

LINE ON THE INTERNATIONAL QUESTION, CONTACT COMMITTEE FOR  
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (by Ochler,  
Stamm  
Basky)

(Defeated)

1. Carry out the motions adopted at the Pittsburgh Plenum of the Workers Party, March 15-17.
2. Reject the draft submitted by the IS as not adequate for the purpose.
3. We propose a draft letter along the following line:
  - a. Reaffirm the Declaration of Four (content)
  - b. Analysis of the world situation: the crisis, war danger, Franco-Soviet Pact, etc.
  - c. The capitalist solution - the destruction of the USSR and the extension of Fascism.
  - d. The revolutionary solution - the international proletarian revolution, extension of the October Revolution
  - e. The bankruptcy of the 2d and 3d Internationals; cannot be reformed or used as instruments for revolution.
  - f. Criticism of centrist parties and movements; London-Amsterdam Bureau, etc.
  - g. Condemnation of the new orientation of the ICL.
  - h. Need for the Fourth International.
4. Initial signatories to be the WPUSA; RSAP; SAP; ICL; CUBAN BOLSHEVIK-LENINIST PARTY; CHILEAN COMMUNIST LEFT; USSR; WORKERS PARTY OF CANADA; BELGIAN LEAGUE (VEREËCKEN); STOCKHOLM-OSLO YOUTH BURO.
5. Manifesto must define organizational perspective of building the Fourth International and its parties; against "organic unity"; against reforming the 2d and 3d Internationals; for the American and Dutch fusions; Cuban and Canadian perspective; splits from the 2d and 3d Internationals.
6. Manifesto must call on workers to break with 2d and 3d Internationals; call on centrist groups outside 2d and 3d Internationals to declare for the Fourth International; to join with the signatories.
7. Call to be sent to all parties and groups throughout the world for agreement on this programmatic basis.
8. All parties and groups which declare for the Fourth International and accept this program, shall be represented on the Contact Committee to be established.
9. Contact Committee to be organized on parity basis at beginning with veto vote for all signatories and have perspective of becoming propaganda and organizatory center of the Fourth International.

Ochler  
Stamm  
Basky

## RESOLUTION ON INTERNAL SITUATION (Basky, Stamm, Oehler)

1. The Party is in a serious crisis politically and organizationally. It is convulsed by an internal struggle and faces the danger of a split. The axis of the struggle is: What kind of a party the W.P. is going to be - a revolutionary Marxist party or a centrist party - and how we are going to build it.
2. The situation has developed to this point mainly because of the false line of the P.C. under the regime of Cannon and Shachtman. Their line internationally and in the United States is orientation on the Socialist movement. This has resulted externally in shifting the party line far to the right of the Declaration of Principles. With respect to the internal situation this line has been expressed in (a) no ideological struggles against right tendencies including especially the Stalinist tendency, struggle against the left; (c) a policy of nursing the baby (Shachtman), no discussion for 6 months (Shachtman), hence no ideological clarification of the membership; (d) policy of allowing the right wing to resign; an organized drive to expel the left.
3. The struggle against the left was conceived, organized and led by Cannon and Shachtman and their caucus. Because they controlled the apparatus they covered their factional actions with the authority of the P.C. In this way they converted the New Militant and International Information Bulletin into a factional organ of their factional international line (indorsement of the French turn, new orientation) and their S.P. orientation. In this way they used the apparatus against the left excluding it from political work, evading the discussion of political issues, using organizational measures against the left. Under cover of the P.C.'s authority they have violated the decisions of the Pittsburgh Plenum and of the P.C.
4. The struggle against the left was expressed in closing the columns of the New Militant and New International to the left; elimination of the national departments in which the left predominated; overturning the Bronx branch committee in which the left predominated; proposals to exclude the left from other branch committees; provocations of left wingers, charges against them in N.C. and branches; expulsion of left wingers; incitement of the right wing and careerist elements to bait the left and prefer charges against left wingers.
5. This policy has closed the door into the party for many left elements throughout the country. Inside the party it has put the left in a strait jacket in the name of discipline which is in reality a factional and bureaucratic distortion of discipline in the interest of fastening an opportunist and liquidationist course on the party in contravention of the Declaration of Principles, and has forced loyal, devoted and experienced revolutionists into making formal breaches of this discipline.
6. Call a convention of the party within three months.
7. Preparations and guarantees for democratic discussion and convention.
  - 1) reinstate expelled, drop charges.
  - 2) new P.C.
  - 3) Editorial boards, no discrimination.
  - 4) Reestablish departments.
  - 5) Slogans on New Militant masthead "Workers of the world unite" - 4th International.
  - 6) Democratic N. Y. District Convention.

MOTIONS ON QUESTION OF STOCKHOLM OSLO YOUTH BUREAU

by Basky, Oehler, Stamm

1. The Stockholm-Oslo Youth Bureau with which the Spartacus Youth League of the U.S. is affiliated, is the only international youth organization standing for the Fourth International, and must be preserved and developed further theoretically and organizationally.
2. The actions of Brand, delegate in it from the SAP youth and its representative to the Paris conference of the London Amsterdam Bureau in February, in speaking against the motion of Schmidt for a new international, although he voted for it under discipline, is indefensible and must be condemned.
3. The ultimatic demands of the Spartacus Youth League, instigated by Crux, for the arbitrary addition to the Secretariat of the Bureau of representatives from the French Bolshevik-Leninist Youth Section and the RSP youth section, both affiliated to the Bureau, can have the result only of alienating other groups in the Bureau and driving toward a split in it.
4. The WP proposes instead an attempt to overcome the crisis precipitated by Brand's action by political means: New forces should be drawn into the Youth Bureau, such as the Spanish Socialist Youth who have declared for the IV International and split off from the III International; the Youth Bureau should be asked to sign the Open Letter for the IV International and become a member of the Provisional Contact Committee; raise the theoretical and political level of the International Youth Bulletin.

Basky, Oehler, Stamm