Russia, the subsequent struggle against Stalinist degeneration, and the new revolutionary developments following World War II. The Fourth International stands on the programmatic documents of the first four congresses of the Third International; the International Left Opposition; the Movement for the Fourth International; the Transition Programme adopted at its Founding Congress in 1938; The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International; and the key documents of the world Trotskyist movement since then.

(4) The national sections constitute the basic organisational units of the Fourth International. The aim of every national section is to become a mass revolutionary Marxist party capable of guiding the class struggle within the country to a successful conclusion in a socialist victory. To achieve this, the main task of a national section is to build a leadership that measures up to the historic need and to conquer mass influence. This is the means through which the Fourth International aspires to achieve its great emancipating goal, since an international organisation does not replace or substitute for a national leadership in heading a revolution. Thus the healthy development of its national sections is of primary concern to the International as a whole.

Section II

The World Congress

(5) The highest authority of the Fourth International is the World Congress. Climaxing a democratic process of discussion and election of delegates among the national sections, the World Congress determines the political line of the International as whole on all programmatic issues. In questions involving the national sections, the World Congress serves as the final body of appeal and decision.

(6) A World Congress must be held at least every three years upon call by the International Executive Committee. The call must be issued at least six months in advance of holding the congress, the intervening time constituting the preparatory discussion period. A special World Congress can be convoked at any time by the International Executive Committee or by one-third of the national sections.

(7) Representation of national sections at the World Congress is determined in accordance with the numerical strength of the sections. The International Executive Committee works out a formula on this each time it convokes a congress, bearing in mind the practical difficulties such as the size of the gathering, as well as the need to assure democratic representation to both the smaller sections and those facing special problems such as repression. The International Executive Committee has the power to recommend that delegates of minority tendencies in national sections, who would not otherwise be represented at a World Congress, be seated with voice. It can also invite groupings that are not affiliated to the Fourth International to send observers to a World Congress. In both cases, however, it is up to the delegates at a World Congress to decide whether to approve such recommendations or invitations. The International Executive Committee is responsible for the practical work of providing a suitable meeting place for the World Congress as well as housing delegates, enlisting translators, secretaries, etc.

(8) National delegations, immediately after a World Congress, are required to report back to their national executive committee, or to a congress of their national section, in order to assure the fullest possible consideration of adopted documents, their early publication, and the rapid and effective undertaking of tasks decided on at the World Congress. In case of differences between a section and the World Congress, it is the duty of the section to loyally carry out the decisions made by the majority at the World Congress, no matter how serious the differences were or what the position of its delegation was. It retains the right to appeal decisions it disagrees with to the next regular or special World Congress.

Section III

The International Executive Committee

(9) The International Executive Committee, elected by the World Congress, constitutes the highest body of the Fourth International between world congresses. It is charged with the responsibility of applying the decisions of the World Congress and is held accountable to the next World Congress for its stewardship. It exercises disciplinary powers over its own members.

(10) The International Executive Committee is composed of thirty-one members and seven alternates, elected by name to serve until the next World Congress. A national section can propose replacement of a member representing it, however, this must be ratified by a majority of the International Executive Committee. At plenary meetings, alternates replace absent members in the order of their election, exercising voice and vote. Any alternate can attend sessions of the International Executive Committee with voice but not vote.

(11) Sessions of the International Executive Committee must be held at least every six months upon call by the United Secretariat. The International Executive Committee can be convoked at any time by majority decision of the United Secretariat or upon request of one-third of its own members.

(12) It is the duty of the International Executive Committee to keep up with world events, applying the political line decided on at the World Congress, and publishing such documents as it deems necessary. It follows the political and organisational life of the national sections and helps them to correctly apply the decisions of the World Congress by providing timely information and suggestions.

Decisions of the International Executive Committee as to the interpretation of a political line decided on at a World Congress, or its practical implementation, are binding on all the sections. They can appeal decisions they disagree with to the World Congress, but in the meantime they must abide by them.

(13) Only a World Congress has the power to recognise, expel or drop a section from the rolls. In a country where no official section exists, the International Executive Committee has the right to open negotiations with a group that has evolved to the point of adopting the programme of the Fourth International and can establish a fraternal working relationship with it prior to recognition as a section. In a country where a national section has been rendered inactive, failure to maintain its obligations to the International, gross incompetence in responding to political opportunities or in meeting dangers, or flagrant indiscipline with regard to the political

or organizational decisions of a World Congress or the program of the Fourth International, the International Executive Committee must compile a record, together with recommendations, for consideration and action by the next World Congress.

(14) The International Executive Committee cooperates with the national sections in helping to raise the theoretical, political and organisational level of their internal life. However, intervention of this kind, carried on by such activities as tours and visits by members of the International leadership, is qualified by the resources of the Fourth International in personnel and finances. This qualification operates with equal force in instances where differences have developed between a national section and the International Executive Committee. Nevertheless, the International has the right to send a representative to present its views. Such representatives are responsible to the United Secretariat and the International Executive Committee. The national leadership should do its utmost to cooperate closely, giving representatives of the International Executive Committee voice (but only consultative vote) in all leading bodies, enabling them to discuss freely with the membership, and permitting them to present motions if they wish.

(15) Where supposed violations of democratic centralism in national sections are brought to the attention of the International Executive Committee, whether these violations involve a leadership accused of depriving a minority of its democratic rights or a minority accused of irresponsibly violating the discipline of the section, the International Executive Committee may bring its moral influence to bear to help rectify the situation, if evidence exists that errors or abuses have actually occurred. Rather than exercise disciplinary measures of its own in instances of differences with a national leadership, the International Executive Committee should seek to rely on persuasion and recommendations. In no case has it the power to alter the majority rule of a regularly elected leadership of a national section.

(16) The International Executive Committee is empowered to organize such commissions, subsecretariats, technical bureaus or other supplementary bodies as it requires. These are entirely subordinate to the International Executive Committee and can be dissolved whenever it considers it advisable. The danger of fostering a dual center and breaking down the practice of democratic centralism should be borne in mind in considering the advisability of forming commissions or subsecretariats in parts of the world other than the International center.

(17) The International Executive Committee is empowered to establish commissions entrusted with coordinating the activities of several or more sections in certain fields (for example, a youth commission, trade-union commission, women's commission) or for a complex task such as fostering the growth of the movement in countries where a section has not yet been established. The tasks of the commissions will be determined in each case by the International Executive Committee in collaboration with the sections involved, but in general will be limited to gathering

information, compiling documents, undertaking research, coordinating work and maintaining links.

#### Section IV

##### The United Secretariat

(18) The daily political, organizational and administrative work, as well as regular communication with the sections is assured by the United Secretariat. The United Secretariat is elected by the International Executive Committee which has the power to determine the size of the United Secretariat, its composition and place of residence.

(19) In the intervals between sessions of the International Executive Committee, the United Secretariat acts in its name and with its powers except that it cannot organize subsecretariats or commissions. Its decisions are binding on the sections. Appeal can be made to the International Executive Committee but pending consideration of the appeal, decisions must be carried out.

(20) Members of the International Executive Committee who are not members of the United Secretariat can attend its sessions with voice.

(21) The International Executive Committee can replace members of the United Secretariat by majority vote.

(22) The United Secretariat must hold meetings at least once a month.

(23) Copies of all resolutions and essential extracts from the minutes of the United Secretariat are to be sent as rapidly as possible to all members of the International Executive Committee and leaderships of sections.

(24) The United Secretariat is empowered to organize the necessary administrative and technical apparatus to carry on its work efficiently. In this the sections must help to the best of their ability, particularly by providing personnel.

#### Section V

##### Publications

(25) The United Secretariat is assigned the responsibility of editing and publishing an official organ in the name of the International Executive Committee. The official organ will publish the main programmatic documents and resolutions of the world congresses, the International Executive Committee and the United Secretariat. National sections are required to translate this material where necessary and see that it is published and circulated in their own countries.

(26) The United Secretariat is assigned the responsibility of also regularly publishing an Internal Bulletin. In discussion period preceding world congresses, the Internal Bulletin must appear with the greatest possible frequency in order to make all the contributions and main discussion articles available to the membership in time and to assure that each tendency or different political position is presented at least once.

## Section VI

### Finances -- Dues

(27) The United Secretariat designates one of its members as treasurer. It is the treasurer's duty to keep the United Secretariat informed on the status of finances, making a detailed financial report on a quarterly basis. The treasurer may lay out money for routine expenses but must obtain advance approval from the United Secretariat for anything that is not routine. At an appropriate date, the International Executive Committee will designate a special accounting commission to audit the accounts kept by the treasurer before he presents his report to the World Congress.

(28) The activities of the leading bodies of the Fourth International are financed through dues paid by the national sections in proportion to the number of their members. The dues also help subsidize the publications, which are only partially sustained through sales and subscriptions. In principle, international dues should be set at one-sixth of the regular national dues. This should be supplemented by voluntary contributions. Dues and voluntary contributions constitute the sole source of income for the International; the national sections should therefore make these obligations of primary importance. A section that falls three months in arrears in its international dues is to be notified that its good standing is becoming endangered. Sections that have not paid their dues for six months or more are -- except for reasons clearly beyond their control -- in bad standing. A section in bad standing automatically loses its right to be seated at a World Congress.

## Section VII

### Structure -- Membership -- National Sections

(29) The Internal structure of the Fourth international, on the local, national and world scale, is determined by the principles and practices of democratic centralism. Representing the maximum possible democracy in internal discussion in elaborating a political line and the firmest discipline in applying that line after it has been decided on, it includes the following rules:

(a) All leading bodies must be elected by the rank and file, or by delegates elected by the rank and file, at regular meetings, conferences or congresses provided for by statute. The leading bodies must

report back regularly to the elective bodies to whom they are responsible.

(b) Members of the national executive committees of national sections have voice but only consultative vote as fraternal delegates at national congresses unless they are regularly elected delegates. In order to maintain rank-and-file control, national executive committee members should make it a norm not to run as regular delegates to national congresses unless this is precluded in some cases by the financial weakness of the section.

(c) Voting on documents or political positions proceeds by open show of hands or roll call. Voting on the composition or order of leading bodies is by secret ballot.

(d) The mandating of delegates is prohibited; in other words, no matter what the position of an elective body is, its delegates must be free to vote according to their own conscience and convictions as shaped by the discussion at a congress or convention.

(e) No one on a leading body has the right to threaten to resign or to utilize any other form of organizational ultimatum in seeking to sway a decision. A leader can propose his resignation but it is up to the elective body to accept or to refuse it.

(f) Decisions of higher bodies are strictly binding on lower ones. The decisions must be carried out loyally and immediately. In the event of an appeal, no delay is thereby justified in carrying out directives.

(g) Decisions are reached by majority vote. Minorities are duty bound to carry out majority decisions. Minorities, however, have the incontestable right to constitute themselves into tendencies or factions on the basis of a stated platform and to enjoy democratic rights such as:

To present their views to the membership of their national section during the preparatory discussion period before national congresses.

To present their views to the membership of the International through the Internal Bulletin during the pre-Congress discussion period.

To be represented in the leading bodies with due consideration to their political and numerical importance. This does not mean that every minority no matter how small, is entitled to representation on a leading body. Nor does it mean proportional representation for minorities. The Fourth International abides by majority rule and this includes the right of the majority to assure itself a working majority when sharp differences are involved. But it is also the duty of the majority to safeguard the rights of the minority and this means that a minority is not to be penalized for

holding a minority position.

(h) Members facing disciplinary action are entitled to know in advance the accusations brought against them, to present their defense and, except where it is geographically impossible, to confront their accusers.

(i) All members are entitled to complete, honest and impartial information on the problems and activities of the International, especially on questions under debate among the leaders of the International and the national sections.

(j) Full and free international discussions must be held in the periods preceding world congresses, or congresses of national sections, and each time that historic events of exceptional importance require special discussions. A national section can make an exception to this only when it is working under conditions of severe repression (i.e., fascism, military dictatorship or a sweeping witch-hunt).

(k) No one on full time shall receive remuneration above the equivalent of the wages of a skilled worker.

(30) In each country there can be only one section of the Fourth International. The process of building a stable section, however, is fraught with difficulties. Experience has shown that small vying groups and tendencies will sometimes resist fusion in practice. On the other hand, a clear basis may not exist for choosing one group over another. In such situations further tests may be required to establish that a grouping is capable of meeting the international obligations of a section and gives promise of developing into a viable revolutionary Marxist leadership on a national scale. To meet temporary requirements during such a transitional testing period, a World Congress may decide to recognize a formation as a "sympathizing group". Where more than one "sympathizing group" is given such recognition within a country, one of the tests of capacity to assume the rights and duties of a section will be the attitude displayed in practice in handling the problem of fusion of forces. "Sympathizing groups" are to be considered as candidates for the status of national section. Upon recommendation of the International Executive, they may be granted voice but not vote at a World Congress. Where a section exists, the International will in no case recognize any vying formation as a "sympathizing group".

(31) National sections exercise jurisdiction within their own countries. They apply the general political positions of the Fourth International, which they have helped to shape through the process of democratic centralism. They determine their own statutes in accordance with the rules and practices of democratic centralism and arrive at their own national political positions through the same procedure. However, the program and statutes of national sections must be in general conformity with the program and statutes of the Fourth International. National sections exercise disciplinary powers over their own members up to and including the penalty of expulsion; all disciplinary measures,

however, are subject to appeal to the higher bodies of the International.

(32) To help achieve the best possible international coordination, national sections must conduct relations of special importance with each other through the United Secretariat. In case of urgent necessity, such relations can be carried out directly on condition that the United Secretariat is rapidly informed of the details. National sections are encouraged to extend fraternal aid to each other and to strengthen fraternal bonds through visits and other forms of cooperation. In all this, bearing in mind the risk of setting up centrifugal tendencies, they should consciously strive in their fraternal work to strengthen the International center and its authority.

(33) Everyone who accepts in words and deeds the program, the statutes and the decisions of the International, and is an active and disciplined member in good standing in a national section, is a member of the International. The minimum criterion for the establishment of "good standing" is the payment of dues. This holds for the unemployed as well as those holding jobs in countries where abysmal wage levels exist. In these cases dues may amount to only a nominal sum but must nevertheless be paid to maintain good standing. Sections must rigorously distinguish between members -- a category determined on the combined basis of dues payment and disciplined activities -- and sympathizers who cannot meet these minimum requirements for one reason or another. New members must normally go through a probationary period. No one can be a member of two sections simultaneously.

(34) The number of delegates which a national section is entitled to have at a World Congress is determined by the International Executive Committee on the basis of payment of dues to the International. Thus if a national section lists 1,000 members on its books, but sends International dues to the center for only 400, its membership is to be listed as 400 and the other 600 are to be listed as sympathizers.

(35) Members who belong to trade unions or other mass organizations, and in particular those holding official posts, must conduct themselves at all times under the strict political control of the designated bodies of the national section.

(36) Members of national sections elected to bourgeois parliamentary bodies must conduct themselves at all times under the strict political control of the leading bodies of their national section.

(37) Members of the International who take long trips outside their country, or who wish to change their permanent residence to another country, must first secure approval from the national leadership, which in turn must inform the United Secretariat. The United Secretariat will then help facilitate a fraternal reception by the national sections for comrades travelling abroad. Except by special decision of the United Secretariat, a member of a section living more than six months in another country where a section exists, must transfer to that section. The section involved must, before accepting the transfer, ask for a report

through the United Secretariat in order to verify that the comrade left his former country with the full knowledge and permission of the section. No section can refuse to accept the transfer of a member of the International when his former section has indicated that he left in good standing.

(38) To keep the International center informed about their activities, the national sections must regularly send copies of the minutes of the sessions of their leading bodies plus such additional information as is needed to provide a clear picture. They must also send a sufficient number of copies of documents, internal bulletins, newspapers, magazines and other publications. They must inform the United Secretariat in time of the holding of congresses, conferences and meetings of national or central committees. Each section should designate a leading comrade to keep up correspondence with the International and to see to it that regular items are sent for the press of the International.

(39) Without ever abandoning the advantages of legal existence before it is absolutely necessary, national sections that are threatened with repression must make preparations for reorganization well in advance of going underground.

Section VIII

International Control Commission

(40) The World Congress elects an International Control Commission of three members, each belonging to a different section, who have a reputation in the International for objectivity and political maturity. They cannot be replaced as members of the International Control Commission until the World Congress following their election unless a vacancy occurs. In this exceptional case, the International Executive Committee elects a replacement of similar qualifications. The International Control Commission elects one of its members to serve as secretary and to convoke the body when occasion arises.

(41) The International Control Commission investigates cases involving violations of discipline or proletarian morality in the International. It undertakes inquiries either at the request of the International Executive Committee or on its own initiative. When it opens an investigation, it has the right to request documents and testimony from all comrades without exception. It has the right to determine what form the investigation shall take, whether by inquiry on the spot, through correspondence, or through the designation of comrades to take evidence on its behalf.

(42) The International Control Commission reports its findings to the International Executive Committee and recommends what action should be taken. It is accountable to the World Congress following the one which elected it.

Section IX

Disciplinary Measures

(43) The public expression of major differences with the program of the Fourth International or the political line adopted by the majority at a World Congress, the violation of the statutes of the International or its national sections, actions incompatible with proletarian morality or which place the organization or its members in danger, are subject to disciplinary measures by the leading national or international bodies. The accused must be presented with the charges in writing in advance and have the right to present their defense and, except where geographically impossible, to confront their accusers in the body having jurisdiction in the case.

(44) Disciplinary measures apply at once. Those under charges nevertheless have the right to appeal to the body immediately above the one that applies the disciplinary measures, on up through the structure from the local organization to the World Congress. When the United Secretariat is notified that an appeal is to be made from the decisions of a national section, it will acknowledge receipt of the appeal and also specify the procedure to be followed in carrying the appeal to the higher bodies of the International. The International Executive Committee is empowered to determine whether it will hear personal argument or confine itself to documented material in considering an appeal. It can recommend the procedure to be followed by a World Congress, but the final decision on this is up to the World Congress itself. In cases involving proletarian morality the International Control Commission can intervene at any time if it considers the matter of sufficient importance.

Section X

(45) A two-thirds majority of the delegates at a World Congress is required to amend the statutes.