

Special International Issue

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# **Bulletin**

**OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM**

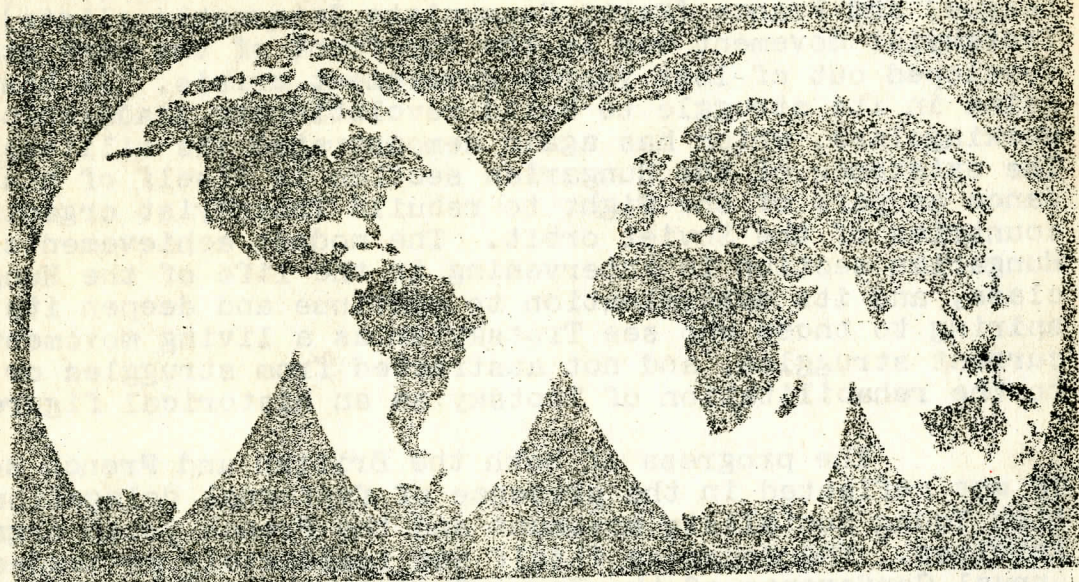
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Vol. 2, No. 29

May 9, 1966

Ten Cents

## **\* World Trotskyism \***



**REPORT ON 3rd CONGRESS OF I.C.  
OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

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**REPORT ON MORECAMBE CONFERENCE  
OF BRITISH YOUNG SOCIALISTS**

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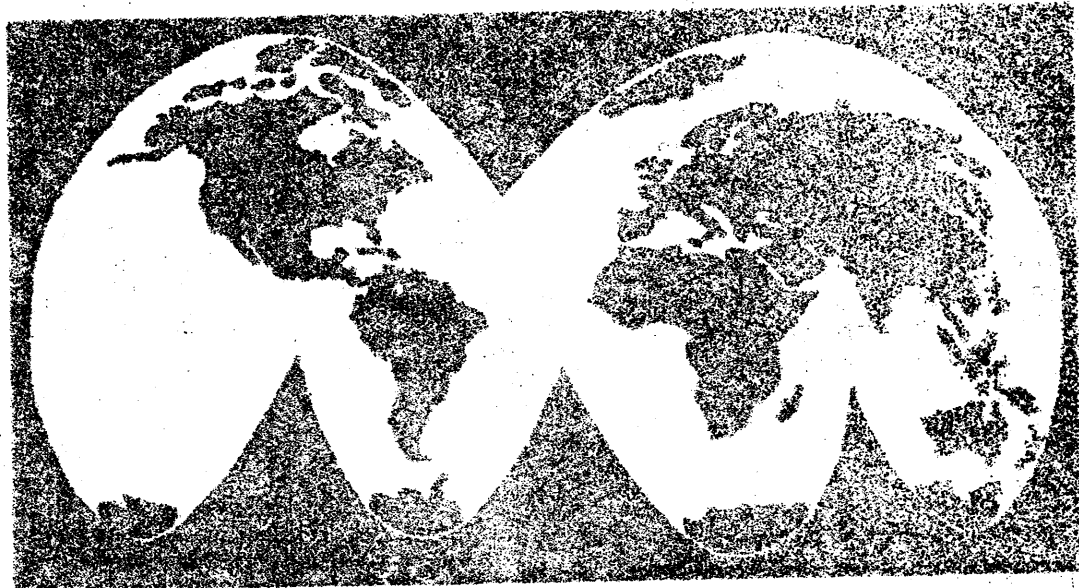
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The BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM is published fortnightly by the American Committee for the Fourth International. The American Committee is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Subscriptions are \$2.00 per year.

REPORT ON THE 3rd CONGRESS  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The third International Congress called by the International Committee of the Fourth International, held in London from April 4-8, has been called the most impressive conference of the international Marxist movement since the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in 1938. The American Committee for the Fourth International, which has since its inception proclaimed its political solidarity with the International Committee (Although it is prohibited from making international political affiliations by the Voorhis Act), agrees with this assessment. We feel that the 3rd Congress was an extremely important milestone in the development of the Fourth International.

From the standpoint of representation alone this was certainly the most impressive meeting of the International Committee since its formation in 1953. There were official sections represented from Hungary and Greece as well as from Great Britain (the Socialist Labour League) and France (Parti Communiste Internationaliste). The Greek Trotskyist movement was in the forefront of the mass struggles which developed out of last year's government crisis. It has made important gains in its struggle to build revolutionary leadership for the Greek workingclass, which has again demonstrated its militancy and combativity. The existence of the Hungarian section is itself of historic significance as part of the fight to rebuild Trotskyist organizations in the countries of the Soviet orbit. The modest achievements thus far of the Hungarian section in intervening in the life of the Hungarian workingclass, and its determination to continue and deepen its work, are inspiring to those who see Trotskyism as a living movement related to current struggles, and not abstracted from struggles or devoted simply to the rehabilitation of Trotsky as an historical figure.

The progress of both the British and French sections of the IC was reflected in the presence of fraternal delegations from the British Young Socialists movement and the French youth organization, *Jeune Revolt*. The Congress itself was immediately preceded by the 6th Annual Conference of the Young Socialists at Morecambe on April 2-3, attended by over 1000 delegates and visitors at which the enormous gains of the British Trotskyists in the fight against the revisionists and the right wing Labour bureaucracy were very graphically demonstrated.

Other observer delegations and individual observers came to the Congress from Denmark, Ceylon, France (the Voix Ouvriere group), Iraq, Japan and the United States. The large number of observers reflected the growing sympathy for the struggle of the International Committee, both from inside sections now affiliated to the Pabloite "United Secretariat" as well as from other sources. The American observers included a delegation from the Spartacist as well as the American Committee for the Fourth International/

But the significance of the Congress was shown by much more than the representation itself, which was only a reflection of the progress made in the fight against revisionism since the last IC meeting. A major theme of the Congress was that the Fourth International had succeeded in defeating the danger of immediate liquidation and that the

work of the Fourth International will now proceed on a higher level. The fight to build national sections is now given new impetus by the foregoing struggle against revisionism and by the strengthened position of the International Committee against the Pabloites.

### Cliff Slaughter's International Report

The report by Comrade Cliff Slaughter on the main political resolution to the Congress emphasized the tasks ahead as well as recent successes in the struggle against revisionism. The Fourth International must recognize as part of its understanding of the crisis of imperialism and of Stalinism, that revisionism in the workers' movement serves specific class ends and that struggle against it is unceasing as long as capitalism exists.

What is revisionism and why is the fight against it unceasing? The fight against revisionism is not simply an "internal" battle. It is not a fight over dogma. It is a fight which is the highest expression of the crisis of workingclass leadership, because it is a fight against the pressures of imperialism and of bourgeois ideology as these pressures are reflected inside the revolutionary movement. The fight against revisionism is synonymous with the fight for theory. It is the struggle to see the world in a truly scientific fashion so that we may be able to change the world. In this struggle we must always fight false ways of conceiving the world. How can we understand what the struggle for socialism is all about unless we take these questions up? It is not a matter of evil or well-meaning people, but of the pressure which the capitalist system exerts on the revolutionary movement, a pressure which finds expression in false method.

In the revolutionary movement Pablo symbolized this alien class tendency which came to be known as Pabloism. The crisis of the revisionists has resulted in their own expulsion from their ranks, which have split in three directions in the last period (The Pablo and Posadas groups and the United Secretariat, which is supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.). Pablo has carried the revisionist method to its inevitable conclusions, but the other tendencies represent important way stations on the road to reformism and liquidationism.

Thus revisionism must be seen as reflecting the needs of imperialism although in a more derivative way than do Stalinism and Social-Democratic reformism. The Fourth International must fight against all tendencies to minimize the significance of the fight against revisionism or to regard it as completed. The crisis of leadership manifests itself throughout the workers' movement, and this includes especially the revolutionary movement.

The report reaffirmed the historic necessity of the struggle for the Fourth International in the 1930s and for the founding of the Fourth International in 1938. At that time various "sympathizers" of Trotskyism held back from this step and refused to participate in it. Isaac Deutscher was one of the skeptics who has come to symbolize the revisionist method in many ways and who has led the way for the Pabloites and others to follow in recent years.

What these centrists did in 1938, just as all the revisionists do today when they talk about the formation of revolutionary leadership "in the course of the revolution itself", was to reject the continuity of the revolutionary movement. It was necessary to found the Fourth International in 1938, in spite of and even because of defeats for the workingclass during that period. It was necessary because we must build upon the past struggles of the workers' movement and pass on to new generations what the older ones have learned.

It must be stressed that the Fourth International was never destroyed. Although the revisionists destroyed some national sections and disoriented the international movement, they were unable to destroy the International as previous movements had been. The International Committee was formed in 1953 at the time of the original split with Pablo, and, whatever its problems, it has maintained the political continuity of the international movement. Anyone who does not understand this is rejecting the continuity of Marxism, disarming the movement by slighting the past struggles out of which the movement has developed.

The report emphasized that to us theoretical struggle and Marxist dialectics are not empty formulas or ritual phrases. The theoretical struggle inside the organizations of the Fourth International must be constant. This means working out a strategic perspective which analyses the overall crisis of world imperialism, and we must develop this strategic perspective in a dialectical fashion, that is by grasping the unity of world reality as well as its contradictions, and by showing how the contradictions can be transcended.

Dialectics must be applied concretely to the work of the national sections, in the development of perspectives, in intervention in the class struggle, and in the building of the revolutionary party itself. The report to the Congress demonstrated what this dialectical method means in practice, as it took up the method and politics of the revisionists as well as our analysis of the present crisis of imperialism and Stalinism.

The revisionists present a model of the anti-Marxist method in their approach to what they term "new phenomena" or "the new world reality". Their very terminology indicates a desire to break from continuity and past struggles. They seek to understand the world not by seeking the origins of current reality but by abstracting reality from its development. Thus they speak of the separate 'sectors' of the world, of the colonial revolution, destalinization, and capitalist prosperity. They separate these phenomena from their international basis, and conclude that there is no need for independent revolutionary parties in the colonial countries, no need for political revolution in the Stalinist orbit, and no need for the building of Leninist parties in the advanced countries.

It should be stressed again that, although the programmatic differences we have with the revisionists, their actual abdication of the building of revolutionary parties, is of decisive life and death significance for the workingclass, it is in their non-dialectical method that we must find the roots of their betrayals. As the history of the Socialist Workers Party has proven, programmatic

"orthodoxy" will not suffice and in fact will inevitably turn into revisionism hiding behind orthodoxy unless theory is fought for and developed.

The revisionists were fond of pointing to their own superficial impressions of developments, particularly in the colonial world, to strengthen their outlook. But now they have fallen largely silent as recent events in literally every corner of the world, from Algeria to Indonesia to Ghana to Cuba, have exposed the bankruptcy of their line. Because they cannot understand these developments the centrists are now in disarray and splits have taken place among them. Some (the "consistent empiricists"!) now present the opposite impression of reality, and speak only of the recent strengthening of capitalism in the backward countries.

### A World System of Crisis

The report to the Congress stressed that, unlike the revisionists, we do not start from surface shifts, whether to the right or left, in any particular country or "sector", but from the unity of the world capitalist system, of world economy and the world crisis of capitalism.

Just as we stress continuity because we must understand how our movement developed through struggle in order to continue the struggle, so we must understand the characteristics of contemporary capitalism in terms of how they developed. We reject the impressionistic method of studying phenomena apart from their relationships to the rest of the world and apart from their origins and development.

Neither capitalism nor Stalinism achieved any new stability as the result of internal developments in the 1943-47 period. The relative stabilization of both imperialism and Stalinism was an interrelated process, with Stalinism dependent upon the bourgeoisie and in fact reflecting the pressures of the ruling class in the workers movement, and capitalism requiring the active betrayals of Stalinism in Western Europe and elsewhere while allowing in exchange the incorporation of the East European buffer states in the Soviet orbit. The revisionists have seen only the strengthened power blocs, not the linked nature of their stabilization and its complete superficiality, nor the fact that the temporary stabilization itself deepens the crisis which has not been solved.

The development of capitalism has led to greater, not less, unity of the international class struggle. Capitalism's current problems must be viewed as flowing from the unevenness of development of the capitalist world and the consequent inability of American imperialism to maintain the old relationships with the rest of the world. There has been an intensification, particularly since the late 1950s, of the contradictions between the advanced capitalist countries as well as between the imperialists and the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The enormous balance of payments difficulties of American imperialism have forced it to cut back on its aid and the export of capital, and this is directly related to developments in the rest of the world. U.S. capitalism has not only dominated but has had to take responsibility for the entire system. This is of course a very different situation from the pre-World War II period. The present crisis

involves a changed policy on the part of U.S. capitalism towards capitalist Europe, greater dictation to Europe being required. The British reformists react to this with complete subservience, and this sets the stage for important struggles inside Britain. The French capitalists react to the same situation by proclaiming at least partial independence of American imperialism. All the older capitalist economies feel the effect of measures taken by the American capitalists to stave off the liquidity crisis.

Meanwhile the impossibility of national capitalist development in the colonial countries is more and more apparent. While the U.S. stockpiles millions of tons of grain and millions of acres remain idle, thousands upon thousands die of starvation in India. The imperialists must unload their burdens by perpetuating poverty, starvation and disease for millions upon millions of people while they prepare to attack their own workingclass at home. The recent coups d'etat all over Africa as well as Asia and Latin America reflect the immediate aims of imperialism but also show the insoluble crisis with which it is faced. The imperialists are forced to dump a whole series of "progressive" bourgeois nationalist leaders but their success in accomplishing this not only does not herald any new stability in the future but even deepens the crisis now.

In the Soviet orbit, the world crisis is reflected in the inability of the bureaucracy to escape from its dependence on the imperialists. The problems of backwardness, isolation and distortion of the economy can only be solved by the world revolution. Developments have confirmed the complete correctness of Trotsky and not of the theorists of socialism in one country and peaceful competition with capitalism. The superiority of planned economy can only be shown in an extremely distorted and limited way as long as capitalism maintains its grip on the advanced countries. The Soviet economy is unable under the present conditions to compete successfully with imperialism not because the planned economy is not superior, and not even simply because of the bureaucratic management of the Soviet economy, but fundamentally because the Soviet economy remains dependent upon the world economy and suffers the consequences of being isolated from the international division of labor. The USSR, as long as it remains isolated from proletarian revolution in the West, will not be able to overcome its heritage of backwardness to surpass the imperialists. The only solution the bureaucrats can see to their problems is a sharp turn to the right to increased collaboration with the imperialists. This is the meaning of Soviet diplomacy at Tashkent, developments in the Sino-Soviet split, Soviet betrayals in Vietnam and elsewhere, and the extreme right turns by the pro-Moscow CPs in the West. At the same time the bureaucracy must take, as part of its right turn, certain harsh measures at home.

The present prosperity and boom in the U.S.A. goes hand in hand with enormous difficulties elsewhere for which the Americans must take responsibility. Thus the boom itself is extremely unstable; it is not a sign of increased stability, but indeed of the opposite. Furthermore we can see how intercapitalist antagonisms are related to the colonial countries and how the Soviet economy is dependent upon the world economy. The notion of a stabilized capitalism or of a capitalism abstracted from the world crisis is thus exposed as absurd.

## Building of the Fourth International

The lessons we must draw for the building of the Fourth International are first of all that our work must fuse theory and practice at every step; and that the development of theory, intervention in the class struggle, and the building of Leninist revolutionary parties which begin to function as truly disciplined class organizations, are three sides of the same struggle. None of these goals can be achieved alone or separated from the others.

The great weakness of the Trotskyist movement in the past has been that while many people absorbed Trotsky's criticism of Stalinism, they did not learn the class method which he used in arriving at this criticism. This weakness was reflected not only in the failure to develop theory but in the failure to begin with Leninist methods of building the party. Most sections concentrated on the petty bourgeois milieu in their work, functioning in the old propagandist and sectarian fashion instead of fusing propaganda and agitation at each step, even in periods of ebb of political struggle. Where links to the class were developed they were often stunted by not developing the struggle through political intervention in the class struggle, just as Trotsky warned the SWP before his death in relation to its trade union work.

It is not enough to proletarianize in terms of social composition, either. Proletarianization must be a political and methodological process as well as one of organization and orientation. There is no room for idealization of the workers or any of the intermediate strata which will come to the Marxist movement. The workingclass brings with it backwardness and anti-theoretical prejudices. Its thinking is conditioned by the ruling class, and it is forced into action often without knowing why. The task of the movement is therefore not to idealize but to educate the workers. The workingclass youth and unemployed youth must be developed into a new revolutionary leadership of the class, one which understands the importance of linking its struggles to those of the older workers. Petty bourgeois youth and intellectuals must come over to the workingclass and seek to learn from the Marxist movement in order to become revolutionary intellectuals and genuine workingclass leaders. These people have special problems, bringing with them not only anti-theoretical prejudices but often more developed pragmatic philosophy as well. They must break from the petty bourgeois mode of existence so easily available to them in the advanced countries at this time, and the petty bourgeois and bourgeois ideology which they are taught in school and university.

All those recruited to Marxism inevitably bring bourgeois pressures with them in the form of subjectivism, pragmatism and idealism. A party capable of leading a socialist revolution can only be forged in constant struggle against this and thus a Marxist organization must be a constant battleground for all.

## The Role of the Voix Ouvriere Group

The IC itself has developed and grown through discussion and struggle, while the revisionists began their so-called unification in 1963 by covering up and evading differences, and have since split and lost most of their original forces.



The IC Congress must be seen in the context of this necessary political struggle, as a part of the overall process of building the party, and not as a meeting in any way removed from this struggle, devoted simply to discussing tactics or exchanging ideas. Thus the main lessons of the Congress and the advance it marked for the Fourth International must be related to the discussion and struggle at the Congress itself. The main questions raised were the continuity of the Fourth International and the strategic perspective for this epoch. The discussion revealed the sharpest differences between the International Committee and two of the observer groups present at the Congress.

The Voix Ouvriere group quite openly proclaimed its belief that the Fourth International had been destroyed, that it was correct in leaving the international movement in 1939, and that it had been able through a completely independent existence to wage a successful fight against revisionism. Furthermore it stated that the fight against Pabloism was essentially completed and that if undue attention was paid to this fight now it would prevent us from reaching out to new forces. In addition the Voix Ouvriere group presented a number of other important political differences with the IC. It views the East European states and China as capitalist. It is also opposed to work in the trade unions, while at the same time maintaining a semi-syndicalist approach to the workingclass at the point of production, and seeking to develop not through theoretical struggle but simply through a proletarian orientation.

Although the important questions of the class character of China and the East European countries and the question of syndicalism were taken up, the main criticism of the Voix Ouvriere group was in relation to its stand on the role of the Fourth International itself. It was pointed out that the Voix Ouvriere group implied that it was incorrect to join in the founding of the Fourth International itself in 1938. Instead of understanding that it was only through the arena of the International that revisionism could be fought, Voix Ouvriere emphasized its own national achievements and set these against the international movement. Without understanding that a revolutionary party and international is greater than the sum of its parts, is not simply an amalgamation of groups but a living organization itself, there can be no progress in building national sections. Episodic successes in one area or another will mean nothing if the section ignores the meaning of real internationalism. The minimizing of the need to struggle now as well as in the past against revisionism is related to this slighting of internationalism because it starts only from the conditions in one country instead of seeing the struggle as an international one. There will be no reaching out to new forces if there is no simultaneous struggle against revisionism. They are two sides of the same struggle.

Thus Voix Ouvriere was wrong to leave the international movement as it did 26 years ago. Its isolation is reflected in its current work and will be reflected more and more in the future. The International Committee hoped for and wanted to struggle for a principled unification of the sections in France. However, the Congress recognized that when the Voix Ouvriere delegation chose to leave the Congress after the discussion, this action flowed from their fundamental differences with the I.C. The discussion with this sectarian group was necessary in order to clarify precisely those issues which came up in the discussion, and the Congress felt very strongly

that the Fourth International had gained greatly from this discussion.

### Spartacist and the Fourth International

The extent of the cleavage between the Spartacist group, one of the two groups from the U.S. observing at the Congress, and the International Committee, was if anything even sharper than the break with Voix Ouvriere. For the Spartacist group rejected the strategic perspective of the I.C., its analysis of this epoch as one of deepening capitalist and Stalinist crisis, and rejected by implication the continuity of Marxism represented by the I.C.

These differences were reflected in the remarks of J. Robertson, leader of the Spartacist delegation, on the main report to the conference. Robertson stated that he was in general agreement with the report, but showed that he had no understanding and in reality no agreement with its fundamental method and line.

Robertson stressed that he did not agree with the IC's view of the world crisis of capitalism. He did not see the significance of a special analysis of the stage of the general crisis, but to the extent that he held any view it was that capitalism can look forward to relative stability in this period. Instead of seeing developments in the colonial countries in the context of the entire crisis, he saw recent events as simply strengthening an already stabilized American capitalism. Instead of seeing the unity of the crisis he presented only one side, much as the revisionists do. As evidence for his view, he presented various separate phenomena: the softening of the USSR towards imperialism, the isolation of China, the stabilization of Africa, Castro's role as agent of the Soviet bureaucracy in Latin America, and so forth.

Related to this, Robertson saw American imperialism as having few serious internal problems in the present period. He assessed the Negro question in the U.S. as being somewhere in between the situation in Britain and that in South Africa (where the whites are a small minority of the population). He labeled the white workingclass in the U.S. as reactionary and inaccessible to us in the present period. This view of imperialist stability led him to state that the tasks in the U.S. for the present must be almost entirely propaganda tasks, and he rejected the conception of fusing propaganda and agitation at each step as adventurism which would destroy our forces.

On the question of continuity and of internationalism Robertson's remarks were just as distant from the I.C.'s views. He stated that we had to take into account that there were four organized international currents claiming to be Trotskyist, that the splits thus far were marked by great confusion, and that the confusion must be resolved by future splits and fusions. He added that we had thus far not done very well in smashing the Pabloites. In other words he did not agree that the International Committee and only the International Committee represents the continuity of the movement. He ignored the important theoretical battle of the International Committee which is already showing important results on the organizational level. This approach led him to approach the I.C. not as the genuine international Marxist movement toward which individual

groups are subordinate, but simply as one group with which his group would deign to negotiate and exchange ideas. Just as Voix Ouvriere, the Spartacist group made clear that, aside from the question of membership in the I.C., which they are legally prohibited from undertaking, they were not prepared in a political sense to view themselves as subordinate to the International Committee.

The Congress reacted quite strongly to Robertson's contributions. It rejected his method, and pointed out that it was in fact the same as that of the revisionists in many fundamentals. He accepts the categories created by the capitalists in his conservative and empiricist approach to the crisis of capitalism. He proclaims political or programmatic agreement, but proceeds without strategy or perspective whatever. His view of world capitalism is based on bits and pieces of information, on isolated "facts", on separate phenomena which are not integrated into a view of the epoch. The conclusions of the Spartacist delegation of the present stability of capitalism are the same as those of the revisionists, the same as those of the SWP for example, because the method is the same incorrect one. Without a perspective Spartacist adopts a contemplative attitude. We do not start from acceptance of the "fact" that the workingclass in the U.S. is reactionary. We start from the understanding that the workingclass is the only revolutionary class, and on the basis of our analysis, we struggle to bring out the revolutionary potential of the workingclass in this epoch, not the next. We are not bystanders or commentators on the historic process anywhere in the world. But this is what Robertson suggests when he rejects the conception of fusing agitation and propaganda tasks.

Robertson refused to tackling agitational tasks, that is engaging in actual struggles and seeking to lead struggles, when we get 10 times as many members as we have at present. This is a completely formal approach, ignoring the question of how we will get these members and what kind of revolutionaries they will be. We will not develop revolutionary leadership unless we integrate propaganda and agitation, even on a modest level, from the beginning. The addition of people, who bring so much confusion with them, on the basis of the old propaganda methods, will only lead to crisis. Those who come to us must be won by more than propaganda work and must be educated by more than propaganda work. Communists have to be trained in connection with the living struggle.

The attitude of Robertson and the Spartacist delegation to the international movement and the struggle against Pablist flows from their lack of a perspective. They disparage the theoretical struggle against Pablist orthodoxy because for them orthodoxy is sufficient and in addition they are in disagreement with the I.C. on one of the fundamental questions dividing us from the revisionists, the strategic perspective. They disparage the international movement because for them the question of loyalty to it is an abstract question. For us our political loyalty stems from the conception that it is only in the arena of the international movement that we can develop as Marxists. For us the international is more than the national sections added together, since it represents the continuity of the struggle over past generations. Any differences we may have with the international movement must be completely subordinate to this political loyalty to the International.

NOTE TO READERS: This issue of the BULLETIN has been delayed in order to give full and adequate coverage to the 3rd Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International, in which the American Committee for the Fourth International participated as observers.

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### REBUILDING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Extracts from the resolution carried by the Third Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International held in London on April 4-8

The class struggle is international. World capitalism has long since played out its historical role of laying down the objective bases for socialism; the struggles of the workers of all countries have meaning only in terms of the world socialist revolution which began in October 1917 in Russia, as part of the world proletarian revolution. The Third (Communist) International was set up to answer the needs of the workingclass in this epoch of wars and revolutions. Following the betrayals of Social Democracy after 1918, the degeneration of the CPSU and the Comintern led eventually to the defeats in Britain and China in 1926/27 and the victory of fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain. Between 1933 and 1938 Trotsky and the Bolshevik opposition prepared to establish a Fourth International in response to the needs of the workingclass in a period of defeats, when Stalinism passed definitively to the side of counterrevolution.

The history of the class struggle since 1938 has proved correct the basic starting point of Trotsky and the founders of the Fourth International: the workingclass remains oppressed by capitalism because of the betrayals of the workingclass leadership, particularly by the Stalinist bureaucracy of the USSR; our epoch is the epoch of crisis of workingclass leadership. All the economic and political developments since then have shown the correctness of insisting that the development of imperialism constantly deepens the contradiction between the productive forces and capitalist social relations. But at every critical stage in the development of this contradiction, the traitorous social-democratic and Stalinist leaderships and the Soviet bureaucracy have misled the workers; these petty bourgeois formations have divided the workers along national and sectional lines and held-back the development of a revolutionary consciousness. The post-war economic and political crisis in the advanced countries, the breakdown of capitalist rule in Eastern Europe, the victorious revolution in China, the mass struggles in the colonial countries -- all of these international capitalism has survived because of the treachery of these misleaders who disarmed the workingclass.

Imperialism was able to overcome its post-Second World War crisis through the collaboration of international Stalinism and of other pettybourgeois tendencies. Such collaboration, fully developed in the bureaucracy's strategy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between the two world systems since the death of Stalin and particularly since 1956, now takes on an added significance for the rebuilding of the Fourth International. This new and more advanced phase of the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism is the



response of the bureaucracy not only to the increased pressure of imperialism but also to the upsurge of the political revolution in Eastern Europe after 1953. At the same time, movements like the General Strike of August 1953 in France showed that the policies of the Stalinist and Social Democratic bureaucracies in the advanced capitalist countries were coming into contradiction with the mass movement. The containment of the working class in those capitalist countries where the Stalinists had mass influence became more difficult and fraught with danger. Every partial mobilisation of the strength of the class threatened to rapidly develop into a general class confrontation, putting in question the whole capitalist system. The Stalinist bureaucratic leaderships of the working-class movement found themselves faced with the necessity of making themselves open agents of the maintenance of bourgeois order like the Social Democrats before them. In a different form, the historic defeat of French imperialism at Dien-Bien-Phu forced the international Stalinist apparatus into direct collaboration with imperialism for the purpose of preventing the extension of the revolution in the colonial countries.

The Hungarian Revolution represents the principal manifestation up to the present of the insoluble contradiction between Stalinism and the extension of the socialist revolution. At the same time as it was the first political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, and was for a time victorious, it was also an expression of the international class struggle taking its specific form in the countries of Eastern Europe. It posed the problem of workers' power through workers' councils not only in Hungary but throughout the USSR and Eastern Europe. Its actual development raised the question of the social revolution in the countries of Western Europe. Thus the increasingly international character of the proletarian revolution threatens the existence of both the Kremlin bureaucracy and imperialism. The Sino-Soviet conflict is another major external manifestation of the insoluble contradiction between Stalinism and the international revolutionary struggle. This struggle must be led by a Marxist leadership if capitalist counter-revolution is to be prevented in China, the USSR and Eastern Europe, and if imperialism is to be defeated throughout the rest of the world.

The linked crisis of imperialism and of the Soviet bureaucracy does not arise solely from the contradiction between capitalist economy as a whole and the planned economies. It consists also of contradictions between the imperialist powers themselves, which constantly nourish the class struggle and give it sharper forms in the advanced countries, and of the inability of imperialism to arrest the development of the revolution in the backward countries; the crisis is also fed by the fact that the Kremlin and satellite bureaucracies cannot resolve the problems posed by the development of the planned economy, whose harmonious development demands not only the extension of social ownership and planning to the means of production in the advanced countries, but also the participation of the working class in the management and control of industry; this is only possible if they exercise political power, which is impossible without the overthrow of the bureaucracy. This linked crisis creates the conditions for intensification of the world class struggle, and it is in that struggle that the crisis will find its solution. For this reason, the struggles engaged in by the workers of the advanced countries during the years between 1953 and 1956, and the changed relationship which these strug-

gles expressed between the workers and the bureaucratic apparatus of the labour movement, were decisive factors. This fact was partially obscured by the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution, which was basically a victory for imperialism, encouraging pro-capitalist tendencies in the USSR and Eastern Europe and reformist trends in the Communist Parties. Nonetheless, this defeat was temporary and not fundamental, since in not a single advanced country has the working class been subjected to a defeat like those of the 1920s.

It is the perspective of combined revolutionary struggles threatening at the same time the existence of imperialism and of the Kremlin bureaucracy, bringing the proletariat into conflict with the bureaucratic apparatuses which control the workers' movement, which demands and makes possible the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

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No starting point for revolutionary practice in the present international political situation can be found simply from contemplation of the 'objective forces' at work. The lessons of the struggles within the revolutionary Marxist movement are decisive to the grasping of these opportunities in the objective situation. The Fourth International has successfully resisted and defeated the attempts of petty-bourgeois opportunism, in the shape of a hardened revisionist tendency, which penetrated all sections of the Trotskyist movement to destroy it politically and organisationally. The struggle against this tendency was and remains the necessary preparation for the rebuilding of the Fourth International as a centralised proletarian leadership. This revisionist tendency developed into a centre for liquidation of the revolutionary party and the International, now gathered in the self-styled 'United Secretariat', which is the product of fusion between the International Secretariat of Pablo and the revisionist groups previously associated with the International Committee and the SWP of the USA. Revisionism became liquidationism when the French section was expelled from the International because of its defence of Trotskyism, of the Transitional Programme, and of its own very existence. The onslaught of the revisionists reached its peak in the split of 1952-53. The liquidationist centre has become a major obstacle to the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

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The revisionism and liquidationism which has attacked the Fourth International is an international class phenomenon responding to the needs of imperialism in its latest phase of extreme contradictions and dependence upon the Stalinist bureaucracy, Social Democracy, and the nationalist leaders. The abandonment of Marxist theory within the Fourth International, not only the abandonment of the programme, but even of the fundamentals of dialectical materialism, was the mechanism by which the cadres were prepared for this capitulation. The objective situation--physical liquidation of many sections in the late 1930s and the Second World War, the apparent strength of Stalinism in the workers' movement from 1942 to 1953, the divisions and pressure of the cold war period, the McCarthy repressions in the USA--all provided the circumstances for the decline, particularly by physically separating the class struggle in Eastern Europe and Russia from that of the capitalist world. But the emphasis placed on revolutionary

consciousness by the Transitional Programme must be our guide. The death of Trotsky weakened the Fourth International immeasurably. There had not yet been time to train a cadre which had absorbed the living theoretical heritage of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, particularly the lesson learned by Trotsky in the October Revolution of the need for a centralised Bolshevik party, founded solidly on Marxist theory, responding to every need of leadership by the working class in accordance with an internationalist perspective. This theoretical and political weakness, reflected in a dogmatic attitude towards theory and programme, not developing Marxist theory against hostile ideologies but attempting to 'preserve' it, was the reason for the inability of the Fourth International to develop the programme and build parties in the post-war period.

-Instead the cadres of the International adapted easily to the petty-bourgeois trends dominant at that stage of political development, particularly to the Stalinists. A false and artificial 'international centre' was set up, relying on a propagandist contemplation and commentary upon 'objective' developments in the class struggle. Such a centre did not discuss the living experiences of the sections in the course of developing Marxist theory and programme but instead either left the sections without guidance or intervened bureaucratically (upon the basis of the most 'Bolshevik' of organisational statutes) to impose an abstract international line against the sections. Such an international centre, isolated from real struggle, adapting programmatic formulae to the surface atmosphere of politics and certain circles of 'left' intelligentsia, dominated as it was by the petty-bourgeois elements who inhabit the Labor bureaucracies, was inevitably exposed to the pressures of the cold war, of international Stalinism and imperialism. Its theory and programme developed not in active connection with living struggle but in the rarefied atmosphere of 'international secretariats'.

The theoretical backwardness of the SWP leaders, who paid no heed to Trotsky's warnings of the need to do battle against pragmatism, the dominant American philosophy, made it easy for them to adapt to the Pabolite revisions and to end in the position of pragmatists themselves. Such adaptation amounted in fact to a narrow nationalism in party matters, an abdication of internationalism and of responsibility to the International. This explains why the rejection of Pablo's revisionism by the SWP stopped short of a real theoretical analysis. Cannon and the SWP leaders reacted empirically to Pablo's gross capitulation to Stalinism and to his organisational abuses in organising factions within the national sections, especially in the USA, but they did not probe to the theoretical roots of the revisions and therefore themselves fell victim to revisionism; their abandonment of the programme of political revolution and the building of revolutionary parties in Eastern Europe, their increasing support for petty-bourgeois leaders in Algeria and Cuba, as well as in the Negro struggles in the USA itself, have all prepared a situation where the SWP is now in immediate danger of liquidation.

\* \* \*

It follows that the most serious theoretical preparation in struggle against revisionism is necessary for the rebuilding of the Fourth International. The deepening crisis of capitalist society and

the connected crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy are dissolving the old political relationships and creating favorable conditions for the construction of revolutionary parties. The changes in the internal relations of the international workers' movement at present taking place, and the need to exploit the linked crises of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy demand that our national tasks must be placed correctly in their international context as part of the construction of the Fourth International; only in this way will the international class struggle be resolved in favor of the working class. But these parties will nowhere develop spontaneously; they depend in every case on the intervention of Marxists who base their program on the international perspective of Trotskyism. In particular these national sections must grasp in theory and practice the revolutionary role of working-class youth in the USA, Europe, Russia and Eastern Europe, and in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It is these proletarian youth who are now drawn into struggle against the capitalists and the bureaucracy. In the building of parties of the Fourth International, youth play a special role as one of the most exploited sections of the proletariat. But the construction of sections of the International requires the mobilisation behind the program and organization of the Fourth International of all the principal fighting forces of the proletariat. It is in this perspective and not in isolation from it, or as a substitute for it, that work among the youth takes on its real importance. The Negro struggle in the USA, intensified especially by the impact of automation under capitalism, the heroic struggle of the workers and students in Spain, the political opposition to the bureaucracy in the workers' states, the fight against the Social Democrats and Stalinists in Britain, France and all Western Europe, as the youth strive to join battle with capitalism, the workers' battles in Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Latin America and Africa, all of these bring a new generation of workers to the fore. As all the old working-class political tendencies swing sharply to the right, a heavy responsibility falls upon the International Committee and the sections grouped around it. They have the responsibility, beginning from scientific analysis, of providing the motive force for the rebuilding of the Fourth International on the foundations of this revolutionary potential. It is not a question of a 'youth movement' as such but of a generation of the working class radicalized by new international revolutionary opportunities, resulting from the crisis of imperialism. The cadres of the Fourth International are on trial; in these struggles we must develop Marxism, defeat revisionism and demonstrate in practice in each national section the capacity for leadership of the Trotskyist Parties as the only answer to the capitalist class and its bureaucratic servants.

Revisionism which separates into distinct sectors the revolution in the advanced countries, the colonial revolution, and the political revolution in the workers' states, is a most important cover for capitalist domination of the workers' movement and for obstructing the construction of revolutionary parties. This revisionism is expressed particularly in the theory and practice of the self-styled Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, which was formed without discussion of theoretical and political questions. The next phase in the building of the Fourth International must on the contrary be accompanied by a most serious theoretical discussion in all sections of the policies and theory of the movement past and present.



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Many workers all over the world, particularly the youth, are in battle against the bureaucratic leaderships who want to confine them to narrow and sectional struggles. The Fourth International and its sections must be able to lead these struggles, explaining the class role of the bureaucratic leaderships and bringing forward the essence of these struggles-- the perspective of world socialist revolution.

The intervention in the class struggle is not separate from the theoretical discussion upon which we have insisted. There is no development of Marxist theory except insofar as revolutionary parties fight in practice to penetrate living reality with that theory, enriching it in the course of the struggle, to negate the revisionism which has destroyed the International originally founded by Trotsky. It is not enough to make formal theoretical corrections on the one hand and to carry out in tensive activity in the class struggle on the other. Such a procedure might give the appearance of limited success, but only when Marxists see themselves and their consciousness as part of the living class struggle, developing with it and transforming its qualitative ebbs and flows into an enriched theory from which to develop the program of the International, is the unity of theory and practice actually realized. Only in this way will the cadres of the International be trained. Their internationalism will be worthy of the struggles of the international working class, because it develops as a living part, the conscious and most vital component of these struggles. The International Committee has been built in the course of the struggle against Pabloite revisionism, and as such has successfully fought for the continuity of the Fourth International. During the last 28 years, the founding program of the Fourth International has expressed correctly the strategy of the international socialist revolution. It has no less importance for the struggle for the proletarian revolution than had the Communist Manifesto for the Marxist method and the fundamental aims of communists. In its appeal for the building of the Fourth International, The IC must show clearly the indissoluble link between this building and the building of revolutionary parties in every country, as the path to the victory of the socialist revolution.

# # #

But are you not to some extent re-establishing that system? Do you wish these trials to mark the 10th anniversary of your own rehabilitation and of that 'spring in October', during which you raised so many hopes for the future?

In the name of those hopes and in the name of your own record, the record of a fighter and of a political fighter under Pilsudski and Stalin, I appeal to you and to your colleagues of the Central Committee: Do not allow this miscarriage of justice to last! Dispel the secrecy that surrounds the cases of Hass, Modzelewski, and comrades. If you think that they are guilty of grave offences, then publish the full report of the court proceedings and let it speak for itself. In any case, I appeal to you to order an immediate and public revision of the trial. If you refuse these demands, you will stand condemned as epigones of Stalinism, guilty of stifling your own Party and compromising the future of socialism.

Isaac Deutscher  
London, April 24, 1966.

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
AND THE TASKS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

A Commission Report to the International Congress

1. The London Conference reaffirms that the programme and method for the building of the revolutionary parties and the Fourth International are to be found in the Transitional Programme. This programme remains the only one that is capable of providing a solution to the problems raised by the historical crisis of revolutionary leadership.

2. The Conference affirms that Pabloism (whether of Pablo, Frank-Germain, Hansen, or the Posades tendencies) constitutes a revisionist current alien to the programme and methods of the Fourth International.

3. The Conference affirms that the Fourth International has not degenerated. The historical continuity of the Fourth International founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky, re-formed in the years 1943-46, which Pabloism attempted to destroy in 1950-53, has been maintained since 1953 by the struggle waged by the Trotskyist organisations grouped within the International Committee.

As a result of this, the International Conference proclaims that the continuity of the Fourth International has been fought for and maintained by the International Committee's actions.

4. The Conference recognises the inability of the leadership of the International, after Léon Trotsky's death, to succeed in the tasks required by the building of revolutionary parties and the International.

During the course of this hard battle for Trotskyism, some cadres have been exterminated, victims of imperialist and Stalinist repressions; others worn out, and the leadership of the Fourth International became bankrupt. This leadership collapsed because of its distortion and abandonment of Marxism, i.e., of the method of dialectical materialism. This is why this leadership was unable to root the movement in the struggle of the working class, and particularly the youth. As a result, they were incapable of assimilating the methods and principles of communist organisation. In no case can this failure be considered the failure of the Fourth International.

5. The essential unity of the international class struggle, flowing from the international character of the joint crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy, implies the direct consequence of the necessity of building Trotskyist parties in every country. As against the liquidationist conclusions flowing from the revisionist 'division of the world into sectors'; this perspective emphasises the urgency of building independent revolutionary proletarian parties in the countries of Eastern Europe, USSR, and China, and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

6. This central task of building independent revolutionary parties stresses yet again the essential struggle for the political independence of the working class, against the politics of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the reformist leaderships. This fight for the Party implies a determined struggle against syndicalism and all ideas that a revolutionary party can be spontaneously produced from the working class.

7. The International Conference stresses that the Trotskyist movement, in the course of the struggle to build the International, works towards the creation of a centralised leadership of the world revolutionary party, in a struggle organically linked to the fight in each country to rebuild revolutionary centralised parties leading the struggles of the masses. This building of parties and of the International must be carried out on the basis of the lessons of the struggle against revisionism and of the continuation of this struggle.

8. The proceedings of this Third Conference emphasise the necessity for the International Committee to politically prepare within 18 months the Fourth International Conference, whose aim will be to rally all Trotskyist organizations fighting for the programme of the Fourth International. This will include a struggle by the International Committee to rally to the ranks of the Fourth International the militants and groups who are misled by the revisionist leaders of the United Secretariat.

9. In order to achieve the tasks before such a Conference, the International Committee must organise an international discussion on the following subjects:

(a) The building of revolutionary parties on the basis of the Programme in the context of the concrete struggle for the rebuilding of the International. Trotskyists, organised as sections of the Fourth International, must carry the struggle for the construction of revolutionary proletarian parties based on the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International. They carry the fight for this programme and for the construction of the Party as the main basis of their work in the mass organizations of the working class, and in particular towards the working class youth, as the direct source of new forces for the Fourth International. All such work is subordinated to the main task of constructing the Party. The building of the Party necessitates the production of a newspaper able to constantly fight for the overall programme of the Party, to raise the consciousness of the working class in all spheres of the class struggle. This fight for the independent party is the only basis for the defence of the positions won in the past by the working class, and all tactical considerations are subordinated to it. In conditions where the tactic of entry into existing working class parties is necessary, this tactic is conducted in a manner which subordinates it to the main task of the independent party.

(b) The Unity of the international class struggle.



(c) Defence by revolutionary methods of the conquests of the international working class, in the capitalist countries, in the USSR, China and all the countries under the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy. This discussion will be carried out on the agreed framework of the unconditional defence of these states.

10. In the framework of the objectives agreed at this Conference, the International Committee must, so far as its resources permit, give assistance in:

- (a) the building of Trotskyist organisations;
- (b) the activity of Trotskyist organisations;

so that they can advance from the stage of propaganda groups to being Communist organisations fighting in the class struggle for the leadership of the proletariat in the struggle for power.

11. The International Committee will publish an official internal bulletin in English to be translated into the various languages by each section.

#### EYE WITNESS REPORT:

##### 1000 BRITISH YOUNG SOCIALISTS HOLD CONFERENCE

It was quite a sight to behold! Ten buses filled with London Area Young Socialists and YS supporters including a number of older trade unionists were lined up along a broad thoroughfare somewhere near London's Victoria Station. They were getting set for the overnight trip to the 6th Annual Conference of the Young Socialists of Great Britain to be held over the weekend of April 2-3 at Morecambe, a town on the northwest coast of England. The coaches had made a rendez-vous after having brought their occupants from ten different dances held that evening throughout the London Area under the auspices of more than a score of Young Socialist Branches.

Through the night and into the next day some 1000 Young Socialists together with older workers made their way from all over the British Isles to the conference. They overcame considerable snow, freezing and sub-freezing weather which covered the Morecambe area, as well as much of northern England and Scotland.

Wet and partly frozen feet, a few sarcastic references to the appropriateness of the name of the Conference Hall, the "Winter Gardens" ---all this was forgotten as the delegates enthusiastically turned their attention to the opening address by Aileen Jennings, editor of Keep Left, official paper of the Young Socialists. Keep Left has played a crucial role in the development of the revolutionary program and leadership for the YS. After the YS was forced out of the Labor Party by the right wing leadership, Keep Left was adopted as the official YS organ. It has been and remains the voice for a real Socialist leadership of the Labor Party and the British working class.

## Wilson Has No Excuse Now

In presenting the main report on behalf of the YS National Committee, Aileen Jennings outlined the central theme of the Conference: that the landslide Labor victory at the polls had removed any "excuse" for the government to move forward to socialist measures; nevertheless, the Wilson government would carry out Tory policies against the working class, in the interests of International (particularly U.S.) Finance Capital. (see Bulletin vol. II, no. 27, March 14, 1966) The task of the YS therefore becomes to mobilize young and old workers alike in a struggle for real socialist policies and in so doing to expose the anti-working class character of the phoney Labor government. This approach brings the YS into the vanguard of the struggle to build a new leadership of the British working class.

Tracing the development of the YS struggle against Tory policies, Comrade Jennings stated: "The YS is a movement of action. We are not just talking, we mobilize workers in campaigns". She spoke of the campaigns of the past year---on the demand for old age pensions, against the war in Vietnam and of the mass lobby of Parliament on Jan. 26 which united the YS with other young workers and older trade unionists in opposition to the proposed anti-trade union legislation.

Without doubt, the question of the Wilson government's proposed legislation against the Trade Unions which would in effect outlaw "unauthorized" strikes, (providing stiff penalties - imprisonment - for violation) was the focal point of the two days discussion. Concretely, the conference resolved to support the call of the Lambeth Trades Council for "a one day stoppage against anti-trade union legislation about a week after the budget (early in May). This stoppage will be combined with the biggest demonstration seen in London for many years to show that we will not stand by and allow the trade unions to be broken." This is how the call was presented to the conference by the delegate of the Lambeth Trades Council, Vivienne Mendelson, who also recalled that the campaign for the Jan. 26th mass lobby of Parliament demonstration "was taken up and made a success by the work and enthusiasm of the Young Socialists. If there are people who think there is a difference between the Young Socialists and adult trade unionists, then the 26th gave them the answer... The enormous delegation from Liverpool was the result of work by the Young Socialists."

## Older and Younger Workers Unite

In the same manner, the many older trade unionists present at the conference from all over England, were brought to the conference as the result of direct efforts by Young Socialist branches. When one older trade unionist who was a quite well paid worker as well as a shop steward expressed his sense of frustration and his skepticism as to the battle for socialism, he was answered by many of the other trade unionists who spoke. Much more representative than the pessimism of this older worker were the sentiments of Chris Reid, an auto worker in the AEU (Amalgamated Engineering Union) who said: "It is obvious that Wilson is moving towards a corporate

state. If he thinks that by doing this he is going to prevent the working class fighting for better conditions, he has another think coming ... I was a beaten man two years ago. I had gone through 30 years of frustration with my attempts to fight for socialism. Many workers feel like this and they must be brought together with the Young Socialists. Be patient with elder workers. Try to do for them what you have done for me. Since the Blackpool Lobby I am a changed man."

Ron Roberts, a shop steward from Sheffield spoke, also expressing the bond that was unifying the YS with older workers: "I was frustrated and dropped out of activity and now realize it was wrong. I saw the old age pensions lobby in Sheffield and thought about how the Communist Party did not hold lobbies like that...You are doing something and impressing a lot of people. Quite a lot of us were in the Communist Party but we can't write off Communist Party members or we would have to write off ourselves. If you want to get a one-day work stoppage, you must get to these people who are led by the Communist Party. I know you can win, and I know you will." Speaker after speaker spoke to pledge support from themselves and their fellow workers for the one day work stoppage.

The YS has been able to begin the essential job of reaching the older workers chiefly because of its great base of strength among militant young workers, the majority of whom are still "teenagers". It is from this stratum of working class youth which is hardest hit by the crisis of British capitalism that the future leadership of the working class is being formed. The formation of this leadership is being done through a process of struggle, not only through strikes and demonstrations but above all in struggle against the revisionist and anti-working class ideas that find their way into the workers' movement. The ideology of 'anti-ideology', anti-theory, anti-history, so prevalent in American New Left circles and organizations like SDS, is rooted out of the thinking of the Young Socialists. This is because the YS leadership has learned that the 'anti-ideology' pragmatism of the American New Left and its empiricist cousin in the British New Left results in demoralization and disintegration at best. At worst, the 'philosophies' of pragmatism and empiricism are thin cover-ups for the criminal betrayals of Wilson and his fake left apologists groups around the newspaper Tribune. In the USA we have seen how the empiricism of the SWP has led to the destruction of its earlier working class-outlook and the substitution of total adaptation to passing petty-bourgeois moods, movements and heroes of the moment.

It is in opposition to all forms of alien middle-class and bourgeois ideology that the YS movement has begun the organization of young workers to fight for the destruction of capitalism in Britain and throughout the world. It is in open collaboration with and under the leadership of the Socialist Labor League, the British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International that the YS points the way for the revolutionary youth and workers throughout the world.

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