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The Struggle to Reunify the Fourth International (1954-1963)

Volume I: The First Parity Commission
and Peng Shu-tse's "Pabloism Reviewed"



Joseph Hansen

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Introduction

by Tim Wohlforth

This is one of a series of twelve volumes devoted to documentary material related to the reunification of the Fourth International, spanning the period from 1954 right up to the successful conclusion of the reunification effort in 1963. These twelve volumes constitute Part 7 of *Towards a History of the Fourth International*, published by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party.

Previous volumes in this series have included articles on the postwar history of the Trotskyist movement and a documentary history of the 1953 crisis and split in the Fourth International.

This new series deals with the aftermath of that split, the period of the independent existence of the two factions that took shape in the struggle (the International Committee and the International Secretariat), and the various efforts to mend the rift.

Included is material on the first parity commission of 1954; political documents produced by components of the International Committee; the response of both world factions to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, to the Polish and Hungarian upheavals in that year, and other events; the effort to reunify the international in 1957 and the causes of the breakdown of that effort; and the successful drive towards reunification beginning in 1961.

The Struggle to Reunify the Fourth International includes correspondence, documents, circulars, and many other items—much of it previously unpublished. Material for this collection was made available by Karolyn and Tom Kerry, Tim Wohlforth, the Library of Social History in New York City, the archives of the Socialist Workers Party, and the late James P. Cannon.

Thanks are due to David Keil, among others, for translating several items published in this series.

The materials were selected and the introductory note preceding each section was written by Fred Feldman. Views expressed in the introductory notes are his own.

For the sake of historical accuracy the material has been subjected to minimal editing. Where comrades used pen-names in their international activity, the real name is inserted in brackets. For instance Gerry Healy used the names Burns and Preston, Dobbs used the name Smith, and Sherry Mangan used the name Patrick O'Daniel.

The term "section" appears frequently in these documents. This word was used in two different senses within the world Trotskyist movement. On the one hand, it refers

to those groups which are affiliated to the Fourth International. Secondly, it is used in reference to organizations that are barred from membership in the Fourth International by reactionary legislation, such as the SWP, but are in full political solidarity with the world Trotskyist movement and represent the continuity of Trotskyism in their countries.

This collection includes relatively little material from the French section of the International Committee (now the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste) or from Latin America. This was due to the limited amount of such material now available in the United States. It is hoped that the publication of this documentary collection will encourage others who participated in these events to help fill in these and other gaps remaining in the historical record of the Fourth International for this period.

Gerry Healy has issued a multi-volumed documentary collection, *Trotskyism Versus Revisionism* (London: New Park, 1974) which purports to cover the period from 1951 to the 1970s. The bulk of the items in that collection dealing with the years 1954-63 will also be found in this series.

However, there is much in this series that is not to be found in Healy's collection. It is hoped that this series will help in establishing the honest historical record of this period.

Gerry Healy's *Problems of the Fourth International*, to be found in Volume Four of *Trotskyism Versus Revisionism*, as well as Cliff Slaughter's introductory material to the various volumes, present a grossly distorted and tendentious account of this period. The need to uphold these distortions may help to explain why so much relevant material is left out of Healy's collection.

The introductory notes to a number of sections in this series refer to some of Healy's falsifications, pointing out how they are refuted by the actual documentary record of what took place, including letters written by Healy.

The factionally-motivated falsifications exposed in these pages were part of a process of degeneration that eventually led to Healy's current campaign to frame up Joseph Hansen, George Novack, James P. Cannon, and other SWP leaders on charges of complicity with or covering up for the Stalinist secret police.

Above all, however, this series demonstrates how principled revolutionaries approached the extremely difficult but vitally necessary task of reuniting the world Trotskyist forces. It will also help to deepen our understanding of how important this reunification was for the future development of the Fourth International.

SECTION I: THE PARITY COMMISSION AND PENG SHU TSE'S "PABLOISM REVIEWED"

Introductory Note

The struggle between orthodox Trotskyists and followers of Michel Pablo (the name adopted by Michel Raptis in his political activity), the secretary of the Fourth International, became a public international faction fight with the publication in the November 16, 1953, issue of the *Militant* of the "Letter to Trotskyists Around the World." Prior to this action, the bureau of the secretariat (Pablo, Frank, and Germain) virtually read the SWP out of the world movement, using the suspension for disloyalty of the Cochran-Clarke-Bartell (Zaslow) minority as a pretext.

(Pablo believed that Stalinist and social-democratic parties were being forced to the left as an inevitable third world war approached, and that Trotskyist parties should enter these parties to influence left-centrist currents that were going to develop in them. He also projected that political revolution in the Stalinized workers' states might take the form of a prolonged series of intrabureaucratic disputes between hard-line Stalinists and more "democratic" elements with the masses supporting the latter. When the IS failed to demand withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Germany during the June 1953 workers' uprising, and Pablo's allies in France abstained from sharp criticism of the French CP during the August 1953 general strike, critics of Pablo concluded that his positions were leading to adaptations to Stalinism. Pablo responded by trying to suppress these critics in the name of "democratic centralism.")

Following this break, the International Committee was formed as a public faction of the Fourth International by the British and Swiss sections and the PCI (majority) of France, with the full support of the SWP. The SWP was barred by reactionary legislation in the U.S. from actual membership in the International Committee.

These extraordinary measures were sparked by Pablo's use of his position in the international apparatus, and of his factional majority in the International's leading bodies, to stifle discussion, expel dissenters, and impose his policies on Trotskyist groups that disagreed with him. The IC demanded Pablo's removal as secretary for these abuses (it did not call for his removal from the leading bodies), the postponement of the Fourth World Congress to allow a democratic discussion, and an end to the public expression by the International Secretariat of positions that had not been approved by any world congress.

Pablo sought to transform the public factional struggle into a definitive split. The December plenum of his International Executive Committee voted to suspend any member of the International who even expressed support of the "Open Letter" or the IC. It recognized pro-Pablo minorities in Britain and the U.S. as the official represen-

tatives of "Trotskyism" in those countries. The plenum declared the SWP to be "completely degenerated." It went ahead with plans to hold a truncated "Fourth World Congress" that was expected to rubber-stamp Pablo's political line and his organizational measures against the orthodox Trotskyists.

However, the open denunciation of Pablo by the IC had more serious repercussions than Pablo had counted on. Despite threats of expulsion, the Canadian and Chinese sections supported the IC, as did the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR) of Argentina, led by Nahuel Moreno. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society Party), the largest section, expressed agreement with many of the political criticisms made by the IC, called for postponement of the "congress," and demanded the unconditional reinstatement of the suspended Trotskyists.

At the same time, some of Pablo's cofactionalists began to insist on what they claimed was a logical extension of his orientation. They proposed dissolving the Fourth International, which they viewed as an obstacle to integrating themselves deeply into the massive trade unions and the Communist parties of the United States and Europe. When Pablo drew back from this, these militant "Pabloists" moved toward a break with Pablo and the IS.

At the "Fourth World Congress" in June 1954, these conflicts came to a head. Over the objections of the LSSP, the gathering designated itself a "world congress" and affirmed the actions of the IS and the International Executive Committee against the IC.

But the main political resolution, "The Rise and Decline of Stalinism," was amended to meet some of the LSSP's objections. A big section of Pablo's factional allies (the Cochran-Clarke-Bartell tendency in the U.S. represented by George Clarke; the Canadian Pabloists led by Murray Dowson; the English Pabloists led by John Lawrence; and a part of the pro-Pablo wing of the PCI led by Michelle Mestre) walked out when the congress rejected their proposal that the international be dissolved.

There were differences of evaluation in the IC over the significance of these developments. The majority of the IC did not think it likely that the IS would continue to retreat from the extreme views that it had held or encouraged in 1953. Instead, they believed that the evolution of the IS, and the testing of its line in open combat with the IC, would lead to the breakaway of orthodox elements from the IS and their adherence to the IC. This was considered especially likely in the case of the LSSP.

On the basis of this perspective, Gerry Healy (who used

the pseudonym Burns in international correspondence), following discussions with Leslie Goonewardene, secretary of the LSSP, proposed the formation of a parity commission. To Goonewardene, this was a step toward reunification, but for Healy, the parity commission was intended to win over the Ceylonese and to place the onus of blame for the continuation of the split on Pablo.

The SWP leaders later concluded that such a maneuver was an error since it did not advance political clarification and fed illusions about the prospects of reunification. The SWP leadership favored an intensive discussion within the IC to develop a rounded view of world events, and proceeded with the preparation of documents for this purpose.

After an exchange of letters with Farrell Dobbs (who wrote under the name Smith), Healy reversed himself and supported the SWP position on the parity committee. He proposed in the IC a resolution withdrawing from the parity commission which passed with one negative vote, that of Peng Shu-tse.

In later years, Healy was to claim that his minor tactical difference with the SWP in December 1954 (ending with full agreement in January) was bitter and deepgoing. In his 1966 pamphlet *Problems of the Fourth International*, Healy wrote: "At first Cannon gave half-hearted support to these parity commission proposals, then in the late Autumn of 1954 we suddenly received a letter calling upon us to abandon the discussion. From that moment it was clear that an even more serious conflict was brewing between the International Committee and the SWP.

"Even at this early date in 1954, when the split with Pablo was just concluded, the split with the SWP was *on the agenda*." (Italics in original.)

Healy's pamphlet is reprinted in the fourth volume of *Trotskyism vs. Revisionism* (London: New Park, 1974), a documentary collection published by the Workers Revolutionary Party (the name adopted by Healy's group in 1974) which purports to cover the 1953-63 period. To avoid contradicting Healy's account of the parity commission discussion, his editor thoughtfully omitted his letters on this subject as well as the resolution submitted to the International Committee. (Healy's views on the parity commission were reiterated in a January 15, 1957, letter to Cannon, reprinted in Section VII.)

However, another document in Healy's collection does contradict his account. In "A Reply to Comrade Peng," written in 1961, the SLL National Committee stated:

"So far as we were concerned, far from the parity committee being a device based upon our conception that Pablo was coming closer to us politically, it represented on the contrary a tactical weapon designed to assist the Ceylonese release themselves from the serious mistakes that they had made at his conference. . . .

"However as the months went by the Ceylonese failed to participate in the parity committee. Gradually it was clear to everyone that the Pabloites intended to use this

committee as a manoeuvring ground against the International Committee. . . .

"The people who first protested were the SWP comrades in their letter of November, 1954. The French were opposed to the parity committee all along and when a decision was taken to abandon this committee it was done by an overwhelming majority of the International Committee. Only comrade Peng was opposed."

This detailed treatment of a minor point in the history of the reunification has been undertaken because of Healy's claim that the differences of December 1954 were the point of origin of his fight with the SWP and his subsequent split from the Fourth International. The record demonstrates, as it often does with Healy's assertions, that his statements are false, and that no fundamental difference between the SWP and the British Section developed in this instance.

If Healy placed a split with the SWP "on the agenda" in 1954, he kept the fact under his hat. More than six years passed before he expressed a sharp difference of opinion on this or any other political issue with the SWP.

* * *

Peng Shu-tse disagreed with the majority of the IC. In his opinion, the split with Clarke, Lawrence, and Mestre was a decisive defeat for Pablo. The end of the Stalinist "left" turn of 1948-53 was further undermining the perspectives Pablo had laid out, Peng argued.

In addition, opportunities were opening up in the French CP which could only be effectively utilized by a united movement. Peng thought that the French supporters of the IC had adopted a sectarian approach toward those openings, while the IS supporters led by Pierre Frank were carrying out a more correct tactical line.

Peng therefore favored participation in the parity committee, not as a maneuver, but with the ultimate goal of reunifying the forces of the Fourth International.

In order to advance the prospects of reunification, Peng Shu-tse wrote an article for the discussion in the International Committee entitled, "Pabloism Reviewed: From Pablo to Cochran, Clarke, and Mestre." Peng demonstrated that Pablo's conceptions had fostered the thoroughgoing revisionism of his colleagues. At the same time, Peng noted that Pablo's refusal to go along with the demand by Cochran, Clarke, and Mestre that the International be dissolved "proves that Pablo has greatly modified his attitude."

Peng held that this was not due to a change of heart on Pablo's part, but to the pressure of supporters of the International Secretariat who held fundamentally Trotskyist views about Stalinism and other disputed issues. Peng argued that this outcome, which made a principled reunification possible, justified the struggle launched with the issuance of the "Open Letter."

—Fred Feldman

1. *"The problem is not one of unification": letter from Farrell Dobbs to Gerry Healy (December 8, 1954)*

Dear Burns [Healy],

We have just concluded a most fruitful convention which gave an inspiring demonstration of high morale in the ranks despite the witch-hunt pressures and from which the party emerged with a class-struggle line realistically applied to the present conditions.

A redraft of the political resolution, prepared after the recent national elections, will be sent to you under separate cover. The convention adopted the general line of the redraft as definitive in determining the line of the press and the policy in branch activities. However, the redraft will now be submitted, with some editing to further discussion in the party, after which the Plenum of the NC will adopt a final definitive draft by authorization of the convention.

The convention formally expelled the splitters and unanimously approved the Open Letter published by the Nov. 1953 Plenum as well as the subsequent general course of the leadership in the struggle against Pabloism. In a discussion among the leading comrades right after the convention, we took up the current problems in that struggle and decided to send this letter to you personally setting forth our general views.

Looking back upon recent events we now feel we made a mistake in orienting toward establishment of a parity commission with the Pabloites no matter on how limited a basis. Illusions can be created that become an obstacle to the realization of our fundamental objectives.

Beginning with the Open Letter, the forces rallied around the International Committee have denounced Pabloism as a revisionist-liquidationist tendency guilty of: junking the Transitional Program; renouncing the inevitability of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and visualizing its self-reform; covering up Stalinist betrayals; adopting a conciliatory attitude toward alien political tendencies generally; liquidating the movement through "deep" entry tactics; organizing a secret personal faction; suppressing democratic discussion inside the movement; gagging leading comrades in the executive bodies and in the sections; carrying through minority-provoked splits and bureaucratic expulsions—all as part of a conspiracy to achieve these revisionist-liquidationist aims through a minority coup d'etat at a rump congress.

The Open Letter and then the International Committee itself added to this general denunciation the demand that the Pabloite usurpers be removed from the central apparatus in order to restore internal democracy in the world movement. Full democratic discussion was called for on all issues in dispute before the necessary decisions are made at a democratically organized congress.

It is on this line that the major sections have been rallied around the International Committee with the consistent demand that Pablo and Pabloism must go. The split with Pabloism is therefore already definitive and what remains is a mopping-up operation to save whatever confused elements we can, accepting unity only with those elements who are prepared to break definitively with everything Pabloism stands for. Thus, in the most basic sense the problem is not one of unification. Our task is to consolidate the forces that have broken with Pablo and carry the split deeper into the Pabloite ranks.

Organization of a common congress with the Pabloites is not in any sense a task of the parity commission. We agreed to the commission in the first place only to help the Ceylonese comrades find a tactical bridge toward full support of the Trotskyist forces. We had no idea of a congress of any kind until the groundwork has been fully laid for its complete rejection of Pabloism and the projection of a Trotskyist perspective. Consequently there can be no basis for discussion with the Pabloites of any organizational matters or any questions of formal authority.

At most the parity commission could merely organize a discussion and it isn't actually needed even for that. Our task is precisely the one defined at the latest meeting of the IC—to pass immediately to the preparation of our own documents for the Fourth Congress. In doing so we will naturally run our own discussion and the documents the IC finally elaborates through its own discussion will definitely be the authentic documents of the Fourth Congress.

The notion of a parity commission serves at most as simply a device for marking time before the definitive split with Pabloism is made openly in the fullest formal sense. Time is on our side in the task of clarifying the confused and hesitant elements who remain identified to some degree with the Pabloite formal structure. The gratifying developments you report in Germany and Italy underline this fact. But we must be careful not to feed any illusions among the Ceylonese, Germans, Italians or others that there can be any long cohabitation with the Pabloites. These comrades must not get the idea that they can avoid a clean break with Pabloism with the expectation that we will be coming back into the old setup on the basis of a *modus vivendi* with Pablo.

If our approach to the parity commission question gives any wrong impressions on this score it would impede the full mobilization of the real Trotskyist forces. Judging from the eagerness with which the Pabloites are pushing for a quick session of the commission, they sense this very fact and are anxious to use the parity commission device to sow new confusion and promote new illusions. We therefore think it necessary to slow down a great deal on the commission action and stall off even a preliminary meeting indefinitely while we take plenty of time to work out our own perspectives and fully develop our own strategic and tactical course. Since the parity commission must in any case be strictly limited to the exchange of discussion material and nothing more, there is no need for haste in arranging a meeting and plenty of good reasons that can be advanced for delaying it.

Our platform permits no common executive body with the Pabloites. It requires just the opposite since our stress is on the consolidation of the Trotskyist forces and a definitive separation from Pabloism. Hence nothing of an executive character gives any urgency to a parity commission meeting. Our documents will not be designed for "common" discussion with the Pabloites but for clarification of the Trotskyists and the elaboration of the Trotskyist platform. We have nothing to negotiate with the Pabloites concerning the character and scope of discussion material. In fact we take a dubious view even of the proposed IC demand to have our own spokesmen in Pablo-dominated sections. That stipulation would work both ways and we don't really need it, certainly not nearly as much as the Pabloites do. Thus all the parity commission

can really do is exchange documents and there would be no point to a hasty meeting merely to agree that this would be done later on. And the IC will not be in a position to submit any documents to a parity commission until they have been thoroughly discussed among the IC supporters and approved by them.

We fully agree with the decision of the International Committee to concentrate now on the preparation of the basic discussion material intended to fully clarify our own forces and rally the confused elements to our side. We will undertake the drafting of a document on "World Perspectives" as the IC has requested but it will not be possible for us to promise it by Dec. 30 as suggested. While we have no intention of delaying the project, we do think it important that we be allowed whatever time will be found necessary to do a workman-like job on the draft. If you agree with us that there is no need for a forced pace in preparing the IC documents, we assume you will also agree to our undertaking the assignment on a necessarily elastic time schedule.

In addition to the discussion material already projected

by the IC we believe a thorough analysis of the structure and functioning of the world movement along realistic democratic-centralist lines will be needed. In the so-called "unity" resolution of the rump congress, Pablo still harps on his pet theme of a "centralized world party." We must spell out not only our rejection of Pablo's false organizational line but also what we want the organizational norms to be as required by the realities of the movement. Considerable discussion will first be required among ourselves on this general subject and we plan to write further about it later on.

We shall look forward to further direct consultation with you on the points we have raised in this letter and on the manner in which these views should be introduced among our co-thinkers.

Comradely,
Smith [Dobbs]

[Postscript Omitted]

2. "*We cannot go lordly on our way*": letter from Gerry Healy to Farrell Dobbs (December 16, 1954)

Dear Smith [Dobbs],

Many thanks for your letter of December 8th. . . .

There is, of course, complete agreement between us on our political estimation of Pabloite revisionism, but I think it would not be correct to conclude that the battle is over. As a political force, international developments more and more tend to demoralise the Pabloites. Their June congress marked a halt under pressure from the Cochranites on the right and the Ceylonese on the left. As I see it, the people who lead the Paris rump behave like a bunch of punchdrunk centrists who empirically improvise answers as they go along.

However, we must recognise that the Pabloite ranks still contain some very important elements whom we do not desire to see demoralised as a result of the impasse of Pabloism. It is not quite true to say that the IC represents all the main forces.

The Ceylonese are an essential part of our world movement as well as the Bolivians and Latin Americans, and they *remain inside* Pablo's organization. In my opinion, some of them (Ceylonese) are very close to us and must be won to orthodox Trotskyism. That is an urgent and inescapable task. It is also a reason which leads me to conclude that the fight is by no means over, and that we cannot rely on time alone for the very good reason that an international stalemate has existed now since June. The international movement to-day has no overall political perspective.

True enough, the members of the IC could be leisurely in approaching the drafting of a political document if it concerned them alone—but we must accept the overall responsibilities for trying to clarify the weak and undecided internationally. We cannot go lordly on our way—we must seek ways and means to clear up the mess. That is

why we should prepare this document *at once* as well as the other you mentioned. We must lay down our line boldly. Otherwise sections of the movement can bleed to death unnecessarily. Unfortunately such an atmosphere will strengthen Pabloism and not weaken it. I favour the comrades your end preparing a draft right now for discussion in a few weeks.

The Parity Commission arose out of discussion with the Ceylonese comrades last July. We reported this to you at the time and proceeded to operate when you agreed with the general line. Personally, I do not consider this a mistake. It would be so if it tended to give some cover to the Pabloites, but we remain completely free to fight as we think necessary. We are not bound by anything in this respect. It provides us with a common approach to the Ceylonese and any others like them. I would like to stress that the Italians and Germans favoured this idea, because they felt they could all the better organise the fight in their sections on this basis.

Without the continuation of a political offensive on our part, the Parity committee would indeed be a trap and absolutely useless.

Here let me say that I entirely agree that there is little for this committee to do. We can stall it for some time until we get the documents out, then have one meeting and circulate the material. I think it will help our relations with all those who want to be orthodox but who remain trapped for one reason or another. Certainly I do not visualise regular parity committee fixtures within such an approach. These are out of the question. We have also plenty of time to consider a congress if that is necessary.

In conclusion, please let me stress the urgency of preparing the political material. Let us establish our tendency clearly in this field. Whilst I do not think we can avoid one meeting of the committee, I think this can be held up until everything else is ready.

Warmest regards,
Jerry

3. "We shall handle the parity commission question as you suggest": letter from Gerry Healy to Farrell Dobbs (excerpt—January 11, 1955)

Dear Farrell,

I have received your letter, the greetings to our conference, and the enclosed note on *Tribune*—many thanks.

As far as I can see your letter on the tactics to be employed against the Pabloites coincide with our basic opinions here. We should commence a discussion on international perspectives within the International Committee as soon as possible when you get the draft ready. Ceylon is a special problem and whilst everyone is aware of their shortcomings it should be clear that we must leave no stone unturned to win them to our side. This is a mass party in a most important colonial sector, and for us it poses a major problem requiring great patience and tact.

Whilst I know there is complete understanding between us on this matter, it is not the case amongst our French

comrades who proceed in a somewhat sectarian way on this matter. We have extremely friendly relations with the Ceylon comrades in this section and their treatment of our struggle is much appreciated.

You can rest assured that we shall handle the parity commission as you suggest. We will waste no time on this question. . . .

Comradely,
Jerry

P.S. I have just read the statements on the internal situation. It seems to me that the party has measured up to its responsibilities very well.

Everyone knows what terrible conditions you work under. During the last two years you have had to lead the fight on Pabloism, in addition to building a new team of leaders. These factors are undoubtedly behind some of the difficulties. This is a time for everyone to keep steady hands on the wheel of leadership—I am sure this will be done.

4. "The IC, however, has been caught on the hook of a maneuver to establish 'responsibility for the split'": letter from Farrell Dobbs to Gerard Bloch, secretary of the IC (February 12, 1955)

Dear Comrade,

Sorry we failed to acknowledge receipt of your letters of December 23 and 28, 1954, and the enclosed documents. We did, however, promptly comply with all your requests contained in the letters.

There has never been any doubt in our minds that Pablo was involved in one way or another in the emergence of a pro-Stalinist faction in the LSSP, even though this faction was later repudiated by Pablo. He was compelled to repudiate also Clarke, Lawrence, and Mestre, after he first directed them onto the liquidationist road. William Silva's remarks only corroborate what we had suspected for some time. . . .

Your letter to the IC dealing with the question of unity is a well-reasoned document representing undoubtedly the views of all the organizations adhering to the IC, at least in its fundamental assessment of the problem. To our knowledge, no one of the adherents of the IC has any illusions about the possibility of establishing unity with the Pabloites. No one has any sympathy for the conciliationist position of the LSSP.

Some tactical differences have manifested themselves on the best way to deal with the Ceylonese and other conciliators. We believe, however, that those differences are largely episodic and are mostly due to misunderstanding.

How shall we treat this problem of the conciliators? Their only concern is to avoid taking a clear stand and they think they can do it by working out a formula for a modus vivendi between the Trotskyists and the Pabloites. But there is no such modus vivendi possible. The organizations affiliated with the IC have categorically

rejected Pabloite political and organization methods. They had first-hand experience in bitter, irreconcilable struggle and splits with Pablo's agents in their own ranks.

They are fully aware of the great harm Pabloism has done to the world movement and are in no mood to soften up on this question.

The truth is that if we had thought out the parity committee question to the end when the proposal was first made, it would have been rejected at that time. There are many reasons for rejecting this proposal, but not the least of them is that it should have been rejected for the good of the Ceylonese. The best way to deal with the Ceylonese is to make them realize beyond a doubt that there is no room for maneuvers between the Trotskyists and the Pabloites. From this point of view, the parity committee is not an aid but a hindrance in winning the Ceylonese to unqualified support of the IC.

The misunderstanding within the IC grew out of the acceptance of the parity committee proposal, while no one really wanted it or expected to accomplish anything through it. It was accepted under the false concept which you even repeat in your last letter, that to reject the proposal would place on the IC the onus of responsibility for the split.

However the question of the onus of responsibility for split is not at all so simple. In the first place, we are not dealing here with a mass movement in which one must be concerned that the masses who are generally yearning for unity do not consider us an anti-unity force. We are dealing with comparatively small vanguard groups of more or less politically alert people. They know who was responsible for the split in France, England, and elsewhere. If they don't know it, then we had better get busy explaining it. The split was due to the attempt to impose an alien line and alien organizational methods on the Trotskyist world movement. If this is not known the task then is to continue to explain *this*.

The split was brought about by Pablo. It was brought

about by underhanded methods of deceit and subterfuge or outright brutality, as in France. It makes no sense to talk at this stage of the onus of responsibility for the split. We must work instead to complete the task of ridding the movement of Pabloism and to unite the Trotskyist forces within the framework of the IC. We should demand of the Ceylonese to join us in this task.

The IC however has been caught on the hook of a maneuver to establish "responsibility for the split." You proposed to get off the hook by combining the acceptance of the parity committee proposal with a number of political demands which would be unacceptable to the Pabloites and would in turn hook the Ceylonese. This proposal was too obvious a maneuver. To accept the parity committee proposal for a discussion leading to unity, and at the same time pose a series of demands which add up to a rejection of Pabloism and agreement in advance with the IC position, would be interpreted by everyone and especially the Ceylonese as a maneuver which smacks of ultimatism.

We are convinced that the majority of the IC rejected this proposal not out of conciliationist considerations but because the proposal offered a poor solution. However, by accepting without qualifications the parity committee proposal the IC gave the impression it believes reunification is on the order of the day.

The correct course as we see it now would have been to reject outright the parity committee proposal as a cheap maneuver by Pablo to gain new advantage for his assault on Trotskyism and prevent his being thrust into oblivion. If Pablo seriously entertained the idea of unity, he would never have gone through with the rump 4th congress. That act itself represented a consummation of the world split. The struggle to reconstitute a Trotskyist world movement requires at this stage a blunt political and organizational confrontation, not maneuvers. This would be a line that

would express our convictions. It would be simple to explain and would confront vacillators with an unmistakable choice between Pablo and the IC.

But this line was not the one that was taken. We were as much in error on this as anybody. We propose now that this become the line at the next meeting of the IC. We believe you should adopt a resolution along these lines for the benefit of the Trotskyists in the first instance.

What we do then with the parity committee proposal after that becomes secondary. There are two possible courses open.

One is to declare openly that upon further consideration of the parity committee proposal we have decided to reject it because the world movement would gain nothing from such maneuvers, and explain why this is so.

The second course is to leave the parity committee on ice and proceed with our own course. We would continue with the struggle of winning people away from Pabloism, prepare our own documents, carry through our own discussion, and prepare a congress.

If the Pabloites wish to summon a meeting of the parity committee, we can tell them we have nothing to take up—we are not ready, we are busy with our own discussion.

These, in brief, are our views on this question. We will appreciate your comments on the general line of this letter and, if you agree with that line, we would like your thoughts on the alternate tactical courses outlined with regard to terminating the parity committee.

Fraternally,
Smith [Dobbs]

P.S. The Latin American comrades complain that their correspondence remains unanswered by the IC. Can you clarify this? . . .

5. *Letter from the International Secretariat "to all Members and All Organizations of the International Committee" (July 1955)*

Comrades,

We deem it absolutely vital to pose before you again the problem of reuniting the international Trotskyite movement. Let us first recall the facts.

Almost two years ago, just at the time when the preparatory discussion for the Fourth World Congress had started, the National Committee of the SWP publicly announced its political breakaway from the regularly elected bodies of the Fourth International. It called upon all sections of the Fourth International to do the same and supported the constitution of an "International Committee," with the self-proclaimed aim of reconstructing the international Trotskyist movement. All this has been done in the name of a so-called "orthodox Trotskyism" against an alleged "Pabloism."

The majority of the sections of the International refused to follow the appeal of the SWP and the International Committee. They renewed their confidence to the regularly elected bodies for calling the Fourth World Congress, to

which also the organizations of the International Committee were invited.

Over two-thirds of the mandates represented at the previous Congress took part at the Fourth World Congress. Forcefully repulsing the attack of a faction which, encouraged by the split, for the first time openly asked to liquidate the International, the Fourth World Congress voted a resolution in favor of the reunification of the international Trotskyite movement. Several proposals were made to the International Committee; in particular it has been proposed to organize a preliminary discussion by a parity commission of representatives of the International Executive Committee and your International Committee, in view of a *congress of reunification*.

This resolution accepted in June 1954 and immediately passed to the International Committee, received in October 1954 a favorable reply regarding the method of a preparatory discussion in order to organize a Congress. *This parity commission, however, did not function*. Once only did this commission meet for twenty minutes in February 1955. A letter was handed to representatives of your Committee containing our proposals for organizing the discussion. They, however, declared not to be autho-

rized to engage into a discussion, and up to this date, this letter as well as another letter addressed by us to your Committee on May 18th, 1955 and recalling our first letter have so far remained without reply.

Are we to draw the conclusion that your International Committee as well as your organizations have renounced to unite with us?

We are afraid that such are really the views of part of the members of your organizations where, as we know, some people maintain before thinking at creating an international organization one has first to build strong national organizations. This is a centrist idea which has always been condemned by our movement. But this orientation against unity would not only be regrettable for the Fourth International at the very moment when our ideas have extremely favorable chances to make headway, it would be particularly disastrous for your own political development.

* * *

In spite of all efforts made by the capitalist governments, in spite of the advantage they get from the policies of the reformist and Stalinist leaders, a perspective of a relative stabilization in the capitalist world does not exist. The colonial revolution is spreading continuously. Great revolutionary crises are reaping in the most important capitalist countries of Europe. A renewal of economic struggles is on its way in the United States. Finally the equilibrium of the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union is broken; as a consequence of internal and international developments a new relationship of forces is being established between the working masses and the bureaucracy. New forces aiming at a real Soviet democracy are appearing and the bureaucracy cannot just turn the clock back to its former methods of government.

This powerful revolutionary upsurge reflects itself in an unprecedented crisis of the old labor organizations, in which left wing currents are developing in the direction of our ideas.

We believe that you have understood, just as we did, the importance of such currents within the social-democratic parties. We only wish to point out that those of our people who are working in these parties have already attained most remarkable results.

As regards the communist parties, how different is the situation now compared with only three or four years ago! The authority of the leaderships has very much declined. A critical climate is developing. Who could have foreseen such open disavowal of Stalin's policy as the statement made by Khrouchtchev in Belgrad? Those of our people who are working inside the Stalinist organizations have also obtained already very appreciable results. Moreover, left wing currents are beginning to express themselves in the CP's as it is particularly shown in the following two important instances. For the first time since almost twenty years an opposition—and still more a left wing opposition—has appeared within a communist party: the "Communist Action" group in Italy. In France an internationally well known leader, Andre Marty, has developed a political line which is very near to the program of action put forward by our movement, thus offering to communist militants critical of the positions held by their party an orientation near to the positions held by us.

All these developments of great importance within the labor movement are products of the world revolutionary upsurge. There may be differences of opinion amongst us regarding the methods for linking ourselves to these left wing currents, helping them to find their way, express themselves, and to make them progress. We, however, believe that in the light of the new developments a discussion between us would not only be a simple repetition of things already said at the time of the split. This discussion could be based on the very encouraging results obtained by the entrust work within the socialist and communist parties. But there can be no doubt that the split in our ranks constitutes an obstacle to the influence we must exert in these currents and to the progression of our ideas. There can be no doubt that the reunification of our movement would facilitate our work and would have good repercussions among the layers of communists and socialists who seeking for a revolutionary policy, appreciate our ideas but do not understand the division of our ranks.

Comrades,

Two years ago, when you broke with us, you probably thought at the time that the majority of the International would follow you. You have not convinced the majority of the sections of the International; do not try to hide this essential fact to yourselves.

Since that time the majority of the sections has continued to make the Fourth International a living force, manifesting its existence to the working class public opinion, whereas your committee has not shown any real life. You know the difficulties you have had in your own organizations due to your isolation from the majority of the sections of the International. You also know that these conditions have favored within your own ranks currents of political and organizational decomposition. Nothing would be more pernicious for you than deceiving yourselves by ignoring international Trotskyism as it lives and fights in over twenty countries. The only means to avoid the danger resulting from the international isolation in which you practically find yourselves, lies in your reunification with the main Trotskyist forces in the world.

We are not asking you to abandon your particular political positions. We only ask you to discuss them as it had been possible in the past, before the split: within the ranks of a unified International and according to the rules of democratic centralism. It may commit errors, but only in the frame of its democratic centralism, only in the common life within the International can errors made by anyone be repaired at the lowest costs.

Don't believe that the situation will find a solution by itself. The split already had serious consequences for you; to carry on with this split could only bring more serious consequences for you.

In order to help the International to exploit to the utmost the present favorable conditions, in order to give up your isolation from the main forces of international Trotskyism, we ask you to put the question of reunification as the first point on your agendas! Demand that the parity commission takes up its work as soon as possible, not for an unending discussion, but for the effective preparation of a reunification congress!

The International Secretariat
of the Fourth International

6. "Therefore they demand immediate reunification": letter from Peng Shu-tse to Farrell Dobbs (September 8, 1955)

Dear Smith [Dobbs],

The short letter I sent you on the 2nd of August only to express my basic attitude towards the drafts of the Chinese and colonial questions. Originally, I wanted to write a more detailed article to express my opinion on these two drafts as well as the questions connected with them for your information. But my sickness has prevented me from doing that even now. At present I only express the following opinion on the form we should take in discussing the drafts, which was mentioned in your letter of the 6th of July.

Your letter said: "We recommend that the IC take no formal vote on any draft documents at the present time other than the necessary decision to begin circulating the material for discussion. We also recommend that the material be distributed only to the orthodox Trotskyists. As we understand it, there is all round agreement that no basis exists for any attempt at discussion with the Pabloites. Our task now is to work out a general political line among the orthodox Trotskyists rallied around the IC."

I fully agree that the IC take no formal vote on any draft documents at the present time other than the necessary decision to begin circulating the material for discussion to the orthodox Trotskyists. But I consider this kind of discussion should not be limited among the orthodox Trotskyists rallied round the IC.

Of course there is no basis existing for discussion between us and orthodox Pabloites (such as Cochran, Lawrence, [Murray] Dowson, and etc.). As a matter of fact, they not only left the FI, but also broke with the IS. But for the many Trotskyists who at present still remain in the IS or are dominated by it, I consider that we should and must discuss with them and convince them through the discussion in order to make them completely turn away from the influence of Pabloism and once again return to the standpoint of the orthodox Trotskyist.

I call your attention to the following facts:

1. In Europe the orthodox Trotskyists that rallied around the IC are a minority in all the countries with the exception of France and Switzerland. As far as the majority of France is concerned, it has already been divided into three factions, and even the faction led by Bleibtreu was expelled by the Lambert faction. But it is a well-known fact to us, that the one who led the French majority to fight resolutely against Pablo's revisionism politically is no one but Bleibtreu (he has the highest political capacity in the French party, though he has some weakness in the organizational sphere.) The Lambert faction, that is, the majority among the French majority, can hardly represent the orthodox Trotskyism, and, on top of that, they have quite a strong tendency to sectarianism. (The main reason of Bleibtreu's expulsion is because he has uninterruptedly criticized these tendencies). And also on a few important questions: such as the Yugoslav question and especially the Chinese question, Lambert's faction is very close to the viewpoint of Pablo's revisionism. (It is sufficiently proved by the opinion expressed by Bloch toward the Yugoslav question in the June Committee of the IC.)

2. On the other hand, the majority of the Frank faction

in France, particularly the youth, are made to realize the danger of Pablo's revisionism, in their struggle against Mestre's thorough revisionism and liquidationism and in the light of the seeking conciliation [with imperialism] by the Soviet bureaucracy and the French Stalinist party. They come to these conclusions through their own experience: that the assessment of Stalinism by Pablo, etc., is incorrect. It is only Trotskyism that can accomplish the world's revolution. And they also acknowledge that Cannon, etc., represent the traditional position of Trotskyism. Therefore they demand immediate reunification. The same kind of tendency is very popular in L[ivio]'s faction in Italy. I am not very clear about the condition of J[ungclas]' faction in Germany, but I believe there are many who can possibly be convinced and return to the direction of the orthodox Trotskyism.

3. The LSSP is completely a Trotskyist party politically. (Moreover it is a party in our movement which really has a mass base.) This fact is acknowledged by all. The reason that they still remain in the IS is only that they are confined by formalism organizationally, but they earnestly desire to have a general discussion through the parity committee in order to sweep away Pablo's revisionism and reunify all the Trotskyists. Until now the Indian Trotskyists have not yet expressed their attitude, but because of the traditionally close connection they have with the LSSP, it probably is under the influence of the latter.

4. The majority of the organizations in Latin America are still under the control of the IS. In fact, it is under the personal control of Pablo. And it is mainly by blockade and fraudulence that Pablo can control those organizations, so that their rank and file is in no way able to find out the authentic position of orthodox Trotskyism against Pabloism.

The foregoing facts show that we must not be satisfied with the present Trotskyists rallied around the IC. We should go further to rally those who at present still remain in the IS, especially the LSSP, and do everything possible to convince the rank and file of these organizations, particularly the comrades of Germany, France, Italy, and Latin America. This task can only be fulfilled by the circulation of our orthodox Trotskyist documents to all the organizations controlled by the IS, through the parity committee and holding a general and thorough discussion.

At present, if we refuse or evade such a discussion, then we are objectively helping Pablo to continually control the IS and to deceive comrades and confuse the mass under the name of the FI, and ruin the Trotskyist movement. It is an inestimable detriment to the future revolution.

Therefore, I consider we should not procrastinate the work of the parity committee (in fact, this work has been procrastinated too long), that is to say, that we should as much as possible circulate our documents through the parity committee to all the organizations controlled by the IS and hold the general discussion. I believe this kind of discussion will never be a loss but a gain to us. It is quite possible that through such a discussion we will liquidate Pablo's revisionism and rally once again all the Trotskyists, first the Trotskyists of LSSP and India, to the banner of orthodox Trotskyism, because Pabloism, expressed through Cochran, Lawrence, and Mestre, combined with the eagerness of the Kremlin and the Stalinist parties all over the world to seek conciliation with the American imperialists and the bourgeoisies of the other countries,

has completely been proved bankrupt. This is an opportunity for us to convince and re-rally all the Trotskyists and restore the unification movement of the FI.

At the same time [regarding the] situation in Europe, especially the situation in France and Italy, on account of the ferment and the intensification of the internal crisis of the Stalinist parties, and the greater and greater dissatisfaction of their rank-and-file party members toward the leadership (this is a result of the opportunist policy and betrayal of the leadership), it is necessary for us to rally all the Trotskyists under one Trotskyist banner to be able to actively influence the rank-and-file party members, pushing them to criticize, revolt, and turn away from their opportunist bureaucratic leadership (concerning this party, we can supply more detailed materials, if you are interested in it).

But the French Lambert faction absolutely ignore this situation. They are not only firmly against the discussion

of the political questions with all the Trotskyists controlled by the IS, including the LSSP, and hence attempting the unification, but they also expelled Bleibtreu who can more represent orthodox Trotskyism. They even exploit the letter you sent to Bloch last winter to instigate the Italian comrades to approve their idea. This proves that they are not for the benefit of the Trotskyist movement as a whole but mostly the benefit for their own faction.

Trotsky resolutely fought against all the revisionists, but at the same time he never forfeited any opportunity to do everything possible to convince every comrade or organization in order to rally them to our movement. We should maintain such a spirit.

Your opinion will have a decisive result in the IC. Just because of that, I hope you'll give careful and serious consideration for the problems stated above.

With comradely greetings,
S.T.P.

7. "Our task is to first consolidate the forces around the IC on clearly defined political positions": letter from Farrell Dobbs to Peng Shu-tse (September 29, 1955)

Dear Comrade Peng:

This is a preliminary reply to your letter of September 8. We share your desire to carry our international discussion into the ranks of the parties and groups influenced by Pablo. Your information about the trend towards orthodox Trotskyism in the ranks of Frank's group in France and Livio's group in Italy is very heartening. We haven't had this information before and it bolsters our conviction that once the discussion gets under way in earnest, the Pabloites will be routed completely.

It is our opinion, however, that at this stage our task is to first consolidate the forces around the IC on clearly defined political positions. This has not been done yet. To be sure, many documents have been written by the French, by the Chinese comrades, and by us polemicizing against Pabloite revisionism. These documents have in the main correctly defended Trotskyism as against the liquidationists. They have served to delineate the respective tendencies and to begin the rearmament of the Trotskyist tendency. But this rearmament has not yet been completed and will not be completed until the discussion we are now engaged in has been further developed among the parties and groups adhering to the IC.

We have made a good beginning here along this line at the plenary meeting of our National Committee. We had a full discussion of the three documents now in circulation and especially on the Chinese resolution. These documents have been approved by the overwhelming majority of the National Committee and we are now submitting them in the name of the Plenum for discussion in our ranks and

among the supporters of the IC. We have already supplied the Ceylonese first drafts of the documents and will continue to keep them supplied with all discussion material.

In the meantime, we will continue the work on the sections of the international document yet to be written. The discussion we are now engaged in is therefore only at the beginning stage. It should run its full course among the Trotskyists, in the leadership as well as in the ranks, until common political positions have been reached.

The one meeting of the parity committee clearly revealed the futility of engaging in a political discussion with the Pabloites at this stage. At that meeting, they submitted all their documents dating back to the Third Congress and offered their bankrupt line as the basis for discussion, although their line has already been repudiated in the internal struggle and split.

The Pabloites will get involved in this discussion whether they like it or not. All we need do is to see that the documents are translated into the necessary languages and circulated among those who are genuinely interested in programmatic clarity.

But we do not see that a parity committee can play any useful role in this process. It can do harm. It would give Pablo an opening to substitute organizational maneuvers in a new attempt to confuse the ideological issues.

We expect to return to a more extensive discussion of the parity committee question in our further correspondence with you.

Comradely yours,
Smith [Dobbs]

P.S. We would appreciate any further information you can give us about internal developments among the various parties and groups on the continent.

8. *"A common discussion for reunification with all the Trotskyists remaining with the IS": letter from Peng Shu-tse to Farrell Dobbs (October 15, 1955)*

Dear Comrade Smith,

After reading your letter of September 29, I am very glad to learn that you have the same opinion: "to carry our International discussion into the ranks of the parties and groups influenced by Pablo." In this case, the question is limited to the form to be adopted, that is, through what channel or what organism should our document be sent to the ranks of these parties and groups influenced by Pablo, and how to supervise the actual carrying out of the discussion. On this point, I believe that at present there exists no other form available besides the parity committee.

True, you have already sent a number of documents to the Ceylonese, but it is impossible to apply the same method by sending documents directly into the various organizations under Pablo's influence. Even in the case of the Ceylonese, I believe that they are by no means satisfied with this. Because what they really desire is not merely to discuss directly with us but to have the documents of both sides sent through the parity committee for the opening of a general discussion in the ranks, and moreover to assemble the conclusions of this discussion as the political basis of the eventual reunification of all Trotskyists. There is one thing to be noted here: since the IC wrote to the LSSP this March asking the latter to reconsider their position, no reply has ever been received. This is sufficient to prove that if we abandon completely the parity committee and send our documents directly to them, they must feel rather discontented and are not disposed to make any positive response.

Besides, the parity committee, being proposed by the Ceylonese, has been formally adopted and accepted by the IC, and the first meeting has taken place between our delegates and those of the IS last December. If we abandon the parity committee without giving any reason to justify this action, this would not be understood by the Ceylonese and other Trotskyists under Pabloite influence, and can only result in discontent and resentment. In fact, it would be precisely the best opportunity for Pablo to launch a campaign, attacking the IC as a saboteur of the parity committee and as being hostile to reunification, in order to provoke resentment among the LSSP ranks and other Trotskyists influenced by him. By this means Pablo could seek to maintain the present position of the IS and perpetuate his intrigues.

In your letter, you told me that "the one meeting of the parity committee clearly revealed the futility of engaging in a political discussion with the Pabloites at this stage. At that meeting, they submitted all their documents dating back to the Third Congress and offered their bankrupt line as the basis for discussion, although their line has already been repudiated in the internal struggle and split." In reality, according to the report by Betty after this first meeting, it was rather simple. The delegates on the side of the IS did not insist on any conditions whatever but only made a request that delegates present our conditions, while the condition expressed by our delegates was simply the hope of having a general discussion and the submission of documents on our part for this discussion. However, until today we have not yet proposed to them

any document. Then with what reason and fact are we able to prove that "the one meeting of the parity committee clearly revealed the futility of engaging in a political discussion with the Pabloites at this stage"? I deeply feel that, since our delegates have officially promised the IS delegates to submit documents in relation to the general discussion, we have to carry out our promise to manifest our sincerity in the effort of reunifying all Trotskyists, especially with the Ceylonese Trotskyists, and for this reason we are prepared for a general political discussion. Otherwise, it would only furnish a strong pretext to Pablo to claim that the IC is afraid of a discussion and against unification, etc., so as to continue his role of deceiving and controlling the parties and groups affiliated to the IS.

It is true that in the course of the discussion, the Pabloites will submit "all their documents dating back to the Third Congress and offer their bankrupt line as the basis for discussion." But I don't feel that we have any reason to be uneasy about this. Since Pablo's revisionist and liquidationist line (including the ambiguous and revisionist elements contained in the documents of the Third Congress) "has already been repudiated in the internal struggle and split," and proven bankrupt furthermore in the development of events of these two years, if the Pabloites present it once more for discussion, this will only serve as the occasion for all Trotskyists, especially those remaining with the IS, to perceive more clearly and more profoundly the real visage of Pabloism, after going through a discussion with our documents before them.

You say also: "We don't see that a parity committee can play any useful role in this process. It can do harm. It would give Pablo an opening to substitute organizational maneuvers in a new attempt to confuse the ideological issues." But I feel we have not yet sufficient reasons and facts to verify this judgment. As the parity committee has not yet begun its function, we are not able to judge beforehand that it cannot play any useful role in this process, or that it can do harm. If, in the process of the eventual discussion, it is proved in fact that the parity committee cannot play any useful role, and on the contrary, "gives Pablo an opening to substitute organizational maneuvers in a new attempt to confuse the ideological issues," we can publish all concrete facts. Then it will be Pablo and his supporters who will be entirely responsible for sabotaging the discussion and the attempt of reunification. In this way, we shall be able to win the sympathy and support of all Trotskyists remaining with the IS, first of all the Ceylonese Trotskyists. This will mean in fact the disintegration of the IS controlled by Pablo. The IS is still able to maintain its existence mainly due to the support accorded by the LSSP, a recognized Trotskyist party of mass influence. Once this party breaks away from the IS, there would inevitably be violent differentiations and disintegration within the latter.

On the other hand, we have to objectively face the following fact: though our break with the Pabloites is completely correct and necessary politically, we had not presented any document criticizing Pabloism before the open break, and no internal discussion had ever been conducted internationally to furnish the rank and file an opportunity to perceive the true visage of Pablo's revisionism and liquidationism. Therefore, this break was "exceptional" from the point of view of organizational procedure, hence it undeniably constitutes a "disadvantage" or "weakness" on our part. Precisely owing to this fact a

great number of Trotskyists, including those of Ceylon, are still not able to understand this exceptional action adopted by us and still remain within the IS. This is also one of the principal reasons Pablo can still maneuver and control the IS.

In order to amend this "weakness," we have not only to open a general political discussion with the ranks of the parties and groups influenced by Pablo, but also must make them understand that our movement against Pabloism is not at all working in the sense of splitting the Trotskyist movement but on the contrary is eliminating the revisionists and liquidationists who are working to the detriment of Trotskyism and attempting to reunify all loyal Trotskyists in order to consolidate and develop our movement.

To achieve this goal, we have to respect the desire and will of all Trotskyists still remaining within the IS: to proceed to a general political discussion through the parity commission (as proposed by the Ceylonese), and then to consider and negotiate the necessary measures to be taken in view of eventual reunification of all Trotskyists. If we ignore the desire and will of these Trotskyists remaining with the IS, and abandon unilaterally the promise of proceeding to a political discussion through the parity committee which we have already accepted—and simply send our documents to them, asking them to express their opinions—this will only result in their discontent and the idea that we are adopting a sectarian attitude towards them and are not at all sincere in our intentions concerning the reunification of all Trotskyists. This would finally help Pablo to maintain his control in the IS and utilize the name of the FI to perpetuate his revisionist and liquidationist influence.

In a word, as concerning the question of the parity committee, I hope you, in taking account of various facts and imperative necessity, will give it serious consideration and adopt a positive attitude. If you deem this committee absolutely not useful but harmful, then please propose other concrete and suitable measures to replace it more efficiently for the purpose of a general discussion with the ranks of the organizations controlled by the IS.

As to your opinion "that at this stage our task is to first consolidate the forces around the IC on clearly defined political positions," in principle, I am in agreement with this. Yet, I feel that we should no longer delay the opening of discussion with the Pabloite ranks. Because to cope with the development of the objective conditions, particularly the situation on the European continent, it is more necessary than ever to unify and consolidate all Trotskyists as soon as we can.

* * *

Now I shall briefly relate the situation in France and Italy in the following:

The bourgeois regime in France, under the pressure of the development of the situation abroad and at home, especially under the fire of incessant attacks from the growing national liberation movement in its colonies, has long since plunged into a slowly intensifying crisis. Under these conditions it should have been quite possible for the latent revolutionary potentials to explode into open insurrection. But this revolutionary crisis is fundamentally reduced to the most concrete expression of the crisis of revolutionary leadership. The Stalinist party is executing

with base servitude the Kremlin diplomacy, while its internal crisis is developing continuously. This has been clearly revealed in the Marty and Tillon affair and the subsequent Lecoeur affair.

I believe that the consequences and influence of the Marty affair within the [French] CP and in the society generally are already very well known to you. Here I have only to mention the publication of Marty's book early this summer and the response to it. As Marty criticizes the opportunist policy of the party leadership in his book, his fundamental views are very close to the Trotskyist position. For this reason, the bureaucrats of the CP condemn him as a Trotskyist and try to prevent the ranks and masses under their influence from reading his book. Despite this, there are still quite a number of CP members who have stealthily read his book and are more or less sympathetic to the criticisms he made of their leadership and its policy. Particularly when they feel more and more the policy of the leadership is leading further into a deadlock, they will sympathize more and more with the criticisms and views of Marty, and will gradually form their opposition. Therefore, we may say that Marty's critical spirit and his position will most possibly advance the crisis in the FCP and push it toward a new explosion on a grand scale, only if the French Trotskyists are able to intervene actively and in due time.

On the other hand, Marty's work has also produced considerable influence among the left-wing intellectuals in France. For example, among the editors of the review *France-Observateur*, there had been more or less sympathy for the Stalinist party, but since they read the book by Marty, they immediately published with sympathy extracts of the most important contents in the book and at the same time they approached some Trotskyists with certain sympathy (for instance with Bleibtreu). Although these intellectuals can never represent a social force, they have nevertheless sensed more quickly and reflected the orientation of the latent social and political thought.

The accusation made by the Stalinist bureaucratic leadership against Marty is not without foundation. On the morrow of his exclusion from the FCP he got in contact with *La Verite* and corresponded with it, and had several talks with Bleibtreu, Lambert, etc. Then he studied Trotsky's works. From his own experiences, he has already perceived the impasse of the political leadership of the Kremlin, and implicitly confided his hope to the Trotskyist movement. It would have been our best opportunity to help Marty politically to prepare and publish his critique on the Stalinist party and his own position, to accentuate the differentiation inside this party. Unfortunately, it was just when the whole Trotskyist movement was undergoing a split, and especially in France the movement was splitting in several tendencies and then groups. Marty was already somewhat disappointed. The worst is that during more than a year's contact with him by Lambert and his group (as Bleibtreu was obliged to cease contacting him owing to the internal conflicts between his tendency and Lambert's), not only did they not help him politically in order to facilitate the work of intervening in the differentiation of the FCP, but on the contrary they provoked his extreme resentment and indignation owing to their attitude towards technical problems (such as long prolongation and non-execution of their promise of publishing his book, etc.) and finally led to his open break with them. This, of course, has put Marty in an annoyed state. Now there is

only Bleibtreu who has recovered and maintains correspondence with him. According to B[leibtreu], in replying to the letter B. addressed him in the month of July criticizing his book, Marty expressed sincere gratitude and acceptance of his criticisms, and told him that he was prepared to revise and amend his book when it would be re-edited. This proves that he still respects the opinions expressed by the Trotskyists.

In view of the deepening crisis in the French Stalinist party and the enormous influence to be produced by Marty's criticisms of its leadership, it is more imperative than ever for all Trotskyists in France to unite and to present a single standard and a correct program to influence the ranks and masses still under the influence of the Stalinist party, to precipitate its political differentiation and to attract the best elements among them into our movement.

9. Resolutions adopted at the International Committee meeting in Paris on November 7-8, 1955

1. PARITY COMMISSION

At its meeting on November 7 and 8, 1955, the International Committee had occasion to review the progress of its work over the past two years since its foundation on November 25, 1953.

It records with pride that since that historic date when the overwhelming majority of the World Trotskyist movement decided to definitively break with Pabloite revisionism, its sections on a world scale have maintained the high level of progress inside their respective countries. This is emphasised by the important industrial struggles and movements for colonial liberation which have been strongly influenced by the work of our sections in a number of important countries. This has greatly strengthened World Trotskyism amongst decisive layers of poor and oppressed peoples. In addition it is being consolidated by the steady numerical growth of our forces.

The International Committee maintains that these successes were assisted considerably by the political struggle against Pabloism. Our cadres benefited enormously politically and this fact has assisted the work of Party building. Real mass work consists of an irreconcilable struggle against revision in all fields.

In the struggle against Pabloism, the high mark of political clarification was reached in April 1954, with the publication of the LSSP criticism of the Pabloite resolution "Rise and Decline of Stalinism." This was accompanied by the open break of the Iceland [Canadian] section from Pabloism. All these developments were facilitated and prepared by the Open Letter which inaugurated the public political fight against Pabloism.

At the Pabloite rump Conference in June 1954, the position of orthodox Trotskyism was powerfully vindicated by the open liquidationist proposals of the pro-Stalinist Collins [Lawrence] and Clarke. These policies which were the logical outcome of Pabloism, demonstrated to the world movement once again that under such circumstances the break with Pabloism and the conditions under

The crisis in the Italian Stalinist party is sharper than in the French, because its opposition, the so-called "Communist Action" has not only had a solid basis in the important party sections and mass organizations, but its internal bulletin called *Communist Action* has openly criticized the party leadership and its opportunist policy from the left point of view. If this situation continues to develop, it will inevitably lead to an open split. It is, therefore, necessary that all Trotskyists in Italy be united under a single standard and program to intervene in this situation.

Simply from this revelation in the French and Italian situations, we are no longer permitted to prolong the attempt of a common discussion for reunification with all the Trotskyists remaining with the IS, particularly with those remaining within Frank's group and Livio's group.

Fraternally yours,
S.T. Peng

which it took place were unavoidable. Since then Collins has publicly endorsed the official policy on foreign affairs of the British Stalinist Party.

The International Committee, following June, 1954, are duty-bound to acknowledge that the political task of reorientating the World movement has since slowed down. This has been due to the mistaken idea that a parity commission with the Pabloites which could organise discussion would help some in the Pabloite ranks to make up their minds. The International Committee now believes that this would have been more easily accomplished had it continued its political exposures. The parity commission has served to confuse such a struggle and has consequently tended to weaken orthodox Trotskyism.

It is necessary, however, to state here that nobody in our movement believed that unity could be established with the Pabloites via the parity commission. There was no illusions whatsoever on this score. Events have proved that our apprehensions were not ill-founded. Whilst the Pabloites hypocritically talked of unity they advised their contacts in the Port of Bremerhaven, Germany, not to solidarise themselves with the English dock strike of June, 1955, because it was "Cannonite led." Thus they once again emerged in their real role of strikebreakers. All this time some undecided people were encouraged to believe that a parity commission with such renegades could by some miracle or another accomplish something. The International Committee openly acknowledges and corrects it mistake. It therefore withdraws forthwith from the parity commission.

At the same time the International Committee enthusiastically acknowledges the support of the LSSP (Ceylon) for the English dock strike. Such actions prove once again their hostility to Pabloite policies and their adherence to orthodox Trotskyism.

To them and to all those who desire genuine unification, we declare that such possibilities were never brighter provided it is understood that unity can only be firmly founded on the great principles of our movement as elaborated by Comrade Trotsky.

The International Committee initiates an international discussion in preparation for the 4th World Congress of

World Trotskyism. All orthodox Trotskyists are warmly invited to participate. Upon the measure of political agreement which emerges during the course of this discussion, genuine unification proposals can be considered.

This resolution was adopted as follows: 5 For (Representatives of the French, British, Swiss, German and Dutch sections), 1 Against (Representative of the Chinese section).

An alternative resolution submitted by Peng (Chinese section) was defeated 5-1 as above and is attached at the end of this document. It was agreed to ask that all sections' leaderships consider this matter and inform the IC secretary of their decision as soon as possible.

2. Resolution of Solidarity with the Algerian Struggle for National Liberation

Speaking for the Trotskyist militants of the whole world, the International Committee of the Fourth International greets the heroic struggle of the peoples of North Africa. Despite fierce repressions, they have already struck significant blows against French imperialism. The struggle these people are waging is bound to end with their winning complete independence.

The International Committee greets the Algerian revolution, which for the last year has pressed the offensive. The revolution has dealt increasingly severe blows to French imperialism in one of its vital centers, although the government has concentrated in Algeria the greatest part of the repressive forces at its disposal. These are more considerable than the forces employed at any given time in the Indo-Chinese war. The Algerian revolution has also advanced in the face of repressive measures of unprecedented ferocity whose victims—murdered or locked up in concentration camps—number in the tens of thousands.

The International Committee is fully aware of the enormous importance the Algerian revolution holds for the development of the proletarian revolution in France and all Europe.

It hails the Algerian National Movement, which, operating under the most stringent conditions of illegality, wages an intransigent fight against imperialism under the leadership of the working masses. In the person of Messali Hadj, the oppressed and exploited of the world possess a living symbol of this struggle.

The International Committee treats with scorn the efforts of petty-bourgeois democrats, Stalinists, and Stalinoid groupings to help French imperialism. They rush to aid imperialism now that the imperialists, forced to retreat by the Algerian revolution, seek to set up a "bargaining agent" that will accept—behind the backs of the Algerian masses—any scheme providing for "independence by stages." This would safeguard the essential positions of imperialism in the country.

For their part, the Trotskyists give wholehearted support to the central slogan of the Algerian National Movement. This slogan—the only one in keeping with the principles of democracy and socialism—calls for a Constituent Assembly in Algeria enjoying sovereign power in the nation.

The International Committee salutes the International Communist Party (French Section of the Fourth International) in its campaign to organise the active solidarity of French workers with their Algerian brothers and link them in a fight against their common enemy.

The International Committee calls on the exploited and oppressed of the whole world to demonstrate concretely their solidarity with the Algerian revolution. It calls on the Trotskyist militants to organise this solidarity by every means at their command.

This was unanimously adopted, but Comrade Peng asked that his following statement be included in the report: "We accord our solidarity to all mass movements in North Africa in the struggle against French imperialism even if their political features are still not clear."

3. The International Committee decided that in view of the possibility of early French elections all sections should immediately consider rendering the maximum financial assistance to the PCI. This matter is one of great urgency.
4. It was decided to make every effort to translate the draft International Resolution into French, German, and Spanish so that it would be ready for general distribution by January 1, 1956.
5. The next meeting of the IC to be held on January 6 and all sections are requested to submit reports of their activity which will be considered at this session.

Preston [Healy],
Secretary International Committee

RESOLUTION ON THE PARITY COMMISSION submitted by S.T. Peng (lost 5-1)

1. It was completely correct when we accepted the proposal of the Ceylonese section to form the Parity Commission at that time, and it is still correct and necessary today to engage in a common and general discussion with the Ceylonese section and all Trotskyist militants and organisations influenced by Pabloites in order to thoroughly crush Pabloism and in the attempt of reunification of all Trotskyists.
2. If the Parity Commission has never played a role or even played a negative role in the past, it is mainly due to the fact that we, on our part, had not submitted in time to this commission documents for discussion to be distributed in all organisations influenced by the Pabloites, so as to fetch further blows on Pabloism.
3. Now as our principal documents are ready, we should put into practice our promise and send them at once to the Parity Commission and through it to all organisations of the IS for discussion.
4. If we have no confidence in the IS delegation to the first meeting of the Parity Commission, we must write without delay to the Ceylonese section, asking it to send its representative to participate in the work of this commission, and propose concretely to the commission the tasks of the commission, and particularly the conditions relating to the preparation of a common discussion.
5. Only in the event of a refusal on the part of the Ceylonese section to send their representative, and the rejection on the part of the IS delegation in the commission regarding the necessary conditions proposed by us then shall we have sufficient reason to condemn the commission as a nuisance to the common discussion and reunification of all Trotskyists and to declare withdrawing from it. Only then the responsibility of damaging the Parity Commission will not be on our side but the Pabloites.
6. To withdraw from the commission today without any justification but simply in recognising a mistake commit-

ted by ourselves in accepting the commission at the beginning is not only a most lightminded and irresponsible conduct but will necessarily provoke the extreme discontent and resentment in the Ceylonese section and among all rank and file militants under Pabloite influence.

This will only help Pablo to consolidate his position in the IS and to continue spreading his revisionist and liquidationist ideas in the name of the FI to deceive masses, and will, inevitably result in uncalculable damage and loss to our movement.

10. *"Your Section formally proposed to withdraw from the Parity Commission": letter from Peng Shu-tse to Gerry Healy (December 15, 1955)*

Dear Comrade Burns [Healy],

I am sending you here a copy of the reply by Tilak [Goonewardene] to my letter which was proposed by you and agreed upon on our last meeting. The LSSP considers that the responsibility of the failure of the Parity Commission lies on the IC, because we have been unwilling to proceed with its tasks. Consequently, they feel it is not worth their sacrifice of sending a representative here. This implies, it seems to me, that they are ready to make this sacrifice if on our part we are sincere in proceeding with the function of the Parity Commission.

In view of the position adopted by the majority of the IC last meeting, I feel it is rather difficult for me to answer this letter and to continue discussing with them (though it seems that they hope to discuss with me on this question by giving me an address of direct correspondence). Therefore, while sending you the copy of T's letter, I deem necessary to express my opinion and hope you will reconsider this question of great importance to us.

The reproach the LSSP made on us being responsible for the failure of the Parity Commission is in my opinion true to the fact. At the beginning when Bloch, etc. opposed obstinately to the Parity Commission and tried to hinder it, it was on the firm insistence of all other members, particularly yours, that we adopted the resolution of acceptance of the proposal of the LSSP and of sending our representatives to this Commission. But since the first meeting of this commission last November, the IC has adopted a completely passive and negligent attitude. Finally, your Section formally proposed to withdraw from the Parity Commission which led to the majority resolution on the last IC meeting. All this sufficiently proves that the judgement of the Ceylon party is irrefutable.

Well, you stressed on the last meeting that we committed a great mistake in accepting the proposal of constituting the Commission in the very beginning, without taking note of the warnings of some comrades, that is, the warnings made by Bloch and his group. But I am obliged to call your attention once again on the following facts:

A. The negotiation and discussion with the Ceylon representatives for the formation of a Parity Commission were carried on by the English comrades and especially by yourself. I believe that when you negotiated with the Ceylon representatives on such an important question, you had seriously considered it. In truth, after the Pabloite June conference, it was entirely correct and necessary that you negotiated with the Ceylon representatives and agreed with them to constitute the Parity Commission so as to fetch further blows on Pabloism, to win over all Trotskyists under the influence of the IS, particularly the Ceylon

Trotskyists. This was then precisely the continuation of the position adopted by Comrade Cannon in his letter to Tilak.

B. During the discussion on the question of the Parity Commission which took place on the IC meeting last August when the French representatives expressed violent objections, you retorted with same vehemence, and you proposed to the IC to accept the constitution of the Parity Commission with same resolution. There is no need to say that I approved resolutely your position.

C. After this IC meeting of August last, Bloch and other French comrades adopted an attitude of postponing and preventing the actual realization of this Commission. To this, you reproached seriously on the IC meeting of last November, you drafted a resolution limiting and defining the tasks of the Commission, and proposed to present representatives of the IC to this Commission. When Bloch and his comrades refused to send their delegate to the Commission, you did even propose dismissal of Bloch from his function as secretary of the IC. Until on the meeting held June this year, when Bloch presented a letter from an Italian comrade opposing to the Parity Commission, you still defended your position, and attacked the Lambert group of being unloyal and unscrupulous in the attempt of moving the Italian comrade to approve their position by fractional work.

From the above-stated facts, and after going through such serious discussions and violent controversies, I can hardly believe that you committed a mistake due to light-mindedness and lack of reflection when you made the decision of accepting the Ceylon proposal.

Your reproaching the Ceylon party their weaknesses on the last meeting really surprised me. Because not long ago, especially since our meeting last August, when Bloch and his comrades calumniated the LSSP (they based their judgement on the report of their party members on their return from a voyage to Ceylon), your section was extremely indignant, and you defended the Ceylon party. Within not even a year's time, you have adopted the attitude of these French comrades towards the LSSP, against which you were then opposed!

As I remarked on the last meeting: despite of certain weaknesses manifested by the LSSP (in fact, each section has its own weaknesses, and no perfectness does exist), her merits far surpass her failures. She has not only politically maintained the Trotskyist traditional position, but is the only section in our movement which has a true mass base and has effectively led nationwide mass movement. Precisely so, it has won prestige among all Trotskyists in the world, particularly the comrades in the Orient. Our main task should be encouragement and help towards her (without omitting any correct criticism), and attempting to collaborate closely with her, for the development of the Trotskyist movement in the Orient. We must also note

particularly that there exist today a very favorable situation in India for the development of Trotskyist movement thanks to Stalinists' capitulation to the national bourgeoisie. Hence it is more necessary than ever to seek close cooperation on our part with the LSSP to facilitate the spreading of the Trotskyist movement in India. Moreover, I have to point out that: as you are placed in the metropole of the British imperialism, you have to pay special attention to the Trotskyists who reside in those colonial or semi-colonial countries, formerly or at present, such as Ceylon and India, to seek sincerely their close collaboration in the common effort of overthrowing the common enemy—the imperialists.

However, in order to win close cooperation with the LSSP, we are to adopt a correct position by convincing her with facts instead of condemning its weaknesses or adopting a sectarian attitude. From this standpoint, I think you were completely correct in your previous attempt of negotiating with the Ceylon representatives and in accepting their proposal on the Parity Commission. And only this position can make them feel at ease, that is to say, can convince them that we are extremely sincere in seeking their collaboration for the interests of the whole movement. Now I am obliged to say that your recent position on this same question will not only fail to convince but on the contrary will provoke resentment. Tilak's reply to my letter is undeniably an evidence.

As to the reasons and necessity of continuing the function of the Parity Commission, since I have repeatedly expressed my opinion at the IC meetings, and I am enclosing a copy of my last letter to Smith [Dobbs], there is no need to state them again here.

In any case, I believe that our withdrawal from the Parity Commission at present will not only result in extreme indignation and resentment in the Ceylon party and among all Trotskyists under Pabloite influence, to perpetuate the split and division of our movement for a long time to come, but will objectively help Pablo to consolidate once again his position in the IS, to continue deceiving comrades and masses to the detriment of the Trotskyist movement. Therefore, I request you imperatively to reconsider on this question.

On the last IC meeting, it was decided that the resolution on this question would be published only after having consulted the opinions of the New Zealand [U.S.] and Chinese Sections. This is a cautious and reasonable complementary measure. But there are still the comrades of other sections or groups, like Iceland [Canada], to whom we should also inquire their opinions. Besides, I must inform you one more fact: on the conference held by our Italian group this August, the overwhelming majority passed a resolution approving the continuation of the Parity Commission. But the Comrade Bloch who assisted [attended] this conference did not say a word about this decision. It is evidently to conceal deliberately a news unfavorable to themselves. This kind of conduct has to be discussed and examined.

My concrete proposal is as follows: the publication of the resolution concerning the Parity Commission on the last meeting to be postponed, meantime to consult the final opinions of the sections of New Zealand, Iceland, etc. as rapidly as possible, and this resolution to be presented for rediscussion and final decision on the next IC meeting. As about the Chinese Section, owing to recent incident with their address for correspondence, I have not succeeded to transmit the IC resolution in time for discussion. But I believe that they are not willing to put themselves in the state of opposition against the Ceylon party and other Trotskyists in the sections of the IS.

Basing on the painful experiences and lessons resulting from my two years' participation in the IS, I have now the deep feeling that it is necessary that we adopt extremely cautious and serious attitude on important problems, that we obey strictly the principle of democratic centralism and necessary organizational procedures, in order to reestablish the good tradition of our movement.

I have great respect for you and the achievements of your work in your own country, and I hope that you will create the same good results on international scale. This is also your responsibility in your present position.

Fraternally yours,
S.T. Peng

11. *"It would be dangerous to maneuver with the question of unity": letter from Farrell Dobbs to Peng Shu-tse (January 30, 1956)*

Dear Comrade Peng,

We have carefully reviewed the whole Parity Committee question, giving careful attention to the views expressed in your letters on the subject. In this letter we will undertake to convey our thoughts on the specific points you have raised and express our opinion about the general situation in the struggle against Pabloism.

We note that the LSSP continues to press for a Parity Committee to organize a discussion and prepare a unity conference. Assuming a fake pose as unifiers, the Pabloites are pressing the issue and seeking to brand the IC as "splitters" for not accommodating them on the Parity

Committee demand. The LSSP has aided the Pabloite demagogy by censoring the IC for its attitude on the Parity Committee question and has indicated that it will continue to stand aloof from the political struggle. The orthodox Trotskyists in Italy and a few others have expressed a desire for a general discussion through a Parity Committee because they think it will help them fight Pabloism in their situations.

You express the view that in these circumstances we should not delay discussions with the Pabloite ranks; that we must show a sincere effort toward reunification and a readiness for general political discussion; that we should submit our documents through the Parity Committee and ask the LSSP to send a representative to it.

Under the present circumstances a Parity Committee would be generally viewed as an instrument having the essential function of helping to prepare unity. In weighing

the question of possible resort to such a device, it therefore appears necessary to think through to the end the possibilities for a principled unification and with whom.

Naturally the IC should work to win the support of orthodox Trotskyists who remain entrapped by Pablo. But it would be dangerous to maneuver with the question of unity in order to save a few people who have gotten left behind for a while at the present stage of the political showdown with the Pabloites. Real unity is conceivable only with those who are ready to make a clean and open break with Pabloism organizationally as well as politically. It would be a mistake to think that formal discussion through a Parity Committee will enable them to solve the contradiction between their political opinions and their organizational affiliations.

The forces rallied around the International Committee have denounced Pabloism as a revisionist-liquidationist tendency guilty of: junking the transitional program; renouncing the inevitability of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and visualizing its self-reform; covering up Stalinist betrayals; adopting a conciliatory attitude toward alien political tendencies generally; liquidating the movement through "deep" entry tactics; organizing a secret personal faction; suppressing democratic discussion inside the movement; gagging leading comrades in the executive bodies and in the sections; and carrying through minority-provoked splits and bureaucratic expulsions.

The major sections have been rallied around the International Committee to defend and apply the fundamental Trotskyist program in irreconcilable opposition to all revisionism. The split with Pabloism is therefore already definitive and what remains is a mopping-up operation to save whatever confused elements we can, accepting unity only with those elements who are prepared to break definitively with everything Pabloism stands for. Thus in the most basic sense the problem is not one of unification.

The key task remains one of political demarcation from Pabloism beginning with a thoroughgoing discussion among the IC supporters. Our first objective must be to arrive at common political positions based on Trotskyist principles. There can be no organizational shortcuts or alliances which tend to contradict the fundamental political needs of the situation. This stricture applies not only with regard to the struggle against Pabloism, but also in relation to the conciliators and even within the IC itself.

You express the apprehension that withdrawal from the Parity Committee will create the impression that the IC takes a sectarian attitude. Implied here is the concept of unity with reference to mass action. But there is a profound distinction between the unity of different tendencies in mass action and the concept of programmatic unity in a vanguard party.

What function would a Parity Committee have? We do not propose to organize a common congress with the revisionists. We want no common executive body with the Pabloites. There is nothing to negotiate regarding the character and scope of the political discussion. Our documents are intended first to elaborate a common platform among the orthodox Trotskyists. A Parity Committee could do nothing more than exchange documents with the Pabloites and it is not needed for that. When and as it may become desirable, documents can easily be passed back and forth by a simple act of

exchange without a special apparatus for that purpose.

It is not merely a matter of the Parity Committee being unnecessary. We are firmly convinced that acceptance of the Parity Committee idea in the first place was a mistake for which we must assume our full share of responsibility. Illusions and misconceptions were created. The Parity Committee became an obstacle to the fundamental objectives of political differentiation from the Pabloites and political reunification of the orthodox Trotskyists which must precede any organizational measures.

The Parity Committee actually gets in the way of influencing the orthodox Trotskyists who remain ensnared by Pablo and lends weight to the notion that they can avoid a definitive break with Pabloism. It connotes a trend toward reunification when the task of political clarification is far from completed. It opens the way to new Pabloite maneuvers and helps sow new political confusion.

We think it would be a mistake to adapt our tactical course to the policies of the LSSP. They are straddling in the international political struggle. Their course aids Pablo tactically and adds to the political confusion. It represents a political default on their part.

At the rump congress the LSSP voted for Pablo's main resolution as amended by the incorporation of their criticisms of it. This was a disorienting political compromise that contradicts the struggle for a principled political line based on Trotskyist fundamentals. They have evaded forthright repudiation of Pabloism and now stand aloof from the political struggle awaiting the "documents of both sides."

It is not simply through a misunderstanding that the comrades of the LSSP take a vacillating position as conciliators. Their tactics appear to flow from a policy of national opportunism. We think it best to drop all maneuvers with them and firmly characterize their error. At the same time we should continue to send the LSSP our documents.

An examination of the reasons for their conciliationist attitude will only underline the need for us to stand firm against their conciliationist approach. They have had no Pabloite faction to deal with. Hence they have not had your and our direct internal experience which helped so much to fully perceive the Pabloite danger. They are generally remote from the international factional struggle and they are preoccupied with the problems of their own mass movement. They manifest a desire to be left alone while some form of *modus vivendi* is worked out between Pablo and the IC that would at least postpone a showdown.

We think the LSSP will take a forthright political stand only to the extent they are given no room to maneuver. Hence, the Parity Committee becomes not an aid but a hindrance to winning them to unqualified support of the IC. We fully share your desire to collaborate with them to develop the Trotskyist movement in the Orient. But if our ultimate political objectives are to be realized, that collaboration must be based on a principled political line and a corresponding general organizational course.

We noted with interest your report that the Frank group has concluded that Pablo's line on Stalinism is incorrect. Insofar as the Frank group may have revised their Pabloite positions and returned toward the orthodox Trotskyist view, they should be ready to say so openly. If they did that, it would be a contribution toward an ultimate political solution in France. There as elsewhere

we think the IC should stand firmly on the position that it will unite only with orthodox Trotskyists.

Important as it is to take political advantage of the ferment in the French Stalinist ranks, as you have stressed, it is even more important to have a clear, correct political line for this work which must be shaped in the discussion among the IC supporters. To overleap the IC discussion through a Parity Committee tactic would in our opinion merely compound confusion in the French situation and still further reduce our chances of doing effective work among the Stalinists.

For all the reasons stated, we see no useful function for a Parity Committee at the present time. We think it would actually do harm. We propose instead the following general course of procedure:

1. Clarify and consolidate our political positions through a full and free exchange of views among the co-thinkers associated with the IC.

2. As a definitive line is hammered out in the IC, seek to win the orthodox Trotskyists still entrapped by Pablo, getting our documents to them through general publication and by direct contact where feasible.

3. Work toward the unification of all orthodox Trotskyists based on: common political positions and correct organizational relations; repudiation of the Pabloite revisionist policies and organizational methods.

We hope to have ready soon the introductory section of the international resolution sketching out the general political line of the draft resolution as a whole. Meantime we would appreciate your comments on the three sections, dealing with China, the colonial bourgeoisie, and the Soviet Union, already submitted for discussion in the IC.

Comradely,
Smith [Dobbs]

12. "Pabloism Reviewed: From Pablo to Cochran, Clarke, and Mestre," by Peng Shu-tse (January 1, 1955)

Pablo's revisionism and liquidationism have not only caused irreconcilable political oppositions within the Fourth International, but have provoked splits on a wide scale organizationally. This is an unprecedented disaster in the history of our movement. Therefore, before we start with the re-unification of our movement at the present time, it is necessary to have a complete and thorough review and clarification on this question, in order to re-unify our International on a solid ideological basis of orthodox Trotskyism.

Prior to our review of Pablo's revisionism, we have to state the two following points:

(i) There have already been numerous documents published criticizing Pabloism, such as the Letter of the S.W.P. to the World Trotskyists, the reply to the "Rise and Decline of Stalinism" submitted by the L.S.S.P., a series of articles in the Fourth International, in the *Militant* and *La Verité* and a number of documents published in the internal bulletins of the I.C., the French P.C.I., etc. All these documents have made detailed exposures and criticisms of Pablo's revisionism on the political plane, and his bureaucratism in organizational practices. Hence it is not the intention of this document to repeat the criticism formulated in the past; it is simply an attempt to make a synthesis of these documents and articles, and to recount systematically a selection of the fundamental conceptions of Pabloism and their serious consequences, and to help all comrades for a further discussion.

(ii) The manner in which Pablo's ideas infiltrated into our movement is different from that of all previous revisionists (like Burnham, Shachtman, etc.); instead of being open, frank and systematic, it is camouflaged, piecemeal and ambiguous or paradoxical. Especially when he is confronted with reproaches or denunciation, he often tries to defend himself, or simply deny what he said, by sophism or sometimes even by borrowing certain phrases from Trotsky, to deceive comrades. Within the limits of the available space, this article cannot expose and criticize all Pablo's sophistry, evasions and self-contradictions one by one, but will review the logical development of his main ideas, and particularly those more thoroughly elaborated by his supporters and their expression in action.

CENTURIES OF DEFORMED WORKERS' STATES

In 1949 for the first time, Pablo introduced into the open his notion of "centuries of deformed workers' states." (See, "On the Class Nature of Yugoslavia," p. 3, published in the October, 1949 issue of the *International Information Bulletin*.) He came back to this idea once again in the beginning of 1951 (see "Whither Are We Going?" published in the Feb.-April issue of *Quatrieme Internationale*, pp. 46-47). As he encountered criticisms and attacks from some comrades (such as "Whither Pablo?" by Bleibtreu) he devoted another article to defending this conception (see "On the Duration and Nature of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism" in the June 1951 issue of the *International Information Bulletin*). This sufficiently shows that this notion is not only the point of departure of his deviation from Trotskyism towards revisionism and liquidationism, but the "theoretical foundation" of his whole revisionism. All the revisionist and liquidationist

conceptions which he and his followers later elaborated, and their actions, are derived logically from this fundamental conception or theory. Therefore, it deserves our particular examination.

In reality, these "deformed workers' states" were the product of an exceptional historical condition, that is: the first workers' state created as the result of the October Revolution was *isolated*, on account of the economic backwardness of Russia itself and the lack of prompt support from victorious proletarian revolutions in the western capitalist countries; hence the formation of a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped the political power of the working class and transformed the proletarian dictatorship into a Bonapartist dictatorship, while preserving the nationalized property relations created by the October Revolution. Therefore, Trotsky called it a "degenerated workers' state." Since the Second World War, the revolutionary march of the proletariat in the western capitalist countries being frustrated (e.g. in France and Italy) thanks also to Stalinist betrayals, the so-called "People's Democracies" were constituted in Eastern Europe by the Kremlin bureaucracy mainly through military and bureaucratic methods, depriving the working-class of political power right from the beginning in these countries and then excluding the bourgeoisie from power step by step and expropriating their properties to the State. These states, in the traditional Trotskyist analysis, are characterized as "deformed workers' states."

But neither the degenerated state nor the deformed workers' states can prolong their existence for several centuries, since they are merely "temporary and transitional phenomena" (in the words of Trotsky) in the first phase of the transition from capitalism to socialism, owing to certain exceptional conditions. Once these exceptional conditions, as the backwardness of the Soviet economy and its isolation, for example, *disappear*—in other words, once the economic level of development in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries attains a level comparable to that in the advanced countries, *especially in the event of the triumph of the proletarian revolution in the advanced Western countries—the working-class in the Soviet Union and the Eastern countries will inevitably rise in insurrections to overthrow the bureaucratic dictatorship of Stalinism and to restore or reconstruct workers' democracy on a higher level.*

To judge, as Pablo does, that the "deformed workers' states" will survive for centuries is *to admit that the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy over the Soviet Union and the buffer countries will be prolonged over a period of several centuries. It is also to admit that it will take centuries for the economic development in the Soviet Union and the buffer countries to attain the level of that in the Western capitalist countries. Even in the advanced capitalist countries, the economic development did not require several centuries. For instance, it took only about two centuries, or rather a century and a half, in the most technically advanced United States of America. And that the proletarian revolution in these advanced countries will naturally also be a matter of several centuries.* This conception is a further deviation than "bureaucratic collectivism." If this assumption were really true, our whole program of Transitional Demands would become unrealistic nonsense. What an absurd and extremely

pessimistic view, entirely contrary to Trotskyist conceptions!

Now let us see how Pablo defends and justifies his pessimistic view. Referring to Marx's assertion that communism cannot be immediately developed after the conquest of power by the proletariat, and that it will require considerable time for the "birthmarks carrying over from the womb of the old society to disappear" and citing Lenin's words; "It is hardly to be expected that our next generation, which will be more highly developed, will effect a complete transition to socialism;" further, referring to Trotsky's words, "the tendencies of bureaucratism, which strangles the workers' movement in capitalist countries, would everywhere show themselves even after a proletarian revolution," he concludes: "It therefore conforms to Trotsky's spirit (if not to the very letter of his writings (that *the transformation of capitalism into socialism will actually take an entire historical epoch, filled with bureaucratically deformed transitional regimes, and that these inevitable bureaucratic deformations (which have basically economic causes) will disappear only to the degree that the Revolution conquers in the advanced countries and the level of the productive force reaches and surpasses that of the most advanced capitalism.*" (See International Information Bulletin, July 1951, p. 11-12, emphasis in original). Then he proudly declared, "I believe that what I wrote in my two articles on the *probably duration* and the *characteristics* of the transitional period completely conforms with the real views of Trotsky on these questions" (same document, p. 12, emphasis in original; the two articles are, "On the Class Nature of Yugoslavia" and "Where Are We Going?"). That is to say, Pablo "believes" that his ideas of "centuries" of deformed workers' states and of those "bureaucratically deformed transitional regimes" which will occupy "an entire historical epoch" "completely conform with the real views of Trotsky on these questions!"

Sophistically, Pablo has not only confused the "birthmarks" as Marx defined them and Lenin's idea expressed in the phrase "it is hardly to be expected that our next generation . . . will effect a complete transformation to socialism" with the "deformed workers' states." He moreover deliberately placed on the same level and identifies the general "bureaucratic tendencies" indicated by Trotsky with the deformed workers' states created under exceptional conditions. Yet in the same work cited by Pablo, Trotsky clearly defines the proletarian dictatorship as "a bridge between the bourgeois and the socialist society. In its very essence, therefore, it bears a temporary character, an incidental, but very essential task of the state which realizes the dictatorship consists in preparing for its dissolution" (Revolution Betrayed, p. 52). Since the proletarian dictatorship "In its very essence, bears a temporary character," how can it be possible that in the first stage of the proletarian dictatorship, the deformed workers' states created under exceptional conditions, owing to the backwardness of economy and isolation, could have an existence prolonged for centuries?

In his work "In Defense of Marxism" (p. 7) Trotsky writes even more precisely, "In the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet State it is not *the general laws of modern society from capitalism to socialism which find expression, but a special, exceptional and temporary refraction of these laws under the conditions of a backward revolution-*

ary country in a capitalist environment . . . Both the conditions for the omnipotence of the bureaucracy—the backwardness of the country and the imperialist environment—bear, however, a temporary and transitional character and must disappear with the victory of the world revolution" (emphasis added by the author of this article). In asserting that the deformed workers' states will survive for several centuries, he is admitting nothing less than that the "bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state" conforms to the "general laws of modern society from capitalism to socialism." Hence, the condition that "the revolution conquers in the advanced countries and the level of productivity reaches and surpasses that of the most advanced capitalism," as Pablo envisages himself, will necessarily take several centuries to realize.

After announcing his newly-invented ultra-pessimistic theory of "centuries of deformed workers' states," Pablo finally exhorts us in all seriousness, "And what is the practical importance of insisting so much on the *probable duration* and the *character* of the transitional period? It appears considerable to us. It is first of all a question of arming the communist cadres of our movement with a historical perspective and with clear notions of the aims to be attained so that they can master whatever is conjunctural and avoid any activist impatience or impressionism. It is also a question of rendering them capable of grasping the development of the Revolution in our epoch in its real and concrete manifestations unhampered by any formalistic thinking" (same document as quoted above, p. 12, emphasis in original). Here it is clearly demonstrated that as far back as the end of 1949, or at least in the summer of 1951, when he wrote the above-quoted document, Pablo had already resolved "to arm the communist cadres of our movement with a historical perspective and with clear notions of the aims to be attained," which were the perspective and notions of "centuries of deformed workers' states." We have to insist particularly on this point as we examine Pablo's revisionism today. We shall come later to what has happened to his "communist cadres," armed with this "historical perspective." Now let us examine further his "real and concrete manifestation" of "the development of the Revolution in our epoch."

NEW REALITY

The "new reality" which Pablo and his supporters stressed repeatedly later on is simply a translation or abridged form of the formula contained in the words, "development of the revolution in our epoch in its real and concrete manifestations." For several years they have assumed that it is they who have grasped this "reality." They have incessantly attacked others, on the ground that they have not been able to grasp it and "still live in the past" (e.g. the attacks of the Cochranites on the leadership of the SWP), on the ground of being imprisoned in "sectarianism," etc. Therefore, we may say, if the "centuries of deformed workers' states" is the "algebraical formula" of Pablo's revisionism, then the "new reality" is its arithmetic content. All "realistic politics" or "new political lines" initiated by Pablo and his supporters are directly originated from this premise.

What then is this "new reality" or the "development of the revolution in our epoch in its real and concrete manifestation?" Over a long period, Pablo made merely some abstract and ambiguous descriptions of this, and did not point out concretely what he meant, and thus puzzled

and confused people. Finally, under pressure of events, especially under the pressure of the situation after Stalin's death, he displays before our eyes for the first time in the draft resolution "The Rise and Decline of Stalinism" the image of the "new reality" which he and his supporters had so long been propagating.

This draft resolution starts with: "The evolution of the Soviet Union and the world working-class movement since 1917, is fundamentally determined by the dynamic of the relation of class forces on the world scale. This movement has passed through three major phases: the rise of the revolution in 1917-1923, the ebb of the world revolution in 1923-1943, and the new revolutionary rise since 1943." According to this mechanical division into three phases, the draft resolution, having described comparatively the second phase (the rise of Stalinism amidst the ebb of the revolution) and the third phase (the new revolutionary rise), comes to the conclusion: "The fundamental conditions under which the Soviet bureaucracy and its tight grip over the Communist parties developed, namely the ebb of the revolution, the isolation of the Soviet Union and the backward condition of its economy—these conditions have disappeared." ("Rise and Decline of Stalinism," p. 3). But this conclusion is far removed from the real state of affairs or "reality," and the SWP has made a quite detailed criticism of it, based on indisputable objective facts. (See F.I., Sept./Oct., 1953, pp. 99-101). Here we have merely to insist on three points, as follows:

(i) The draft resolution stresses a "new revolutionary upsurge" which is *limited to colonial and semicolonial countries only (e.g. Yugoslavia, China, etc.) while it completely ignores the fact that a real revolutionary upsurge is absent in the advanced capitalist countries. From the traditional Trotskyist viewpoint, only a revolutionary upsurge and victory in these advanced capitalist countries constitutes essentially the "fundamental condition" of the disintegration of Stalinism.* On the other hand, the revolutionary upsurge up to its victory in the backward countries has to be understood dialectically. That is to say, while the victory of the revolution and its development in these countries (especially in China) have undoubtedly dealt a serious blow to imperialism, they have nevertheless had rather contradictory effects on the Stalinist Soviet bureaucracy. On the one hand, the tight control which the Kremlin used to have over the revolutionary movement and the Communist parties in these countries has been more or less loosened; on the other hand, the prestige and influence of Stalinism among the masses of the Soviet Union and the whole world has also been increased to a certain degree, and thus has temporarily slowed up the process of disintegration of Stalinism.

(ii) From the same traditional Trotskyist point of view, the *"isolation" of the Soviet Union can be broken down only when the working class of one or several advanced countries attain a victorious revolution over capitalism.* After the last world war, the occupation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet Union and the victory and progress of the revolutionary movement in the backward countries have certainly eased the encirclement of the Soviet Union by the imperialists. But on the other hand, this same situation has driven all the imperialist countries to unite under the leadership of American imperialism and to establish a new encirclement round the Soviet Union and its satellites. They are, moreover, preparing an atomic war to destroy them. We cannot conceive that this encirclement and the

threat of atomic war will be thoroughly removed and overcome otherwise than by the revolutionary upsurge and victory of the proletariat in the advanced countries.

(iii) Thanks to the state-owned property system created by the October Revolution, the Soviet economy, having gone through several five-year plans of construction, has been gradually approaching the level of the advanced capitalist countries. It has more or less modified its backward character and to a certain extent improved the standard of living of the masses and raised their cultural level. This is undoubtedly a very important element in the coming destruction of Stalinism. But on account of the distortion of the planned economy by the Stalinist bureaucracy, not only does rural economy lag far behind industry, but also light industry producing the consumer goods necessary for the masses of the people is far behind heavy industry. All these factors, plus the extravagance and waste of the privileged bureaucracy, mean that the worker and peasant masses still live in poverty and want, especially by comparison with the standard of living of the bureaucracy. Hence as Trotsky characterized it, "The scarcity of consumer goods and the universal struggle to obtain them generate a policeman who arrogates to himself the function of distribution." ("In Defense of Marxism", p. 7). This fundamental characteristic has been changed, not in its essence, but only quantitatively.

"Thus a sober analysis of the world situation and its development during the past decade discloses that the three objective major factors responsible for the rise of the Soviet bureaucracy have not been changed in the fundamental sense but only to a certain extent. The Kremlin bureaucracy has to operate today under new but not decisively different circumstances. Its further life-span will depend on the struggle of the living forces in the world arena and in the Soviet Union over the next period and the emergence in the struggle of a Trotskyist party capable of leading the Soviet masses in insurrection against the ruling class." (Same issue of F.I. as quoted above, p. 101). This is the only correct conclusion which corresponds to the objective "reality" of the development of the situation of the post-war period.

Besides, we must point out that the extremely optimistic conclusion which Pablo derives from his analysis of the "new reality" of the post-war period is apparently incompatible with his extremely pessimistic theory of "centuries of deformed workers' states." In fact, the former is precisely the logical development and concretization of the latter. When Pablo assures us that the "three fundamental conditions for the rise of Stalinism have disappeared," he does not mean that the conditions for the political revolution of the working-class in the Soviet Union to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship and the revolutionary struggle for power of the working class of the world, especially in the advanced countries, have matured to the point when victory can be counted upon. On the contrary, he wants to prove that the Stalinist bureaucracy has to "cede" little by little on account of the modification of the "fundamental conditions" and under the "pressure of the masses," to "liberalize" or "correct" itself, in order to adapt itself to the necessity of the revolution. This view obviously means an extremely pessimistic idea of the historical role of Trotskyism.

Now let us examine the "new political conclusions" concerning the strategy of our movement, which Pablo derives from his vision of the "new reality."

“SELF-REFORM” OF THE BUREAUCRACY INSTEAD OF A MASS “POLITICAL REVOLUTION”

The draft resolution on “The Rise and Decline of Stalinism” says, “Historically the Malenkov era thus signalizes the beginning of the decline of the Bonapartist dictatorship. That regime can now maintain itself only by suppressing. . . .” This is today, the Malenkov regime has to maintain itself by “concessions” or “reforms.” Therefore, in Pablo’s article, “The Post-Stalin New Course,” after enumerating the various measures of concessions effected by Malenkov, he declared under the heading “Dynamic of New Turn,” *“The dynamic of their concessions is in reality liquidatory of the entire Stalinist heritage in the U.S.S.R. itself, as well as in its relations with the satellite countries, with China and the communist parties. It will be no longer easy to turn back. . . . once the concessions are broadened, the march towards a real liquidation of the Stalinist regime threatens to become irresistible.”* (See F.I. March-April 1953, emphasis added by the writer of this article).

Since the “march toward a real liquidation of the Stalinist regime threatens to become irresistible,” the problem remains only to be what “form” it will take. Therefore, Pablo poses the following questions in the same article, “Will it be that of an acute crisis and of violent inter-bureaucratic struggle between the elements who will fight for the status quo, if not for turning back, and the more and more numerous elements drawn by the powerful pressure of the masses” (same reference).

Though Pablo has not made the reply, the intention of posing the question is in itself quite evident. The L.S.S.P. has correctly appraised it as follows: “The above passage, proceeding from an over-optimistic appraisal of the concessions made by the Soviet bureaucracy to the masses, raises a perspective of the real liquidation of the Stalinist regime taking place by an inter-bureaucratic struggle as distinct from our traditional concept of struggle between the masses and the bureaucracy The role of the masses is that of a powerful pressure-agency upon the bureaucracy. This perspective leads to an abandonment of the Trotskyist concept of the political revolution, namely the overthrow of the bureaucracy by the masses in struggle for the restoration of socialist democracy.” (Internal Bulletin of the L.S.S.P., April 1954, p. 6).

The same question has been posed by Clarke, Pablo’s close ideological collaborator, in the following manner: “Will the process take the form of an upheaval against bureaucratic rule in the U.S.S.R.? Or will concessions to the masses and the sharing of power—as was the course in the English bourgeois revolution over a long period in the political struggle between the rising bourgeoisie and declining nobility—gradually undermine the base of the bureaucracy? Or will the evolution be a combination of both forms? That we cannot now foresee.” (F.I. Jan.-Feb. 1953).

Like Pablo, Clarke has only posed the question and refrained from giving the answer, yet in his manner of posing the question, it is equally evident that he envisages the perspective of “the sharing of power between the bureaucracy and the masses which gradually undermines the foundations of the bureaucracy.” But “the idea advanced by Clarke that the Kremlin bureaucracy is capable of ‘sharing power’ with the Soviet people challenges both the programme of the political revolution for

the Soviet Union as well as the Trotskyist concept of the nature and role of this parasitic caste.” (See F.I. Sept.-Oct. 1953, p. 111, and also F.I. March-April 1953, p. 57).

In making the analogy between the “political relationship between the rising bourgeoisie and the declining nobility in the long course of the English bourgeois revolution” and “the sharing of power between the Soviet bureaucracy and the masses which undermines gradually the foundations of the bureaucracy,” Clarke is applying in concrete terms the perspective of “centuries of deformed workers’ states.”

In short, whether by expecting the self-correction of the bureaucrats (through inter-bureaucratic struggles) to eliminate Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship, as Pablo envisages, or by trusting it to the bureaucrats to make concessions and share power with the masses, as Clarke tries to suggest, the conclusion will be the same: the self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy in place of a political revolution of the masses.

But Trotsky has firmly reminded us, “There is no peaceful outcome for this crisis. No devil ever voluntarily yet cut off his own claws. The Soviet bureaucracy will not give up its positions without a fight. The development leads obviously to the road of revolution” (Revolution Betrayed). *To trust the Soviet bureaucracy to right itself and eliminate Stalinism is nothing else than to dream of the devil voluntarily cutting off his own claws, or Satan transforming himself into Christ!*

FROM BETRAYING THE WORLD REVOLUTION TO BECOMING ITS ALLY

Pablo and his followers have thus assured us that the Soviet bureaucracy, in its domestic policy, tends more and more to make concessions to the masses, and to gradually reform itself, and even “to share power with the masses,” gradually undermining the foundations of the bureaucracy. Then, as “the foreign policy is the extension of the domestic policy,” as Pablo declares in the “Draft Resolution on the Rise and Decline of Stalinism,” “the new situation restricts more and more the capacity of counter-revolutionary maneuvers by the bureaucracy.” And “*The practical effect of these attempts (to utilize the inter-imperialist contradictions, to gain the support of certain bourgeoisies in colonial and semi-colonial countries, to arrive at a temporary and partial agreement with imperialism) become more and more limited and ephemeral*” (p. 10).

Since the “practical effect of these attempts (at seeking compromise with imperialism) has become more and more limited and ephemeral,” logically the bureaucracy is obliged to ally itself with the world revolution. Hence the same draft resolution asserts, “Caught between the imperialist threat and the colonial revolution, the Soviet bureaucracy found itself obliged to ally itself with the world revolution against the former Every general attempt to use the colonial revolution as small change in the transactions with imperialism had to be abandoned.” That is to say, “the bureaucracy has ‘abandoned’ its former policy of trading the world revolution to imperialism at least as far as the colonial revolution is concerned.” (Internal Bulletin of the L.S.S.P., April 1954, p. 6).

According to Pablo’s views, the abandonment of the reactionary policy against the world revolution by the bureaucracy is not limited to the colonial countries. As early as the report to the 12th Plenum of the I.E.C. in

November 1952, he declared, "Objective conditions are essentially different now, and despite what other desires the bureaucracy might have, in practice they bring a different line." "The leadership of the Communist Parties seems to consider that the principal directive which concerns them is not their alignment with their respective bourgeoisie against the United States, but on the contrary the ideas contained in Stalin's closing speech (at the 19th Congress of the Russian Communist Party), that the bourgeoisie has become definitely and totally 'reactionary' and 'anti-national'; that they should consider themselves as the 'new shock brigades' having as their task and perspective the seizure of power in their respective countries following the example of the Russian C.P."

The conclusion which flows logically from the above assertion will naturally be: "The Soviet bureaucracy aligning itself with the revolution in the imperialist countries." The perspective opened up in this way is one of the Soviet bureaucracy being compelled in practice to give up the treacherous policy of seeking to maintain international equilibrium between itself and imperialism, and that, caught between the imperialist threat and the *World Revolution*, the Soviet bureaucracy aligns itself with the *World Revolution*." (Internal Bulletin of L.S.S.P., April 1954, p. 7).

ON THE THESIS THAT C.P.'S IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES WILL, UNDER MASS PRESSURE, BE TRANSFORMED AND LEAD THE REVOLUTION TO VICTORY

Since the Soviet bureaucracy is capable, under the pressure of the masses, of righting itself, replacing a mass political revolution, then, according to the same "theory" the C.P.'s in the different countries are capable too, under the pressure of the masses, of self-reform and of leading the revolution on the road to the seizure of power.

Therefore, the draft resolution "Rise and Decline of Stalinism" tells us, "the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries consequently find themselves placed in conditions absolutely different from those of pre-war days." Here the so-to-speak "conditions absolutely different from those of pre-war days" are interpreted as follows: "The very power of the mass movement in their own countries, developing in the direction of the revolutionary struggle, asserts itself increasingly. Relations with Moscow loosened . . ." Hence, "In countries where the C.P.'s constitute the majority of the working class, they can under the pressure of the masses be led to project a revolutionary orientation counter to the Kremlin's directives, without abandoning the political and theoretical baggage inherited from Stalinism. They will do this all the more because the masses, which are still seeking, as they will continue to seek for a whole period to come, to make use of those parties to satisfy their aspirations, have acquired a more critical attitude towards their leadership than in the past and are no longer prepared to follow any turn of these parties, regardless of what it may involve . . . This perspective, the understanding that what is involved is not an organizational disintegration of the mass communist parties, but rather a disintegration, molecular in its nature for an entire period, of the Stalinist ideas inside those parties, as well as of the bureaucratic relations which extend from the Kremlin down to the

ranks of these parties. . . ." ("Rise and Decline" p. 34-35).

This passage clearly expresses the idea that the mass communist parties, under the pressure of the masses, will gradually turn left-ward and abandon Stalinist conceptions, and adopt a revolutionary position conforming to the aspirations of the masses. This idea becomes even more precise when joined to the declarations Pablo made in his report to the 12th Plenum of the I.E.C. as quoted above. Hence the L.S.S.P. has deduced from the above assertions their logical conclusion: "If this statement were correct, it would mean that the class-collaboration perspective of the C.P.'s of seeking an alliance with the national bourgeoisie against American imperialism had changed to a basically revolutionary perspective of seizure of power against the bourgeoisie." (See the same Internal Bulletin of the L.S.S.P., p. 8).

* * *

The self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy in place of a mass political revolution; the idea that its foreign policy can pass from one of betrayal over to the world revolution: the assumption that the C.P.'s in different countries can, under the pressure of the masses, lead the revolution to the conquest of power: these important revisions which Pablo has made of the three strategic problems of Trotskyism have been analyzed, their absurdity exposed in detail in the theoretical domain and their distortion and accommodation of facts, by the documents of the S.W.P., with traditional Trotskyist methods and objective data. We do not, therefore, have to repeat them, and ask the reader to refer to the Fourth International, Sept.-Oct. 1953, pp. 101-107. We choose only to sum up by quoting the general criticism of the L.S.S.P. on these three fundamental points.

"The three points discussed above have a logical interconnection. When they are taken together, there emerges the single governing concept that, in this period of the flow of the world revolution, in which a durable compromise with imperialism is ruled out for the Soviet bureaucracy, and with it, for the Stalinist leadership of the mass Communist Parties, this bureaucracy gets pushed on to the revolutionary road under the pressure of the masses. *This concept not only leads to a fundamental revision of the positions of Trotskyism in regard to Stalinism but also denies to the Trotskyist movement all justification for its continued independent existence.*" (Internal Bulletin of the L.S.S.P., April 1954, p. 7, emphasis added by the writer of this document).

PABLOISM APPLIED TO REALITY

We have described Pablo's revisionist and liquidationist politics in theoretical terms. Now let us examine how they are applied in practice. We shall enumerate the following as the most typical examples.

The insurrection of June 1953 in East Germany was the first attempt ever since Stalin's usurpation of the Soviet power, by the proletariat to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and its agents by means of an insurrection. Hence it is of the greatest political significance to the working class of the world and particularly to Trotskyists. It demonstrates for the first time in vivid reality that "a political revolution taking the form of an insurrection of the oppressed masses to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy" is absolutely in conformity with the necessity of real life, and is, therefore, inevitable. Our responsibility is

precisely to raise the confidence and courage of the working class of the world, and especially the proletariat in the Soviet Union and its satellites. Instead of following this line, Pablo says, on the contrary, “. . . the soviet leaders and those of the various People’s Democracies and the C.P.’s could no longer falsify or ignore the profound meaning of these events. They have been obliged to continue along the road of still more ample and genuine concessions to avoid risking alienating themselves forever from the support of the masses and from provoking still greater explosions. From now on they will not be able to stop half-way. They will be obliged to dole out concessions to avoid more serious explosions in the immediate future and if possible to effect a transition ‘in a cold fashion’ from the present situation to a situation more tolerable for the masses” (Declaration of the I.S. on the June insurrection in East Germany, published in F.I. Sept.-Oct., 1953, p. 110-111). *This proves that from his revisionist point of view Pablo sees in the June insurrection in Eastern Germany only more and more concessions which the Stalinist bureaucracy is to be obliged to make to the masses, and that the bureaucracy would tend more and more to correct itself to avoid a political revolution.*

The August General Strike in France in 1953 opened up a most favorable situation for the French working class in its struggle for power. It constituted a turning-point in the social crisis of post-war France. While the official leaderships of the working-class, the Social-Democrats and the C.P. of France betrayed the movement all the way through, it was then the moment for us Trotskyists to expose completely the ignominious betrayal of the leadership of the Socialist Party, and particularly that of the Stalinist Party in order to awaken the revolutionary elements still under the control of the latter and the working-class as a whole, to prepare them for the combat in the next stage. But while condemning the S.P. for its betrayal of the working class, *the Pabloites reproached the Stalinist Party only for the “the absence of a policy,” excusing its conduct in genuinely betraying the movement and trying to maintain the status quo under the capitalist regime in the interests of the diplomacy of the Kremlin.* The most flagrant incident was when the Trotskyist militants (the comrades of the majority of the P.C.I., the French Trotskyist Party) fought against the Stalinist policy of betrayal among the workers of the Renault factories on a correct position, the Pabloites even distributed a leaflet openly denouncing them before the worker-masses and slandering them on the ground that they had violated the discipline of the Fourth International and of being elements excluded from the Trotskyist movement. Thus they helped the Stalinists to cover up their betrayal (see S.W.P. Open Letter to World Trotskyists).

The nationalist war of liberation in Indo-China has gained considerable progress in recent years. It seemed to have every chance of chasing the French imperialists out of the country and attaining complete independence, especially after the conquest of Dien-Bien-Phu. But in view of its own diplomatic interests, the Kremlin preferred to settle with imperialism. It agreed at the Geneva Conference on a “Cease Fire and Free Elections in the whole country,” as a lever to reach a compromise with French imperialism. This is one obvious betrayal which the Soviet bureaucracy has committed against the colonial revolution. *Instead of explicitly proposing and clearly expressing the line of “exacting the evacuation of the imperialist*

army and encouraging a free development of the revolution,” the Pabloites openly approved the agreement made at the Geneva Conference, and, hence, the betrayal of the Soviet bureaucracy. (See the I.S. circular dated 9th April, 1954).

The “United Nations,” as well as its prototype the “League of Nations,” is an organization under the control of the American imperialists, where the imperialist divide their spoils. It is an instrument for suppressing the revolution. According to the tradition of Trotskyism, we should exploit every opportunity to expose its character as an instrument of imperialist robbery and counter-revolution. *Yet the Pabloites openly advocate that the People’s Republic of China should participate in this organization* (see the resolution on the Third Chinese Revolution). *This serves to sow illusions and propagate them among the masses of workers and oppressed peoples in the world about this counter-revolutionary organization, and to conceal its imperialist, predatory character.*

Prohibition of atomic weapons, like the general slogan of “disarmament,” usually are acclaimed by the petty-bourgeois pacifists. These slogans have the main purpose of deceiving the working-class and paralyzing it in the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war. Without revolutionary struggle and victory of the world working-class, prohibition of atomic weapons remains inconceivable and utopian. *Instead of exposing the deceptive and criminal role of this pacifist propaganda, and insisting on the only possible solution, which is the proletarian revolution, to annihilate thoroughly the basic causes of war, the Pabloites, following at the heels of the Stalinists, play on the same tune, the pacifists’ rhapsody of “prohibition of atomic weapons.”*

From the apologies for and the echoes of the Stalinist bureaucracy which come from the Pabloites with regard to the Stalinist bureaucracy on these important events and problems, it is fully evident that they have completely alienated themselves from the traditional positions of Trotskyism and become a left-wing defence of Stalinism.

PUBLIC DISAVOWAL OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

The revisionist theses, as we have pointed out above; such as “centuries of deformed workers’ states;” “self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy in place of a political revolution;” the alleged evolution of the Stalinist bureaucracy from betraying the world revolution to becoming the ally of the latter; the perspective that the mass communist parties in the capitalist countries will gradually transform themselves into leaderships of revolution for the conquest of power, etc.; the opportunist attitude adopted on the practical problems such as the “United Nations” and “Peace,” have clearly demonstrated that Pablo has virtually disavowed the Transitional Program of our movement.

However, for a considerable time while Pablo advanced his revisionism and liquidationism, he avoided mentioning the Transitional Program and was not yet prepared publicly to repudiate it. In December 1951, following a discussion in a plenary session of the Central Committee of the French P.C.I. on the tactic to be adopted towards Stalinism, Pablo was obliged to make the following declaration, in reply to the question posed by the majority whether he proposed to abandon the Transitional Program: “The Stalinist movement today, under the cold war

and the perspective of a clash with imperialism leading to a decisive battle, and placed objectively in new conditions, is obliged to act, and this action has already begun. Nobody can argue about what the Stalinists are doing at present. Between 1934 and 1947 they had the illusion of a period of co-existence. We will discuss with our comrades who have this understanding, and who will leave aside the Transitional Program which was written in an entirely different period. What has happened during and since the war is colossal. New things have appeared. Marxist thinking that tries to take refuge behind the phrases of the Transitional Program is unacceptable to the Trotskyist." This is the verbatim shorthand note of the declaration made by Pablo on the session of the C.C. [central committee] of the P.C.I. at the beginning of 1952, published in Bulletin No. 1 of the preparation for a special congress, 25th January, 1952 by La Verité.

Pablo declared that when discussing our policy towards Stalinists, we have to "*leave aside the Transitional Program, written in an entirely different epoch, that is to say, our Transitional Program has become out-of-date, and can no longer be applied to the "new conditions!"*"

Pablo's disavowal of the Transitional Program was even more explicit under the assault of the Open Letter of the S.W.P. on his revisionism, as expressed as follows: "They (referring to Cannon and his comrades) still remain on the schema and the genuine 'orthodox' faith in the politics of 1938 . . . They preserve the same attitude towards the Stalinist organizations and movement, and the Soviet Union, as in 1938. . . This whole assemblage of forecasts and correct politics is now turned upsidedown by an entirely different course of history." ("La Verité des Travailleurs," Dec. 1953; organ of the Minority of the French P.C.I.).

The "schema of 1938" referred to here by Pablo is undoubtedly the Transitional Program adopted by the Founding Congress of the Fourth International. *According to his judgment, the position contained in this Program, the "attitude towards the Stalinist organizations and movement and the Soviet Union," which signifies our theoretical analysis of Stalinism and the U.S.S.R. and our fundamental policy, are turned upsidedown by an "entirely different course taken by history!" This is the first public disavowal proclaimed by Pablo and for himself: the development of his revisionism and liquidationism was then reaching its height.*

PABLO'S BUREAUCRATIC PRACTICES

Pablo understood very well that to exercise his revisionist and pro-Stalinist politics within the Fourth International, he would necessarily encounter the resistance of cadres who have been long educated in the school of Trotskyism. For this reason, while employing constantly ambiguous, paradoxical expressions and double-talk to camouflage his real intentions, he has, moreover, adopted in organizational matters bureaucratic practices as the final weapons to attain his goal.

At the end of 1950 and the beginning of 1951, when comrades Frank and Germain were opposing Pablo's revisionist tendency on a number of questions, the latter threatened them with exclusion from the I.S. and in fact even asked for this measure to be endorsed by the New Zealand party [SWP]. Although this absurd measure was not put into practice owing to the resolute opposition of the New Zealanders, Frank and Germain eventually aban-

doned their opposition under Pablo's constant threat of discipline.

In June 1951 when the majority tendency in the French P.C.I. was violently opposed to the revisionist thought contained in Pablo's "Where Are We Going?" and criticized the resolution adopted by the 9th Plenum of the I.E.C., Pablo addressed a letter in the name of the I.S. to the C.C. of the French party, instructing it to give up the oppositional document of the Majority tendency, and forbidding any discussion in the party on the resolution adopted by the 9th Plenum of the I.E.C. It was precisely then the period prior to the 3rd World Congress, during which a general discussion should be permitted on all resolutions without particular restrictions. Yet in order to defend his own revisionist positions, Pablo openly ordered that democratic discussions in the French party be forbidden.

At the Third World Congress, the amendments proposed by the New Zealand section were not only kept secret by Pablo but were burned by Livingstone [Clarke] on his personal approval. All the critical documents on the 9th Plenum of the I.E.C. and amendments presented by the majority of the French party were equally concealed from the delegates, while rumors were spread among them with the intention of suppressing the criticisms made by the majority tendency in the French Party of his revisionism.

In January, 1951, in the meeting of the C.C. of the French Party, Pablo suspended 16 members of the C.C. belonging to the majority, in the name of the I.S. Then, arbitrarily, a parity committee between the majority and the minority was constituted to assume leadership, with Germain as the arbitrator, to represent the I.S. In employing such bureaucratic tricks, Pablo deprived the majority of its right to the leadership of the party. Finally, by means of the same method of intrigue, the majority was excluded from the International.

When Comrade Peng pronounced his objection to the illegal measure of suspending the 16 C.C. members of the majority, instantly Pablo framed up all sorts of charges, slandering him for "injuring the prestige of the International and violating its discipline," in the attempt to exclude him from the I.S. When he encountered Peng's resistance, Pablo informally deprived Peng of his legal right to participate in all meetings of the I.S., and even secretly held up his document criticizing the draft resolution on the Third Chinese Revolution, instead of publishing it. Almost at the same time, by a different kind of intrigue, Pablo succeeded in depriving the New Zealand representative, Comrade Manuel [Novack], of following closely the work and regular meetings of the I.S. Thus among the five members of the I.S. which emerged from the I.E.C. elected by the 3rd Congress, there were already two illegally excluded by Pablo.

From the end of 1952 to the beginning of 1953, Mao's government arrested several hundred Trotskyists. Five among them who were lucky enough to escape from Shanghai wrote an open appeal for emergency aid to the working-class and revolutionary organizations throughout the world. This letter was transmitted to Pablo by Comrade Peng to be published in the different organs of the sections of our movement. Though apparently Pablo consented to this request, in practice he put this appeal away into his office drawer. The only reason was that he was afraid that once this appeal was published his propaganda of idealizing the Mao regime would be

frustrated and his lies accusing the Chinese Trotskyists of "refusing to go among the masses and being sectarian" would also be exposed.

During a discussion on the draft resolution on the world situation after Stalin's death, at the I.E.C. Plenum held in May, 1953, Comrade Burns [Healy] criticized the document for being too optimistic, and warned against excessive illusions about the Stalinist parties. Instantly, threateningly, Pablo reproached Burns that as a responsible international leader, he should refrain from expressing any different opinion from the official line of the International. Later, knowing that Burns showed sympathy and support for the position of the New Zealand majority, Pablo openly instructed him to "defend the line of the majority of the I.S. at the 4th World Congress" (which meant the revisionist line of Pablo himself) otherwise he would suffer reprisals. In other words, no criticism was allowed of any document drafted by the I.S., and support for any opinion different from Pablo's revisionism would encounter "reprisals."

Since the Third World Congress, besides doing his utmost to exclude the majority leadership of the French party and to eliminate his opponents from the I.S., he tried to organize his own faction in the New Zealand party in opposition to the official majority leadership, and finally to seize the leadership in the same manner as he dealt with the majority leadership in the French party. When this conspiracy was exposed and defeated at the national conference of this party held in May, 1953, Pablo instigated his followers to practice sabotage in the party. On the other hand, with a similar procedure, he inspired Collins [Lawrence] to organize his faction in the British section, and split the Trotskyist movement there. At last, in the same manner, the Iceland [Canadian] section was also disrupted.

In order to monopolize the leading organ of the International, Pablo established in secret a "bureau" within the I.S. (which is completely in violation of the statutes of the International). Through this "bureau" he succeeded in controlling the I.S., and through the I.S., the I.E.C.

From his private establishment of a "bureau" in the International leading organs to facilitate his manipulations; excluding at his will his opponents; creating factions in different sections; plotting to seize the respective leaderships and split the organizations, retaining important documents from being published as was due; from these to the suppression of internal democratic discussions . . . all these amply showed that he had adopted Stalinist bureaucratic centralism and all possible intrigues, in the place of a genuine democratic centralism, which the 4th International has inherited from Bolshevism.

THE LAST DEVELOPMENT OF PABLOISM THROUGH COCHRAN, CLARKE AND MESTRE

As Pablo's revisionism and liquidationism encountered open attack from the S.W.P. in its Open Letter to the World Trotskyists, he himself has since adopted temporarily an attitude of defensiveness and retreat. But precisely because they were pushed by the open attack of the S.W.P., Pablo's close ideological collaborators and supporters were becoming even more resolute, and precipitately they developed Pabloism to its final liquidationist conclusion.

The Cochranites in their document "Our Orientation" wrote: "Let us simply sum up one of the conclusions of the

present reality: we see a world where our perspective of Stalinism being destroyed in the course of World War II has been proven wrong. We see a world where Stalinism is dominant over the Eastern half of Europe, where the Communist parties are the leadership of the colonial revolutions in Asia, where they constitute the strongest organizations of the working class in Italy and France. In the rest of the western world, Social Democracy has been resuscitated and, in the United States, where labor has not yet advanced to an independent political existence, the reformist labor bureaucracy remains dominant. The Trotskyist movement in their twenty-five years of existence have been unable to grow into mass organizations. . ." (Draft resolution adopted by the National Board, 27th April, 1954. Reprinted from the Educator, Information and Education Bulletin of the Socialist Union of America, Vol. 1, No. 3, May 1954, p. 2). This "conclusion of present reality" is more "concrete" than Pablo's "conclusion of the new reality." And precisely so, this declaration deprives the latter of its mask of excessive optimism and reveals the real physiognomy of extreme pessimist Pabloism.

Following this "conclusion of the present reality," the Cochranites resumed: "Now it is a fact that our whole tradition . . . is of no interest to the existing labor movement. Because the tradition has been created largely outside of the labor movement, it is foreign to them. They do not see or believe that any of it is pertinent to the solution of their problems. We therefore have to face up to this aspect of the reality just as we did to other parts of it, and have to draw the necessary lessons." (Ibid., p.15). Here it is very clearly expressed that "our whole tradition," i.e. the whole Trotskyist tradition, including the Transitional Program, is no longer "pertinent to the solution of the problems of the labor movement!" The "necessary lessons" deduced from this could only be: "The very formulations of the International Revolution must lead us to the conclusion that the revolutionary parties of tomorrow will not be Trotskyist in the sense of accepting the tradition of our movement. . . ." (same source: "Our Orientation").

Since "the revolutionary parties of tomorrow will not be Trotskyist," then what are the Trotskyists going to do? *The Cochranites finally advise them to abandon the whole tradition of Trotskyism, not to mention "the name and works of Trotsky and the name and existence of the Fourth International" and characterizes this as "narrow group thinking and organizational fetishism;" it is to be corrected only "by integrating ourselves within the existing movement" (ibid., p. 6). The only thing that remains unsaid is: dissolve and liquidate all Trotskyist independent parties, organizations, and the Fourth International.*

On the line of the Cochranites as stated above, Livingstone[Clarke], the delegate of the minority faction in the New Zealand section, made a concrete and elaborated proposal at the conference of the Pabloites held in June last year, as follows: Since all mass parties and organizations, from the Stalinist parties, Social Democracy to other petty-bourgeois parties will, under the pressure of the masses, all tend towards the revolutionary road of the conquest of power, consequently, we Trotskyists must integrate ourselves entirely within these mass parties, and will have no need of independent parties or organizations. Further, it is no more necessary to have a centralized organization as the Fourth International, but merely the

existence of a theoretical organ (the general sense of Livingstone's speech is reported by a participant in the conference of June). This naked liquidationism expressed by Livingstone not only completely represents the opinion of the Cochranites, but was unanimously supported by Collins in England, Mestre in France and a leading Iceland Pabloite. All of them formed a stubborn united front at the Pabloite June conference, tending to the liquidation of the Fourth International. *These are the "communist cadres of our movement" armed by Pablo "with a historical perspective and with clear notions of the aims to be attained" ever since 1951!*

But in the view of Mestre, Livingstone is not thorough enough, for the latter still retains for the Fourth International, a "theoretical organ." She declared in her article ("The Communist," No. 3) that Trotsky was not only wrong in establishing the Fourth International in 1938 but was equally wrong in organizing the Left Opposition in 1923. In other words, the Transitional Program, written by Trotsky and other principal documents of the Founding Congress of the Fourth International are naturally condemned, *but even the struggle which he led against Stalinism was totally unjustified. This is the final conclusion to which the logical development of Pabloism arrives. This could be considered as a "recantation" in order to be admitted and surrender unconditionally to the Stalinist parties to help their "self-reform!"*

People might then remark that in the June Conference Pablo did oppose Livingstone's position, and lately has even written articles criticizing the wrong ideas of the Cochranites. Collins and Mestre (for instance, as in the review *Quatrieme Internationale* in 1954). All these prove that Pablo has greatly modified his attitude.

Yet such positions on Pablo's part are not sufficient to prove that he has modified or abandoned his revisionist and liquidationist positions. His retreat and prudence today are simply due to the fact that he sees how impatient, indiscreet, excessively naked and precipitate are the "communist cadres" which he himself has armed, with the result that they have damaged the revisionist and liquidationist projects which he himself has so carefully and slowly advanced. Moreover he has also noticed that the most explicit liquidationist ideas and activities audaciously elaborated by these "cadres" have provoked strong opposition from the participants in the "June Conference" and other Trotskyists, and greatly shaken his position as General Secretary. Therefore, he is obliged to take up a position of criticizing them. In other words, it is in order to appease the opposition expressed by the Trotskyists who participated in the June Conference, and to safeguard his position as General Secretary, that Pablo criticizes his own "cadres," in order to carry through later his original project of revisionism and liquidationism.

Here we have only to remind readers of the following facts: on the "14th Plenary session of the I.E.C.," held in December, 1953, the resolution "unanimously" adopted "warmly salutes" the minority faction of New Zealand and Collins' faction in England as being "loyal to the International;" while fanatical charges and condemnation were laid upon the "sectarian" Cannonites "who are under the pressure of Yankee imperialism"—all this is quite enough to throw light on Pablo's insincerity today.

THE ORIGIN OF PABLOISM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The objective cause for the emergence of Pabloism has

more or less been reflected in the so-called "new reality" or "present reality" consistently stressed by himself and his supporters.

Owing to various complex factors, the Soviet Union, emerging from the last world war, had become the second among the world powers, had occupied the countries of Eastern Europe and assimilated them to its own pattern and structure. On the other hand, the influence of the French and Italian Communist Parties had grown greatly. In several colonial countries, the Stalinist parties have won the leadership of the national liberation movement. In particular, Mao Tse-tung's party has destroyed the Chiang Kai-shek regime, occupied the entire Chinese mainland and established a People's Democracy. All these show clearly to what an unprecedented and impressive extent the influence of Stalinism has expanded, and how even more impressive it is when compared with the isolation of Stalinism in the pre-war period. This expansion of Stalinist influence has greatly attracted a section of the masses, especially petty bourgeois elements, depressed and without hope under capitalism. In this expansion of Stalinist influence they confusedly see the vision of their dreams; hence the renaissance of their "hope" in Stalinism. This renewed "hope," reflected in the heads of the petty bourgeois thinkers, passing through a "rationalization" or "theoretical formulation," forms the basis of the whole system of the conception of the "self-reform" of Stalinism. Isaac Deutscher, the Polish ex-communist, once a fellow-traveller at the periphery of the Trotskyist movement, is the real precursor of the theory of the self-reform of Stalinism, while Pablo is only an elucidator of Deutscherism within the Fourth International.

We have only to refer to the following fact: when Deutscher identifies the expansion of Stalinism with the world revolution in his "Life of Stalin" published in 1949, a little bit later Pablo formulated his theory of "centuries of deformed workers' states." After Stalin's death, in "Russia—What Next?" Deutscher asserts a "gradual evolution of the regime towards a socialist democracy" and declares, "an analysis of these conditions leads to the general conclusion that the balance of domestic factors favors a democratic regeneration of the regime." (For a systematic criticism, please refer to Cannon's "Trotsky or Deutscher," published in the F.I., winter 1954). Then Pablo also published his article, "Malenkov's New Course," in which the conclusion is drawn that henceforth the Stalinist bureaucracy would "right itself" through gradual "concessions." Further and more significant is Pablo's statement to Burns that "Deutscher has done more than anyone to popularize our ideas before a broad audience." (See the quotation in Cannon, "Trotsky or Deutscher"). It is therefore clear to us that Pabloism is merely Deutscherism transplanted into our International, plus elaboration and systematization.

Hence we say that *Pabloism is a pro-Stalinist tendency, taking its birth and growth from the pressure of the unprecedented expansion of Stalinist influence. This is even more obvious if it is compared to the Stalinophobe tendency of 1939 represented by Burnham and Shachtman, which originated precisely from the extreme isolation of Stalinism at that time. Though standing on two extremities, these two tendencies reflect similar social or class consciousness, i.e., petty bourgeois impressionism.*

To look back over the history of the Marxist international movement, if Bernstein saw in the prosperity of

capitalism at the end of the 19th century (the highest development of capitalism, imperialism) "a peaceful evolution of capitalism towards socialism" and thus revised orthodox Marxism insisting on a "proletarian revolution;" if Stalin saw in the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution the hopelessness of an international revolution and revised Leninism, based firmly on the "international revolution," with his "Socialism in a Single Country;" then, finally, in the footsteps of Deutscher, Pablo saw in the expansion of Stalinism in the post-war period the perspective of its "self-reform." He thus revised the principal conception of Trotskyism, which inherits from Marx and Lenin the task of accomplishing the world revolution; "an insurrection of worker-masses to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy."

If Bernstein's revisionism has been proved completely bankrupt in the light of the first World War, if Stalin's revisionism was exposed by its betrayal of the 1933 German Revolution, then Pablo's revisionism revealed its real face in the light of the East German insurrection of June 1953 and the French General Strike of August 1953.

The consequences of Pabloism (the ideas elaborated by Pablo himself and his supporters, Cochran, Clarke and Mestre, and their actions which followed) are now clearly presented before our eyes. They are a complete revision of Trotskyism and a betrayal of all the Trotskyist traditions and programs, which is consummated by pro-Stalinist liquidation in the end. Moreover, since Pablo has controlled the international leading organ, through the review, "Quatrième Internationale," and other organs of different sections under his control, his revisionism and liquidationism were diffused among the masses and have created very bad influences and confused the orientation of the worker-masses. Thus has been smirched the banner of Trotskyism and the development of pro-Stalinist tendencies has been encouraged. On the other hand, the "cadres armed" by Pablo himself have not only provoked splits in the Trotskyist organizations of several important countries, such as New Zealand, England, France and Iceland, but have now completely turned their back on the Fourth International and openly advocate Stalinism while slandering Trotskyism. Meanwhile, in the different sections under the influence of the I.S., great ideological confusion is provoked and many comrades are bewildered and even discouraged. This has to be considered as the most serious blow on a large scale ever since the foundation of the Fourth International.

Had there been no courageous intervention by the S.W.P. with its open appeal to the world Trotskyists, and the formation of the International Committee to rally all orthodox Trotskyists to resist and systematically defend their position and the severe criticisms made by the Trotskyists in Ceylon and elsewhere, Pabloism would have been permitted to follow its natural development. *The whole international would have already been in a state of disintegration! But precisely because of the intervention of*

the S.W.P., the International Committee and the Ceylonese Trotskyists, it is once more proved that the Trotskyists tradition and ideas are a most solid force and capable of resisting the test of any events.

CONCLUSION

The meaning and consequences of Pablo's revisionism and liquidationism having been exposed as above, the problem which is now posed before every comrade who is loyal to Trotskyism and its historical mission is how to utilize this struggle against Pabloism to raise individual consciousness and to consolidate and reinforce our whole movement. We should use this opportunity to reaffirm the fundamental principles contained in the Transitional Program and all the fundamental conceptions of Trotskyism, especially in relation to the nature and role of Stalinism. On this basis we shall be able to analyze anew the post-war international situation and the perspectives (in this connection we are proposing another document for discussion) as to prepare the Fourth International for the future events of greater magnitude (war and revolution) and to orient and lead the world revolution towards victory.

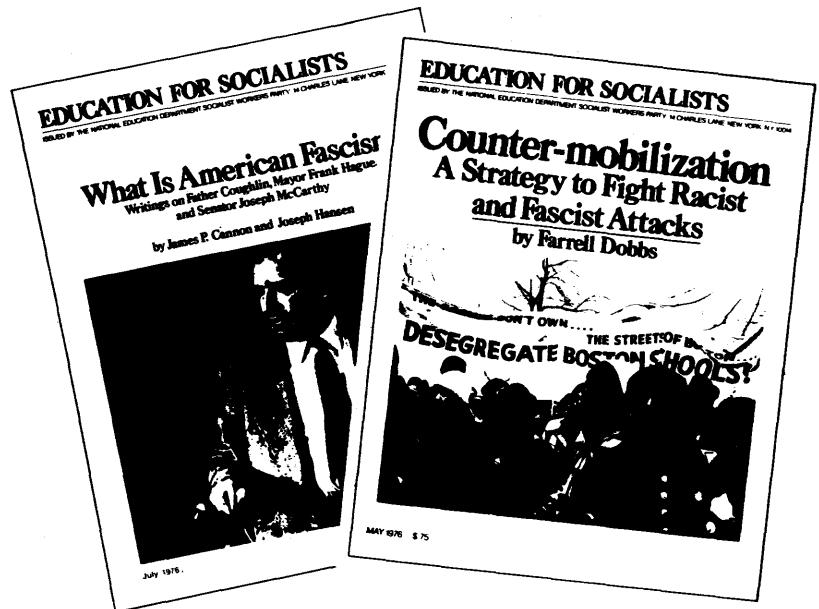
In order to engage the Trotskyists of different countries effectively in a general discussion of Pabloism, a democratic procedure completely in the Bolshevik manner must be adopted. Only a democratic general discussion will be able to break through Pablo's bureaucratic control and manipulation. We believe that the real physiognomy of Pablo's revisionism and liquidationism will become more and more obvious in the course of discussion, and the correctness of Trotskyism, in developing and assimilating Marxism-Leninism, will also become more clear. Moreover, the development of events in recent years, such as the Stalinist parties in the backward countries (India, Ceylon, Indonesia, etc.) seeking alliances with the national bourgeoisie of these countries to form an "Anti-Yankee Front." In the advanced countries (Japan, U.S., France, etc.) they support the so-called "democratic or progressive bourgeoisie." These reactionary illusions revealed the feverish attempts of the Kremlin bureaucracy in seeking compromise with Western imperialism to prevent the new World War and to attain "pacifist co-existence." These fresh facts add to a further exposing of the complete bankruptcy of Pabloism and at the same time proving more clearly the incomparable correctness of Trotskyist appraisal of the nature and role of Stalinism.

A system of revolutionary thought, especially Marxist thought, is often more profound and rich if it has gone through a struggle. Hence we believe that Trotskyism, having gone through this struggle against Pablo's revisionism and liquidationism will certainly be further enriched, and then all the genuine Trotskyists will be reunited on a higher ideological level.

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