

For NC Information

EDITORIAL NOTE

At the second congress (1965) following the reunification congress of the Fourth International in 1963, the United Secretariat submitted a proposed set of statutes to replace those adopted in 1948. The United Secretariat did not ask that the proposed new statutes be adopted at the 1965 congress but suggested that a definitive decision be made on them at the next congress; i.e., the one scheduled for 1968. The United Secretariat explained the question as follows:

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

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

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

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

"The United Secretariat does not propose definitive adoption of this draft by the delegates [at the 1965 congress]. It recommends instead that the draft be referred to the sections for further consideration and suggestions before it is placed on the agenda for definitive adoption at the succeeding congress. Pending final decision, the United Secretariat recommends that the proposed statutes be used on an interim basis."

The recommendation of the United Secretariat was adopted by the delegates at the 1965 congress; and the proposed statutes have been followed on an interim basis.

To facilitate study of the proposed statutes, the texts of the two preceding sets of statutes have been attached as appendixes.

STATUTES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(Proposed Draft)

Preamble

I.

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

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

"Considering,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

STATUTES

Section I

Name -- Objectives -- Program

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

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

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

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

## Section II

### The World Congress

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

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

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

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

Section III

The International Executive Committee

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

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

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

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

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

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

International Executive Committee must compile a record, together with recommendations, for consideration and action by the next World Congress.

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

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

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

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

International Executive Committee in collaboration with the sections involved, but in general will be limited to gathering information, compiling documents, undertaking research, coordinating work and maintaining links.

#### Section IV

##### The United Secretariat

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Section V

##### Publications

(25) The United Secretariat is assigned the responsibility of editing and publishing an official organ in the name of the International Executive Committee. The official organ will publish the main programmatic documents and resolutions of the world congresses, the International Executive Committee and the

United Secretariat. National sections are duty bound to translate this material where necessary and see that it is published and circulated in their own countries.

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

## Section VI

### Finances -- Dues

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

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

## Section VII

### Structure -- Membership -- National Sections

(29) The Internal structure of the Fourth International, on the local, national and world scale, is determined by the principles and practices of democratic centralism. Representing

the maximum possible democracy in internal discussion in elaborating a political line and the firmest discipline in applying that line after it has been decided on, it includes the following rules:

(a) All leading bodies must be elected by the rank and file, or by delegates elected by the rank and file, at regular meetings, conferences or congresses provided for by statute. The leading bodies must report back regularly to the elective bodies to whom they are responsible.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(37) Members of the International who take long trips outside their country, or who wish to change their permanent residence to another country, must first secure approval from the national leadership, which in turn must inform the United Secretariat. The United Secretariat will then help facilitate a fraternal reception by the national sections for comrades travelling abroad. Except by special decision of the United Secretariat, a member of a section living more than six months in another country where a section exists, must transfer to that section. The section involved must, before accepting the transfer, ask for a report through the United Secretariat in order to verify that the comrade left his former country with the full knowledge and permission of the section. No section can refuse to accept the transfer of a member of the International when his former section has indicated that he left in good standing.

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

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

## Section VIII

### International Control Commission

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

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

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

### Section IX

#### Disciplinary Measures

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

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

### Section X

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

Appendix I

STATUTES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

[Adopted at Founding Congress in 1938]

I.

All the proletarian and revolutionary militants in the world who accept and apply the principles and the program of the Fourth International are joined in a single worldwide organization, under a centralized international leadership, and a single discipline. This organization has as its name, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (WORLD PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION), and is governed by these present statutes.

II.

In all countries the members of the Fourth International are organized into parties or leagues, which constitute the national sections of the Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolution).

III.

The national sections are formed on the platform and in accordance with the organizational structure defined and established by the Founding Congress of the Fourth International (September 1938). In its platform the Fourth International concentrated the international experience of the revolutionary Marxist movement, and especially that which rises out of the socialist conquests of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia. It assimilates and bases itself upon all of humanity's progressive social experiences, which lead to the expropriation of the capitalist class and to the ultimate abolition of classes.

IV.

The internal regime of the International, on the local, national, and world scales, is determined by the principles and practice of democratic centralism.

The sections are required to observe the decisions and resolutions of the International Conference, and, in its absence, of the International Executive Committee, represented during the intervals between its meetings by the International Secretariat -- while nevertheless retaining the right of appeal before the next higher bodies until the next International Conference.

V.

The national sections must pay, to the treasury of the International Secretariat, regular dues (monthly or quarterly), which

are destined for the functioning of the international bodies, and which shall be proportional to the number of their members.

#### VI.

In each country there can be but one single section of the Fourth International, i.e., only one single organization in each country can be regularly affiliated with the Fourth International.

The procedure and practical measures for the formation or recognition of new national sections in countries where they do not exist, shall be established by the International Executive Committee in each particular case, and submitted to ratification by the International Conference. Fusion between an organization developing toward the Fourth International and a national section may be arranged by the International Secretariat and submitted to the decision of the International Executive Committee.

#### VII.

The supreme body of the Fourth International on the world scale is the International Conference, which determines the policy of the International and of its sections in all important political questions, adopts resolutions, and decides in the last resort organizational questions and internal conflicts.

The International Conference must meet at least every two years. It will ordinarily be called by the IEC, and shall be composed of the delegates, or their mandated representatives, of all sections. It may be called, extraordinarily, upon the demand of more than one-third of the national sections.

#### VIII.

During the intervals between the international conferences, the international leadership is entrusted to the International Executive Committee, composed of 15 members belonging to the most important national sections and elected by the Conference.

The IEC meets at least once every three months, to examine the work of the International Secretariat and decide upon the most important problems. The decisions of the International Secretariat can be appealed from only before the IEC or the International Conference. The IEC may be extraordinarily called together by the majority decision of the IS, or at the demand of at least three national leaderships.

The IEC is responsible before the entire International for the carrying out of the decisions and the application of the political line adopted by the International Conference.

IX.

A national section can propose the revocation or substitution of one of its members belonging to the IEC. This measure must be approved by the majority vote of the members of the IEC.

X.

The day-by-day administrative and political work, as well as the regular liaisons with the sections, is insured by an International Secretariat, composed of 5 members residing at the seat of the Secretariat, chosen in their majority from among the members of the IEC, and by the IEC.

The IS shall have at least one permanent comrade whose activity shall be wholly devoted to the work of the IS and whose salary shall be guaranteed by the contributions of the sections. The IS publishes a regular monthly bulletin, in at least French, English, and German, in the name of the IEC.

XI.

The members of the IS can be replaced by the majority decision of the IEC, which shall also have the right to summon qualified collaborators to its work.

XII.

For the purpose of insuring a better connection and a greater organizational and political cohesion among the countries of continents distant from the seat of the IS, provision is made for the formation of Sub-Secretariats, charged with the same duties as the IS, but under the jurisdiction of the IS.

The formation of these Sub-Secretariats is determined upon in concrete cases by the decision of the International Conference, or, when that is not in session, by the IEC.

XIII.

The IEC has the right, after examination of and consultation with the interested parties, to pronounce the expulsion of sections or individual members of the Fourth International. Decisions of expulsion are executory, although the interested parties retain the right of appeal before the International Conference.

Appendix II

STATUTES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

[Adopted at the Second World Congress in 1948]

[Translated from the French text published in Quatrième Internationale.]

Preamble

In expressing the historic interests of the world proletariat, the Fourth International bases itself on the program and organizational concepts of revolutionary Marxism represented at different historic periods by the First, the Second and the Third Internationals.

When the First International was founded in London in 1864 its statutes declared:

"Considering,

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

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

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

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

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

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



The First International had to leave the scene of history before accomplishing the task it aimed at. Its banner and its program were taken up by the Second International, founded in Paris in 1889, which solemnly pledged to complete the work of the First International. In the following decades, it assembled the most powerful socialist movement seen in history up to that time.

But that historic period was characterized by an expansion of capitalism and development of the world market, with a margin of profit sufficient to make it possible to grant substantial reforms to the toiling masses. This gave rise to a whole social layer, the "labor aristocracy," holding illusions in the possibility of reforming capitalism and making a peaceful transition to socialism. The conservatism of this social layer and its revision of Marxism, engendered the reformist degeneration of the Second International. This reached its culmination with the outbreak of the first world war in 1914. The Second International showed that it was not at all an international, but a mere federation of national parties, whose leaders, betraying the internationalist socialist program and their own solemn, many-times-repeated pledges, went over to their own bourgeoisie.

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

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

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

But the Third International degenerated like the Second although for a series of completely different historical causes.

Due to the success of the first proletarian revolution, the Russian Communist party became the main, dominant section of the Third International. Because this revolution occurred in a backward country and because there was an enormous disproportion between the needs and the means of consumption, a bureaucracy

arose which managed, on account of the delay in the proletarian revolution in other countries, to seize control of the Soviet state apparatus and the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Through this control, the Third International increasingly became a mere instrument in defending the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy outside the Soviet Union.

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

But in 1933 when, under the threat of Hitler coming to power, the German CP -- powerful but Stalinized -- capitulated and permitted the German proletariat to be defeated and massacred without giving the slightest signal for a united and organized struggle, it was clear that it was no longer possible to reform the Comintern. The International Left Opposition called in September 1933 for construction of a Fourth International, which held its founding conference in 1938. The corpse of the Third International was finally buried in 1943 by Stalin's ukase.

As the inheritor of the traditions and principles of revolutionary Marxism and proletarian internationalism, the Fourth International took the aim of carrying out the tasks of the socialist world revolution.

## II.

Humanity has already achieved a level of economic development necessary and sufficient to pass over from capitalism to socialism. On a world scale, the premises exist for the socialist organization of society, for planned world-wide production devoted to use rather than chaotic production aiming at profits.

The critical point, in a certain sense, has actually been passed. As a historic punishment for not yet having reached socialism, humanity today sees parts of the world on the downgrade, as in Europe, which were formerly marked by their high degree of development and industrial organization. Ruined by a series of catastrophic wars, these countries have witnessed their production and their productivity decline, their real wealth go to waste, their domestic economy and their finances falling into inextricable disorder and their populations implacably reduced to lower and lower standards of living. Profiting from the temporary conjuncture

created by the war and the period immediately following it, the colonial and semicolonial countries have tried to undertake industrialization comparable to that achieved by the present imperialist countries at a time when capitalism was young and in full expansion, only to discover that they have arrived too late on the scene; their road is blocked and they run into crises before their development has advanced much. In the only capitalist country to emerge from the second imperialist war with its productive capacity enormously increased, the spokesmen of capitalism themselves admit the certainty of a coming catastrophic crisis with all its consequences -- limitation of production, unemployment, hunger and misery.

In face of this fearsome reality, capitalism offers no solution other than a new world war which threatens humanity with a return to barbarism, if not total destruction.

The objective premises of the socialist revolution are more than ripe. If the world proletariat, the only progressive class of contemporary society does not succeed in carrying out the proletarian world revolution, all of civilization and human culture will inevitably collapse in ruins.

It is not the will of the toiling masses that is at fault. In the last decades, the world proletariat and the oppressed colonial masses have shown many times that they are ready to proceed with courage and self-sacrifice on the road of revolution and to put an end, once and for all, to the system of imperialist exploitation. In Germany, in China, in Spain, in France, in Greece, everywhere the workers have thrown themselves energetically into struggle, but each time have ended up in only bloody defeat due to the false and traitorous leaderships of the social democracy and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Spontaneous heroism is not sufficient, any more than the existence of the objective economic premises. All history demonstrates that without the leadership of a revolutionary party no durable victory is possible for the workers. The two terrible decades we have just passed through have proved that the Stalinist usurpers of October have equalled and even surpassed the social democrats as traitorous guides.

In every country the leadership of the proletariat must be taken away from the counterrevolutionary social democracy and the Stalinist traitors. The chains which they have forged to hold down and immobilize the toiling masses must be broken. Only by resolutely breaking away from both the classical reformism of the social democracy and the neoreformism of the Stalinists can the proletariat in each country build the revolutionary party without which no struggle for socialism can be crowned with success.

But today the politics and the economy of capitalism, its market, its crises, its wars all have an international character. The revolutionary party that takes as its aim to overturn capitalism must also be international. Just as socialism cannot be realized in one country without a world revolution, so no revolutionary national grouping can develop completely without a world party.

Such a world party, such an international, cannot at all be a mere agglomeration of national parties having different programs, held together merely by loose ties, an agglomeration of federative character, but must have as a weapon an international program in which all the national programs are adaptations to the particular problems of each nation. Neither a temporary hold over the revolutionary masses, nor material power, whether of a state nature or not, nor a flashy organization, nor energetic activity, nor carefully worked out statutes can save an international whose principles and program are false and unable to measure up to the test of history.

The Fourth International, direct inheritor of all that was revolutionary in the First, the Second and the Third internationals has a program that will measure up to the test of history. It stands on the first four congresses of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky, on all the programmatic documents of the International Left Opposition, of the Movement for the Fourth International, and the Transition Program adopted at its own founding conference in 1938, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International."

Thus armed, it will prove capable of establishing the great revolutionary international of the masses which alone can guide the toiling masses to the world victory of socialism.

### III.

The party incarnates its program. Just as the international nature of capitalism demands a program of international character, so the world-wide scope of the workers movement demands that the revolutionary party that takes as its aim to overturn capitalism must also be a world-wide party. Its strategy must be global, embracing all the problems and internationally coordinated. From this international strategy must flow national tactics, adapted to the specific peculiarities of each country. Consequently this demands a world-wide organization and a centralized international leadership.

That is why the internal organization of the Fourth International is governed on an international as well as national and local scale by the principles and practices of democratic centralism; that is, the greatest possible democracy in internal discussion during the elaboration of a political line, and the firmest discipline in applying this line, once it has been determined. This is not merely a preferred method, but an organizational principle.

As a Bolshevnik party, the Fourth International has nothing in common with the concepts exemplified by the reformist and centrist organizations, which consist of an agglomeration of autonomous national parties or groups (including sometimes several groups in a single country) with conflicting political lines.

Such organizational concepts have a political and even class origin. They are able perhaps to satisfy some local, temporary needs of the proletariat but not to come up to the level of its historic tasks.

Against federalist organizational concepts, the Fourth International stands unequivocally on the Bolshevnik concept of a single world party and a centralized international leadership. For the Fourth International, a unified international policy is not a decorative facade but the genuine axis of its theoretical views and its politics, requiring that the ideological framework of the party be rigorously drawn. The Fourth International is not for democracy in the abstract but for centralized democracy.

The unity of its political views is achieved in a democratic way, through a world congress, held periodically, composed of delegates of its national sections, who forge a majority political line through discussion, and who elect a standing Executive Committee, individually nominated, to apply it. The Fourth International does not conceive discussion as a purely intellectual exercise, but as the means of reaching a decision; because it regards itself as an organization for action. In accordance with the perfectly correct general line of the "21 Conditions" of the Comintern, it determines its own composition, limiting it to the members of national sections who accept and apply its program and its discipline. It establishes a strict distinction between members and sympathizers and in periods of illegality undertakes a careful tightening up of its structure. Its political and organizational decisions, based on the authority of a democratically elected World Congress, are binding on all the sections.

The need for a centralized international leadership imposes grave responsibilities on those composing it. The national sections must be ready to deprive themselves of their most important national leaders when necessary. Democratic centralism is not an inflexible schema; the leaders elected by the International, while seeking at all times to maintain a correct balance, must know how to take into consideration the need to reinforce, according to the conjuncture and the tasks, either the centralist or democratic aspect. This implies correct and flexible application not only of the line determined by the world congress but also of the statutes, the formulation of which is necessarily rigid.

An International, and the democratic centralism which it applies, are not created by mere decision, but develop dialectically.

tically. If their primary base is an international political program, their growth and their reinforcement nevertheless remain a function of the growth and reinforcement of the national sections and the constant progress of their political homogeneity. The political and moral authority of the central leading bodies cannot be bureaucratically defined by arbitrary rules, on paper, and cannot be bureaucratically imposed. They must win their authority through their own activity. Thus the more or less concrete and detailed character of the statutes must reflect with exactness the degree of centralization which the International has attained and which it will attain, in the period up to the next world congress, when they are subject to revision.

The present statutes of 1948 are based on the principles and the analysis indicated above. In this respect, they reflect the great progress made by the Fourth International since its constitution ten years ago.

## STATUTES

### Section I

#### Name -- Aims -- Program

(1) The Fourth International (World Party of the Socialist Revolution) is composed of all the revolutionary militants organized in national sections who, throughout the world, accept and apply its principles and its program, united in a single world-wide organization under a centralized international leadership and a single discipline and governed by the present Statutes.

(2) Its aim is, through education and the organization of the activities of the proletariat and the other classes exploited by imperialism in all countries, to abolish capitalism and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of an International Socialist Republic of Workers and Peasants Councils, which will carry out the definitive and complete abolition of classes and establish socialism, the first stage toward a final communist society and the complete abolition of the state.

(3) Concentrating the international experiences of the revolutionary Marxist movement, more particularly those of the social conquests of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia, the subsequent degeneration of the Soviet Union, the later revolutionary insurrections and their defeats, the Fourth International incarnates all the progressive social experiences of humanity. It stands more particularly as a general theoretical program on the programmatic documents of the first four congresses of the Third International, the International Left Opposition, the Movement for the Fourth International and the Transition Program adopted at its Founding Congress in 1938: "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International."

## Section II

### The World Congress

(4) The highest authority of the Fourth International is the World Congress which discusses and determines the political line of the International and all its sections, on all programmatic questions, and which decides, as the final body of appeal, all questions of strategy, tactics, organization, administration, statutes, and internal conflicts.

(5) The World Congress must meet at least every two years. It is convoked to an ordinary session by the International Executive Committee. The convocation must be made not less than six months in advance, the interval between the convocation and the holding of the congress constituting the preparatory discussion period. The World Congress can be specially convoked between normal sessions by the International Executive Committee either on its own decision, or obligatorily, on the request of one-third of the delegates of the preceding World Congress.

Sections newly recognized between two world congresses are counted in the above percentage with the equivalent of one delegate to the preceding World Congress.

(6) The basis of representation of national sections at the World Congress is determined approximately by the International Executive Committee at the time it sends out the call convoking the congress, by taking into account the importance of the countries and their political situation and the numerical strength of the sections, making assurance both against disproportionate representation of sections momentarily the strongest, giving proportional representation to national minorities and making provisions for a consultative voice for minorities that would not otherwise be represented. But the definitive determination of the mode of representation is decided by the World Congress itself, thus constituted.

(7) National delegations, immediately after the World Congress, report to specially convoked plenary meetings of their national executive committees or to a congress, in order to assure democratic assimilation, wide publication and rapid and effective execution of the decisions of the World Congress. In the case of differences, no matter how serious they may be, between a section and the World Congress, the section must, no matter what the position of its delegation was, execute the decisions of the World Congress, while having the right to make an appeal on the subject at the next regular or specially convoked World Congress.

### Section III

#### The International Executive Committee

(8) The World Congress elects an International Executive Committee which, in the intervals between world congresses, constitutes the highest body of the International, applying the decisions of the World Congress and being responsible to it. It interprets and applies the political line decided on and directs all the work of the International, publishing in its name manifestos and all other documents which it considers to be indispensable, and controlling the activities of the International Secretariat.

(9) The IEC is composed of 19 members and 6 alternates, elected by name. They normally serve for the whole period until the following World Congress. Under exceptional conditions, the IEC can replace one of its members by another member of the same national section, on the request of the latter. Alternates replace absent members in the order of their election, those not coming under this provision can attend sessions of the IEC with consultative voice.

(10) The sessions of the IEC are convoked by the International Secretariat, preferably every three months and, in any case, at least every six months. The IEC can be specially convoked at any time by the International Secretariat on its own majority decision or obligatorily on the request of one-third of the members of the International Executive Committee.

(11) The IEC follows the political and organizational activities of all the national sections and helps the national sections in their activities. In this task, its duty is: to see to it that the decisions of the World Congress are applied, and the democratic centralized structure of the sections maintained, and to check the political and organizational orientation of the sections in the light of the national and international political developments. The decisions of the International Executive Committee are binding on all the sections. They can appeal them to the World Congress, but in the meantime the decisions must be carried out.

(12) The IEC has the right to intervene in the internal functioning of national sections, when it is convinced that abuses have been committed either by a leadership depriving national minorities of their rights or by irresponsible minorities violating the discipline of the section. It has the right to require that sections take disciplinary measures or expel individuals or groups who have violated proletarian discipline or to reinstate individuals or groups which it considers to have been unjustly disciplined or expelled; and in cases where such measures are disputed by a national section, it has the right to apply them itself.



(13) The IEC has the right, in a country where no official section of the International exists, to recognize an existing group there as an official section, on the basis of an examination of the political position of this group. It can require the fusion of an official section and a nonofficial group when, in its opinion, the latter holds the political position of the International. For a grave reason such as complete inactivity, or flagrant indiscipline with regard to the political or organizational decisions of the World Congress, the IEC can suspend a national section; it can likewise provisionally recognize a group that has not been recognized up to then. Such a measure, if it is contested, should not be taken except in cases of extreme gravity and must be ratified by the following ordinary or special World Congress. Only the World Congress itself has the right to definitively expel an official section of the International.

(14) The IEC can send representatives chosen from among its own members or the members of other sections to national sections. These representatives will be given specific powers in each case and are responsible to the International Secretariat and the IEC itself. They must be admitted to all the meetings of all the bodies of the national section and will cooperate intimately with the leadership of the section. They will have wide possibilities of addressing the members of sections and of presenting motions.

(15) The IEC can organize, in various parts of the world, subsecretariats, technical bureaus or such other supplementary bodies as it deems necessary and which are entirely subordinated to it as well as the International Secretariat.

(16) The IEC can establish at its center commissions entrusted with coordinating the activities concerning a number of sections (for example, a colonial commission, youth commission, trade-union commission) or for a complex task, such as the penetration of a country by bordering sections. Such commissions will be headed by a member of the IEC. Their tasks will be limited to gathering information, compiling documents, undertaking research, the role of coordination and maintaining links. Their tasks and the limits of their powers will be determined in each case by the IEC; the sections involved will be informed. National sections must provide regular collaboration with such commissions, delegating representatives to them on request, and in a general way facilitating their tasks; the work of commissions of the same kind in national sections must be strictly coordinated and subordinated to the international commissions.

#### Section IV

##### The International Secretariat

(17) The daily political, organizational and administrative work, as well as regular intercommunication with and among the

sections, is assured by an International Secretariat of seven members, residing at the Secretariat's center, elected by name by the International Executive Committee. They are ordinarily chosen from among the members of the IEC, which is authorized, in any case, to make exceptions. The members of the I.S. must all participate, to the limit of the time at their disposal, in the organizational and technical as well as political work of the International Secretariat.

(18) In the intervals between sessions of the IEC, the I.S. acts in its name and with its powers, except that it cannot recognize groups as official sections, nor suspend official sections nor organize subsecretariats. Its decisions are binding on the sections. Appeal can be made to the IEC but in the meantime they must be carried out.

(19) Members of the IEC who are not members of the I.S. can attend sessions of the I.S. with consultative voice.

(20) The IEC can replace members of the I.S. by majority vote. Between sessions of the IEC the I.S. can coopt members in case of a vacancy, but this cooptation must be confirmed at the following session of the IEC. The I.S. can, under the control of the IEC, bring in to the work of its commissions qualified collaborators who are not members of the IEC or the I.S.

(21) The I.S. meets preferably once a week and in any case at least once every two weeks.

(22) Resolutions and necessary extracts from the minutes of the I.S. are rapidly sent to all the members of the IEC.

(23) The I.S. organizes the necessary technical apparatus for its work. In this, the sections must help to the full extent of their ability, both by providing comrades for technical help and by carrying out technical tasks assigned to them by the I.S.

## Section V

### Publications

(24) The International Secretariat will publish as an official organ of the International Executive Committee, a theoretical magazine in at least one well-known language and if possible in several other languages. National sections publishing magazines in other languages must try to translate and reproduce the most important articles appearing in it. The magazine will publish the main programmatic documents and resolutions of the world congresses, plenums of the IEC and the I.S. The reproduction of this material in the organs of the national sections, if it is specially requested by the I.S., is obligatory except in cases where legal considerations make it impossible.

(25) The I.S. will also publish an International Bulletin in at least two languages, and if possible in more than two languages, on the average at least once a month. In the discussion periods preceding world congresses, the Bulletin must appear with the maximum frequency permitted by material possibilities, in order to publish all the preparatory documents and the main discussion articles and to permit at least one presentation of each different political position.

(26) The I.S. can also issue press services, press releases, pamphlets, leaflets, etc., insofar as it is necessary and possible, to fully inform the members of the national sections.

(27) No national leadership can keep from its members a communication or documents of the International of which the I.S. specifically demands publication.

(28) Sections which are more than three months in arrears in their payments for the international theoretical magazine, the International Bulletin and the other publications of the International, will receive a warning to be published in their internal national bulletin. Sending of these publications can be stopped in the case of sections which are more than six months in arrears in payments.

## Section VI

### Finances -- Dues

(29) The International Secretariat designates one of its members as treasurer, responsible to the I.S. and the IEC. The treasurer will present to the I.S. for its approval a report on finances for the preceding month and a budget for the following month. On his own initiative or on request from the IEC, he furnishes to the latter a report on finances since the preceding report, plus any other information on finances requested. At an appropriate date before the world congress, a special accounting commission, named by three sections, will audit the accounts of the treasurer since the preceding world congress in order to certify as to their accuracy before the treasurer presents his balance sheet to the Congress.

In case the interval between two world congresses is more than one year, the commission will proceed to audit the treasurer's accounts at the end of the first year.

(30) All the national sections must pay either at monthly or quarterly intervals, whichever is most convenient for them, regular international dues which are to be used for the functioning of the international bodies and which will be proportional to the number of their members. In principal, the amount should be one-sixth of the national dues (leaving aside regular voluntary contributions); but the precise amount in each case will be set according to particular circumstances in agreement between the national

treasurer and the international treasurer, under the control respectively of the Political Bureau of the section and the International Secretariat. Dues and other financial obligations in connection with the International take priority over all other financial obligations. Sections that have not paid their dues for more than three months are, except in cases clearly beyond their control, notified first by letter and then by publication in the International Bulletin of the fact of their financial lapse, with the section in question being obliged to reproduce this notice in their national internal bulletin. If the international treasurer deems it advisable, a circular can then be addressed to the other sections, notifying them not to pay any debt to the section that has lapsed except through the I.S. in order to permit it to retain everything up to the amount of the debt. Sections that have not paid their dues for more than six months, except for reasons clearly beyond their control, are considered to be in bad standing and will not have the right to have delegates with deliberative voice at the world congresses.

## Section VII

### Structure and Membership

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

(a) The election of all leadership bodies by the appropriate meetings, conferences and congresses, with regular statutory reelection; regular reports from these bodies to the elective organisms;

(b) The absolute interdiction of mandated delegates;

(c) The interdiction of resignations which can only be proposed, only the elective body having the right of removal from office;

(d) The strictly binding character of decisions of higher bodies on lower ones; the immediate carrying out of decisions, but with the right of appeal to higher bodies, these appeals not justifying any delay in carrying out directives;

(e) The disciplined obedience of minorities to majority decisions, combined with the incontestable right of minorities to constitute themselves into tendencies and to enjoy democratic rights such as:

To have their positions presented before the International in an internal bulletin during the discussion period in the International;

To have permission to intervene on the national level in preparatory discussions for congresses after prior consultation with the leadership bodies;

To be represented in the leading bodies in accordance with their political and numerical importance.

(f) The right of members facing disciplinary action to know in advance the accusations brought against them, to present their defense and, except where it is geographically impossible, to confront their accusers.

(g) Complete, honest and impartial information to all members on the problems and activities of the International, especially on questions under debate among the international and national leaderships;

(h) A free international discussion in the discussion periods preceding world congresses and each time that historic events of exceptional importance require special discussions;

(i) Except in countries where particular conditions exist, no one on full time shall receive remuneration above that of the wages of a skilled worker.

(32) The World Party of the Socialist Revolution is, due to national peculiarities and problems, subdivided into national sections known, according to their importance and the circumstances, as "parties," "leagues," "groups," etc. While taking into consideration the traditions of their origin and national circumstances which can for certain periods require other names, all the sections must tend toward the uniform nomenclature of "International Communist" -- for example, "Parti Communiste Internationaliste," "Internationalist Communist League," "Gruppo Comunista Internazionalista," etc.

(33) In each country there can be only one section of the International. The procedure and the practical measures for the formation or recognition of new national sections in countries where none exist will be established by the I.S. in each particular case and submitted for ratification to the IEC. A fusion between an organization developing toward the International and a national section can be carried out by the I.S. and submitted to the decision of the IEC.

(34) Everyone who accepts in words and deeds the program, the statutes and the decisions of the International, and is an active and disciplined member in good standing in a national section is a member of the International. No one can be a member of two sections simultaneously. Sections must rigorously distinguish between members and sympathizers. New members must normally go through a probationary period.

(35) Members of national sections elected to bourgeois parliamentary bodies must serve at all times under the strict political control of the leading national bodies.

(36) No member of the International has the right to undertake considerable trips outside his country or to change his permanent residence from one country to another, without having obtained the permission of his national leadership which in turn has an imperative duty to inform the I.S. Comrades traveling in this way will be provided with an official identification and must be received fraternally by the section of the country they visit. Except by special decision by the I.S. a member of a section living more than six months in another country where a section exists, must ask to be transferred to that section. The section involved must, before accepting the transfer of the comrade, ask for a report on him from his former section in order to make sure that he left his former country with the full knowledge and permission of the section. No section can refuse to accept the transfer of a member of the International when the former section has guaranteed the regular character of his departure.

(37) The program and statutes of national sections are submitted for approval to the International Executive Committee which can order the changes that appear necessary to it.

(38) The sections must keep the international center regularly informed about their activities. They must send it the minutes of the sessions of their leading bodies; they must send it a quarterly general report, and a sufficient number of copies of their press and their other publications, and all other documents. They will inform the I.S. in time of the holding of congresses, conferences and enlarged meetings of central committees. In view of all the preceding, each section names a technical international secretary whose duty is to make sure that all the forms of intercommunication with the International are regularly maintained as well as, when it is possible, regular items for the press.

(39) All political or organizational relations of any importance between national sections are handled through the I.S. In case of urgent necessity, such relations can be carried out directly on condition that the I.S. is rapidly informed of all the details.

(40) Without ever abandoning the advantages of legal existence before it is absolutely inevitable, the national sections in situations where they are threatened with repression, must make all necessary preparations in advance for reorganization at the time of going into illegality.

## Section VIII

### International Control Commission

(41) The World Congress elects an International Control Commission of three members, each belonging to a different section, each of them having a reputation for objectivity and political maturity in the International, and who cannot be replaced in their posts until the next World Congress, except in case of a vacancy, in which exceptional case the IEC elects a replacement. The ICC elects a secretary who convokes it in case of necessity.

(42) The task of the ICC is to examine cases of indiscipline and violations of proletarian morality in the International. It undertakes its inquiries either at the request of the IEC or in urgent cases on its own initiative. When it acts as an investigative body, it has the right to demand the sending of documents and testimony from all comrades without exception.

(43) The ICC informs the World Congress and, between its sessions, the IEC on all its conclusions and proposes action on the basis of the latter.

## Section IX

### Disciplinary Measures

(44) The expression of fundamental differences with the program of the International in public activities, persisting after a warning from the International, the violation of national and international statutes and other acts of indiscipline, such as actions incompatible with proletarian morality, or which place the organization or its members in danger, are subject to disciplinary measures by the national or international bodies. The accused must be presented with the charges in advance and will have the right to present their defense and, except where geographically impossible, to confront their accusers in the body of highest authority.

(45) Such disciplinary measures apply at once. Those under charges nevertheless have the incontestable right to appeal to the body immediately above the one that applies the disciplinary measures, on up through the structure from the local organization to the World Congress. In cases concerning proletarian morality which are judged of sufficient importance, the International Control Commission can intervene in the procedure at any time.

(46) The IEC and the I.S. have the explicit right to order national sections to apply disciplinary measures to members or to annul or reduce disciplinary measures passed by national sections.