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**TROTSKYISTS
SERIALS
BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1927 - 1991
- With Locations and Indices -

Edited by
Wolfgang and Petra Lubitz

Preface by Paolo Casciola

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**Dedicated to
the memory of
LOUIS SINCLAIR (1909-1990)**

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Preface
by
Paolo Casciola

When the Yugoslav left oppositionist *Ante Ciliga* arrived at the Verchne-Uralsk isolation prison early in the Summer of 1930, he discovered that a Trotskyist organization existed therein: the *Collective of Bolshevik-Leninists*. A discussion had been started in January that year about Stalin's turn to forced collectivization of agriculture and accelerated industrialization, which was strictly related to the adventurist "third period" policy followed by the Comintern on the international level. As a result of the debate, three tendencies had taken shape within the organization. According to *Ciliga* the "right" and "center" tendencies held that, in implementing his first five-year plan Stalin was in fact pursuing the same policy advocated by the *Left Opposition*; thus, while criticizing Stalin's methods, they argued that it was the duty of Trotskyists to support the Kremlin's official economic policy. Contrary to them, the "left" tendency was in favour of reforming Soviet economy from below, i.e. through a revival of workers democracy and a split in the party (1). Another account, largely dissimilar from *Ciliga's*, was given in November 1930 by two Soviet Trotskyists who described the "left" tendency as an ultraleftist grouping increasingly wavering toward the positions of the "Democratic Centralists" led by *Sapronov* (2).

Political discussion between the tendencies was carried on through two factional organs: *The Emprisoned truth* (Collection on current events, according to Yakovin and Ardashelya) and *The Militant Bolshevik* which became *the Bolshevik-Leninist* when a split took place in the organization by mid-1931. Those "journals" were issued on a monthly or bimonthly basis and were made up by several handwritten notebooks. Only three copies of every issue of the journals were "published", one for each wing of the prison. All new issues (or, to say it better: all new bundles of notebooks) were circulated from one cell to another, thereby ensuring the continuation of internal discussion among Trotskyist prisoners, most of whom were to be killed by Stalin's henchmen during the gloomy years of the *Great Terror*. It is not excluded however, that those Verchne-Uralsk *samizdats* outlived the men and women who had produced them before disappearing at the *midnight of the century*, and that they are still buried in some dusty Russian archives. Anyway they left a trace in the above-mentioned testimonies.

The same holds true for another Trotskyist periodical which was published in Spain during the civil war period. It was a French-language bulletin called *Le Soviet*, issued in Barcelona by the *Grupo (or Celula) Le Soviet*, a tiny group of dissident Trotskyists led by an Italian, *Nicola Di Bartolomeo (Fosco)*, and affiliated to the French organization led by *Raymond Molinier*. It was Fosco's companion, *Virginia Gervasini (Sonia)*, who typed some fifteen carbon copies of the bulletin on tissue paper and sketched the journal's heading with a paint-box and painter's brush. This happened in 1937 (3). News about the existence of that grouplet and its bulletin appeared in the

¹ *Ciliga, Ante: Dix ans au pays du mensonge déconcertant. Paris, 1977, p. 203-212.*

² *Ardashelya, T.D. and G.Ya. Yakovin: Lettre à Trotsky sur l'Isolateur de Verkhnéouralsk (November 11, 1930), in: Cahiers Lion Trotsky, 1981 (718), p. 184-193.*

³ Interview by the author with *Virginia Gervasini*, January 23, 1983.

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French Molinierite press, *La Commune* and *La Vérité* thus leaving a trace in history; no copies of *Le Soviet* have been located anywhere so far.

Such lack of original sources stands as a major obstacle to those interested in reconstructing the history of certain Trotskyist groups - a history of men and women who have been persecuted, witchhunted, and sometimes killed by Stalinist, fascist, and "democratic" regimes. One of the main aims of this repertory of Trotskyist periodicals is precisely to help demolishing this type of obstacles. Whatever its shortcomings, it is certainly bound to become for a long time an irreplaceable reference guide for scholars and activists throughout the world.

It should also be observed that, to this day, no studies have been devoted to Trotsky's conception of the revolutionary press. Following Lenin's footsteps, Trotsky regarded the paper both as a collective propagandist and agitator, and as a collective organizer, i.e. a key tool by which the party can build itself and address the workers and the proletarian masses as a whole. In Trotsky's opinion, the paper is "the face of the party" and workers "will judge the party on the basis of the paper" (4). Differently from the theoretical cadre journal which "unfolds for its readers all the steps of Marxist analysis", the (mass) paper "presents only its results, basing itself at the same time on the immediate experience of the masses themselves", without renouncing "the slogans which are dictated by the objective situation" (5).

In the main programmatic document of the *Fourth International*, Trotsky had clearly stated the alternative character of the political prognosis concerning the USSR: "either the bureaucracy, becoming ever more the organ of the world bourgeoisie in the [degenerated] workers state, will overthrow the new forms of property and plunge the country back to capitalism; or the working class will crush the bureaucracy and open the way to socialism" (6). The former possibility actually came true in 1989-90 and is now taking the form of an ongoing attempt by relevant sections of the old Stalinist bureaucracy to transmute themselves into a national bourgeois class. Most of Trotsky's epigones of today have been taken by surprise by these developments, and some intellectuals went so far as declaring that, being essentially a critique of Stalinism, Trotskyism has therefore lost its *raison d'être*.

Such balance-sheet of Trotskyism, however, is false to the core insofar as Trotskyism cannot be reduced to consistent anti-Stalinism. Nor did Trotsky confine himself to reasserting the basic tenets of revolutionary Marxism and to defending the heritage of Bolshevism, but decisively developed it

⁴ Trotsky, Leon: *On organizational problems (November 1935)*, in: *The crisis of the French section (1935-36)*, New York, 1977, p. 72.

⁵ Trotsky, Leon: *What is a "mass paper"?* (November 30, 1935), in: *ibidem*, p. 98.

⁶ Trotsky, Leon: *The death agony of capitalism and the tasks of the Fourth International (April 1938)*, in: *The transitional program for socialist revolution*, New York, 1973, p. 102.

in other crucial areas: the theory of permanent revolution, the analysis of fascism and Bonapartism, the struggle against popular frontism, and the elaboration of a transitional program which epitomized the long collective experience of revolutionists.

Trotskyism first emerged in 1923 as a faction within the Bolshevik party, fighting for party democracy and for an internationalist perspective as against growing bureaucratization and Stalin's Thermidorian theory of socialism *in one country*. It came to light in direct continuity with the traditions of Russian Bolshevism, i.e. against the political degeneration introduced by Stalinism into the socio-economic structure of the Soviet workers state and into the ranks of the proletariat. Trotskyism later became a separate international current in April 1930, acting for some three years as an expelled faction of the Comintern.

Differently from the Third International, however, the Fourth did not come out of a successful proletarian revolution, but from a period of terrible defeats of the world proletariat. It was in fact by mid-1933, after Hitler's victory in Germany, that Trotsky definitely gave up the policy of reforming Stalin's Comintern and resolved to build a new international which would overcome the historical crisis of the mankind, that is, the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Throughout the 1930s, the Fourth Internationalist movement had to face serious problems, both objective and subjective. As a propaganda organization, it derived its strength from programmatic clarity and an intensive cadre-building work. But the slenderness of its links with the working class and the prevailing petty-bourgeois social composition of its national sections hindered its further development and made it permeable to political pressures coming from alien class forces. Trotsky was always uneasy about the bad social composition of the movement and recognized the necessity to proletarianize it. While acknowledging the unavoidableness of the a disconnection between the social composition of the revolutionary organization and its declared program in the initial stages of party building, he time and again pointed to the necessity to steadfastly aim at overcoming that state of affairs by testing the members of petty-bourgeois origin through the adoption of a concrete working-class orientation.

All attempts in that direction, however, were mostly unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the impact of the bloody defeats suffered by the revolution in Austria, France, Spain, and above all the USSR, the workers were not inclined to quit their traditional social-democratic and Stalinist organizations which by their reformist policies had brought about those very defeats. This forced Trotskyists to swim against the stream, even with regard to the proletarian masses.

The Fourth International was eventually founded in September 1938, on the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War. During the war, Trotskyists continued to be attacked by all governing regimes. This meant a protracted wave of arrests and murders of cadres and leaders - including Trotsky himself - which in addition to the difficult conditions created by the war and the absence

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of a functioning international leadership, decisively weakened the young movement, leaving the door wide open to various sectarian and opportunist deviations.

While criticizing and correcting many of these political deviations, thereby revealing its revolutionary vitality, the Fourth International was not able to seize the revolutionary opportunities brought out by the final stages of the Second World War. Furthermore, it proved unable to correctly assess the post-war counterrevolutionary reality - marked by the development of imperialism's productive forces and the expansion of Stalinism - and wavered from empty "orthodoxy" to utter revisionism. This ushered in a mortal crisis of the International early in the 1950s and a 40-year long period of splits that shattered the "Trotskyist movement" into a series of competing fragments having no mass basis and no real following among the working class (7).

Finally it should be mentioned that, despite its many flaws, the left wing of the movement strove hard to maintain a weak but real political continuity with genuine Trotskyism all along that period, with the aim of rebuilding the Fourth International. By doing that, it has been keeping alive the feeble flame of hope for all those who work, suffer, and struggle for a better world.

Paolo Casciola

Foligno, July 1992

⁷ For an useful general survey of the history of the "Trotskyist movement" see especially *The death agony of the Fourth International and the tasks of Trotskyists today / Workers Power, Irish Workers Group. London, 1983, p.37-86.*

**Introduction
and
User's Guide**

1. GENERAL

The present bibliography is the product of many years of research, correspondence and acquisition. However, it does not at all aspire to be a "final" or "definite" bibliography. It is rather a first attempt than an exhaustive work. Anyway, it is hopefully offered to be of some assistance in guiding scholars, students, and others to some of the main sources of research in the field of Trotskyism. The prospective user of the Trotskyist press will encounter great difficulty in tracing the often rare and sometimes obscure material in most libraries (1). Thus, by providing locations for most of the items recorded in the bibliography, it is intended to avoid time-consuming and ineffective searches. Despite its selectivity and inevitable shortcomings it is hoped that the present bibliography will be welcomed as a useful contribution to the study of one of the most durable and genuine socialist movements of our century.

Serials may be regarded as a sort of collective memory; by supplying this repertory of serials brought forth by the Trotskyist movement it has also been intended to guard against the loss of memory which we are witnessing ubiquitously.

The following chapters of the introduction will provide some substantial information about the selection criteria, the structure and bibliographic style of the bibliography, the sources used and the difficulties faced with compiling it.

2. WHAT IS MEANT BY "TROTSKYIST"? (ORGANIZATIONS DEALT WITH)

The present bibliography deals with the serial publications of those organizations, parties, groups, grouplets and sects - organized on both national and international level - which claim adherence to the theories and politics of *Leon Trotsky (1879-1940)*. After having been exiled from the USSR in 1929 Trotsky considered it as his primary task to organize an international movement around the body of ideas which he had elaborated since 1922/23 when he became leader and spokesman of the *Left Opposition* struggling against the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Trotsky himself as well as his sympathizers within the Russian and foreign communist parties during the 1920s used the terms *Bolshevism-Leninism* or *(International) Left Opposition* when speaking of their current. At the very beginning the *International Left Opposition* (2) regarded itself as a faction of the *Comintern* (Third International) - although most of the members and sympathizers of the Opposition had been expelled during the late 1920s - , an attitude which was altered only in 1933 (3) when Trotsky came

¹ See also footnote 39, at the end of the introduction.

² The formal launching of the ILO and the creation of certain organizational structures occurred only in 1930; actually it did exist from 1926/27, i.e. there were caucuses, currents and factions formed by sympathizers of Trotsky and the Russian Opposition in most of the then communist parties of various countries,

³ After the disastrous defeat of the Communist Party of Germany and the whole labour movement when Hitler seized power.

to the conclusion that the Comintern could no longer be reformed and thus a new, i.e. a *Fourth International* had to be built up (4). As a consequence the International Left Opposition was renamed *International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists)* in 1933 and *Movement for the Fourth International* in 1936, before the *Fourth International* was formally proclaimed in September 1938.

Without any claim for completeness, the basic elements of what can be labeled Trotskyism (or Bolshevism-Leninism, or Fourth Internationalism) during the last decade before the assassination of Trotsky can be summed up as follows (5):

- * the politics of *permanent revolution* as based upon Trotsky's theory of combined and uneven development;
- * the total *rejection of Stalin's theory of socialism in one country*;
- * the characterization of the Stalinist USSR as a *degenerated workers' state* to be reformed only by means of a *political revolution* of the working class;
- * the *unconditional defence of the USSR* against interior and international counter-revolution and imperialist aggression;
- * loyalty of the policies adopted by the *first four world congresses of the Comintern*, especially to the tactics of the workers' *united front*;
- * the rejection of the Comintern's *people's front policy* as well as of its *ultraleft sectarianism* (theory of "social fascism" etc.);
- * the politics of *transitional demands*;
- * the rejection of all forms of *reformism* and "third camp" policies;
- * the validity of the Leninist *party model* including *democratic centralism* and the right to form *factions and platforms*,
- * *revolutionary defeatism* of the proletariat in case of imperialist war.

During the 1930s it was one of the main efforts of Trotsky to create a movement which would be at least able to maintain the traditions of revolutionary Marxism and proletarian internationalism in a period of unprecedented defeats of the labour movement internationally (e.g. China 1927, Germany 1933, Spain 1936/39, etc.) (6). There may be doubts whether this purpose was achieved by

⁴ See for example Trotsky, Leon: *It is necessary to build communist parties and an International anew [July 1933]* in: *Writings of Leon Trotsky 1932-1933*. New York, 1972, p. 304-311 ; or Trotsky, Leon: *Il est impossible de rester dans la même Internationale que Staline Manuilsky, Lozovsky et Cie. [July 1933]* in: *Oeuvres [1.]* Paris, 1978, p.275-284.

⁵ See for example Trotsky, Leon: *The International Left Opposition, its tasks and methods [Dec. 1932]*, in: *Documents of the Fourth international*, Ed. by Will Reisner. New York, 1973, p. 19-43 and Trotsky, Leon: *The death agony of capitalism and the tasks of the Fourth International (The transitional program) [May 1938]*, in: *ibid.*, p. 180-220.

⁶ Trotsky himself regarded his efforts for the maintenance of the revolutionary traditions and for the construction of the Fourth international - against all odds - of greater importance than all his other numerous activities (historiographic, literary etc.), nay, of greater relevance than his triumphs during the Russian revolution and the civil war (see for example Trotsky, Leo: *Tagebuch im Exil. Köln 1979*, p. 72-74.) - the posterity, e.g. Isaac Deutscher, his biographer, often judged differently on this evaluation.

the *Fourth International*, but it is a fact that Trotskyism has survived as an idea as well as a political movement for many decades.

From its very beginnings the Trotskyist movement was suffering not only from repression and persecution of various kinds (7) (especially during World War II) but also from innumerable splits, from dissension and from sharp ideological struggles. Thus a bibliography like the present is at the same time a bibliography of Trotskyist factionalism, of mainstream as well as of dissident Trotskyism. Particularly the question of the social nature of the USSR and the question whether or not revolutionary Marxists should defend the USSR unconditionally again and again caused vitriolic inner-Trotskyist struggles and splits. Perhaps even more factional fights were over tactical questions, for instance about *entryism* (8) as well as over purely personal rivalries between certain leaders or want-to-be leaders.

Most of the Trotskyist groups, parties and currents which have existed during the last 40 years have considered themselves being the only true representatives of the (onetime) *Fourth International* whereas they more or less regarded all other Trotskyist groups and tendencies as heretics, renegades or even as traitors (9); thus we expect many objections to the selection criteria raised by such groups.

Regarding the question which titles should be included into the bibliography and which should be omitted, some pragmatism was our line; generally spoken we recorded the serials of those organizations, which:

- * were in agreement with the main elements of Trotsky's basic ideas (as mentioned above) during the 1930s whether or not being rooted in the organizational framework of the *International Left Opposition*;
- * were in accordance with Trotsky's strategy of the construction of a *Fourth International* notwithstanding the point of time to launch it;
- * are supporters of the *Fourth International* whether or not actually affiliated to it.

7 For this subject see for example: *Dazy, Rene: Fusillez ces chiens enragés : le genocide des trotskistes. Paris, 1981;* or Vereeken, Georges: *The GPU in the Trotskyist movement. London, 1976.*

8 That means, the tactic "which consists of penetration by Trotskyists of non-Trotskyist political parties [...] of the abandonment by Trotskyists of the attempt to build their own independent parties in favour of secretly entering into social democratic or orthodox communist parties [...] adopted in the 1930s in France, Chile, and in the United States For almost 20 years, from the end of the 1940s until 1968, entryism was the recommended policy of the International Secretariat (from 1963 the USFI) for its affiliated groups in Western Europe. it has been adopted to the greatest extent in Britain Entryism is basically a solution to the problems created by the weakness of Trotskyism and its lack of direct appeal for the working class. [...] The purposes of entryism are first, to reach the largest number of working class people through whichever is their biggest political party [...].I second [... I to try to exploit left-inclined sections of opinion, to move them further left [...] and thirdly [...] to recruit sympathetic individuals to their own clandestine organization which may at some stage decide that it is strong enough, or the time is ripe, for it openly to declare its identity." Cf. *Shipley, Peter: Trotskyism - 'entryism' and permanent revolution. London, etc., 1977, p. 9-10 (Conflict studies ; 81)*

9 We wonder Trotsky would have to say he was no Trotskyist when taking into consideration many of his self-proclaimed heirs.

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It should be noted that there have been several splits, reunifications, regroupment processes and the like in the *Fourth International* and within almost all national groups and organizations since 1953 (or even since 1940 if you like). As a result we now have some 20 (many of them very tiny) international bodies which are claiming for the *fourth International* label or which are claiming to build, to rebuild, to recreate or to reform the (onetime) *Fourth International* (10).

For the purposes of the present bibliography it was of no relevance to which of those international bodies a certain group is in solidarity or to which it is affiliated.

It should be noted, too, that there have also been included publications of some groups which have never been affiliated (11) to any of the *Fourth Internationals* or which abandoned one or two of the principles of Trotskyism (as mentioned above) (12).

Included are also publications of some organizations which later disaffiliated from the *Fourth international* or which swore off Trotskyism totally (13).

On the other hand, publications of certain organizations which have sometimes been referred to as Trotskyist have been omitted, for example the *POUM* (14) or the movement headed by cult-leader *Lyndon Hermyle LaRouche* (15) although his NCLC originated from a dissident tendency within

¹⁰ During the last 20 years there have been published some useful accounts as well as collections of documents regarding the factional splits within the international Trotskyist movement, for example: Alexander, Robert J.: *International Trotskyism. Durham and London, 1991*; Bartsch, Günter: *Trotzkismus als eigentlicher Sowjetkommunismus? Berlin, 1977*; Moreau, François: *Combats et débats de la IVe Internationale. Vol., 1-3. Amsterdam, 1990*; *Towards a history of the Fourth International. Issued by the National Education. Department, Socialist Workers Party, Part 1-7. New York, 1973-1978*; *Trotskyism versus revisionism. Vol. 1-7. London [7: Detroit], 1974-1984*; *Les congrès de la IVe Internationale. Vol. 1 sq. Paris [later: Montreuil], 1978 sq.*

¹¹ Some of those groups remained unaffiliated for legal reasons, for example the Socialist Workers Party [USA] which was prohibited to affiliate pursuant to the Voorhis Act, passed by US Congress in 1940. Nevertheless the SWP was one of the most predominant forces within the world Trotskyist movement for several decades.

¹² As for example the International Socialists, one of the major Trotskyist groups in Great Britain, led by Tony Cliff, founded in the late 1940s. The group's name has been changed several times, since 1977 they have called themselves Socialist Workers Party. From its very beginning the IS took a state-capitalist point of view concerning the question of the character of the USSR, which was shared by a dozen of groups abroad.

¹³ As for example the just mentioned Socialist Workers Party [USA] or the Australian party of the same name which disaffiliated definitively from the Fourth International (United Secretariat) in 1990 and in 1985 respectively after having gradually abandoned Trotskyism during the early and mid-1980s.

¹⁴ The abbreviation stands for Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista, a party which gained considerable influence in Catalonia during the mid-1930s and which was joined by parts of the then Spanish section of the International Communist League. The POUM was considered by Trotsky as a "centrist" organization. *Tosstorff, Reiner: Die POUM im spanischen Bürgerkrieg. Frankfurt a.M., 1987* can be considered as the scholarly standard work on the POUM.

¹⁵ For an evaluation of L. LaRouche's (born 1922, also known as "Lyn Marcus") National Caucus of Labor Committees see for example *Alexander, Robert J.: International Trotskyism. Durham and London, 1991, p. 944-952*; *Lerman, Antony: Le Pen and LaRouche - political extremism in democratic societies, in: Survey of Jewish Affairs. (Oxford) 1987, p.202-220*; *King, Dannis: Nazis without swastikas. New York, 1982.*

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American Trotskyism; publications issued by *Bordigist (16)* groups have been excluded, too. After all there remained those doubtful cases which had to be decided arbitrarily. For some of them, special notes can be found in the entries or in the index of organizations respectively.

Summing up the selection principles one might say that the bibliography covers all those organizations which are claiming adherence to Trotsky and to the traditions his authority stands for, considering themselves as affiliates of a *Fourth International* either already existing or still to be built up. Some of the organized Trotskyists however will be inclined to classify most groups dealt with as *ostensibly Trotskyist* at best.

3. WHAT IS MEANT BY "SERIALS"? (TYPES OF MATERIAL DEALT WITH)

The present bibliography deals -with the Trotskyist press, i.e. with serials published by various national and international bodies claiming adherence to Trotskyist positions. After having discussed some of the problems raised by the term "Trotskyist" -we would now like to give a definition of what we understand by "serials". In accordance with the Anglo-American cataloguing rules (AACR 2) (17) a serial is a publication, whether in printed form or not, issued in *successive parts* usually bearing numerical and/or chronological designations and *intended to be continued indefinitely*. Serials include journals, newsletters, periodicals, newspapers and numbered monographic series; a series consists of books or pamphlets bearing an individual title proper in addition to the collective title of the series as a whole.

Many of the organizations treated in this bibliography produce *various types* of serials for various purposes, e.g. newsletters for agitation, theoretical papers and internal organizational bulletins. Other types of papers are for example press services, educational bulletins, translation services and scholarly journals. All these - and of course a few other - types of serials are dealt with in the present bibliography. However, there is a great variety of other papers which, though be labeled "serials" or "press" by definition, have been - as a rule - *neglected* because they belong to the following types of material: newsletters of a purely local relevance, local factory bulletins, campus and school papers, rank-and-file bulletins, election specials, Mayday newspapers, handouts, circulars to branches, financial reports, minutes of proceedings and the like.

¹⁶ Amadeo Bordiga (1889-1970) was the *leader* of a left faction within the Italian Communist Party. This group was *expelled from* the PCI in 1930. Bordiga's adherents sided with Trotsky's International Left Opposition for a short time but soon disaffiliated. Small groups of Bordigists have been active in Italy, Belgium, France and some other countries for many years.

¹⁷ *Anglo-American cataloguing rules. British text. London, 1967, p.183*

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Mention should be made of two types of publications treated in the bibliography although for obvious reasons (18) there cannot be made any claim for completeness: internal bulletins and (numbered monographic) series. Although the term *internal bulletin* indicates that such a paper is produced for internal use only (i.e. for members or perhaps sympathizers), the compilers consider internal bulletins as a subject of their work yet. A considerable number of internal bulletins although mostly as scattered issues - can be found in some libraries and archives. These bulletins are of greatest relevance for serious research on the politics and history of Trotskyist organizations. On the other hand it is evident that many of those internal materials which have found way into archives or related facilities are subject of more or less restricted access. Additionally some of the still existing organizations prefer to keep them under lock and key, with the consequence that they could not be recorded.

With regard to numbered monographic *series* treated in this bibliography it should be noticed that for various reasons no attempt has been made to list them completely. Addedly a few series have been included which have not been published by Trotskyist groups altogether but rather by publishing houses more or less related to them. *Unnumbered series (19)* have been generally excluded.

4. TIME UNDER REPORT

With regard to the years under report the items listed are ranging from 1927 to 1991; however a very few serials launched only in 1992 have been included, too.

5. LANGUAGE COVERAGE

Please notice that only *European languages* have been taken into account (20), i.e. English, French, German, Spanish, Catalan, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Flemish, the Nordic languages, Finnish, Hungarian, and the Slavonic languages; altogether 28 languages. *Excluded* are the following European languages: Basque, Greek, Turkish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Slovak. Yiddish language publications are included whereas Hebrew are not.

¹⁸ See chapter 7 of the introduction.

¹⁹ For example the famous Education for socialists series issued by the Socialist Workers Party [USA].

²⁰ With the exception of one title in Chinese language (but with English parallel title and with contributions in English, too) and one other in Japanese language (with English parallel title, too).

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The following table shows the *distribution of items according to languages*:

English	35,1%
French	22,7%
German	18,5%
Spanish	8,4%
Italian	4,7%
Dutch	2,4%
Danish	2,3%
Swedish	1,2%
Polish	1,0%
19 other languages (21)	3,7%

6. GEOGRAPHIC COVERAGE

With regard to the places of publication the following regions have been taken into consideration: Europe, North America (incl. Mexico), Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, altogether 34 countries. There are of course a few items which were published in other regions, like India, Japan, Hong Kong. *Excluded is any material from Latin America*". The following table shows the distribution of items according to the countries in which they are published:

France	20,8%
Great Britain	13,7%
Germany	10,9%
USA	10,9%
Italy	4,6%
Australia.....	4,2%
Belgium	4,2%
Austria	3,9%
Spain	3,6%
The Netherlands	2,8%
Denmark	2,7%
Mexico	2,3%
Canada	2,0%
Switzerland	1,8%

²¹ These other languages are (in alphabetical order): Afrikaans, Bulgarian, Catalan, Chinese (see note above), Czech, Esperanto, Finnish, Flemish, Hungarian, Icelandic, Interlinguistic, Japanese (see note above), Norwegian, Portuguese, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Ukrainian, and Yiddish.

²² We feel very sorry for this shortage particularly because of Latin America's strong tradition on Trotskyism, but it proved impossible to obtain suitable data for bibliographical record within reasonable time.

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Sweden	1,5 %
Ireland	1,2 %
South Africa	1,2 %
India	1,0 %
19 other countries (23).....	6,7 %

7. SOURCES, WORKING METHODS, OBSTACLES

In preparing the present bibliography information and advice was sought from many sources: libraries, archives, documentation centres, printed or microfiched library catalogues, bibliographies and similar repertoires of all kind as well as online and offline databases. Furthermore some 900 letters of query as well as questionnaires were sent to Trotskyist organizations, individuals involved, libraries and various research facilities (24). The widespread secondary literature on Trotsky(ism) was examined all the same but decided more or less useless with regard to our purposes.

We collected all information valuable with a database software especially created for bibliographic and/or library concerns called ALLEGRO-C. It is developed by a team of the Braunschweig Technical University headed by Mr. Eversberg.

We generally endeavoured to record all papers after personal examination but as a matter of fact, it proved impossible to trace every issue of every title, and often there was great difficulty in obtaining accurate data (25). Quite apart from the fact that - of course with a few exceptions - the Trotskyist press should generally spoken be characterized as "hard-to-find literature", the compilers were faced with a lot of difficulties and obstacles hardly to overcome, only some of which should be mentioned here:

- * unfortunately for a bibliographer Trotskyist organizations can be very chaotic when it comes to numbering or even naming their publications;
- * Trotskyist organizations, or at least a considerable part of them, did not deposit free copies of their papers at national libraries, special libraries or similar repositories. Thus

²³ These other countries are (in alphabetical order): Algeria, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Greece, Hong Kong, Hungary, Iceland, Japan, Luxemburg, Norway, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Uruguay, USSR.

²⁴ The main sources of information are listed at the end of the volume under the heading "Appendix 2 : List of literature, sources, persons & groups consulted". Please note that under the sub-heading "Individuals" only those persons are listed who provided extensive assistance or to whom we owe special thanks. Note, too, that some people preferred not to be mentioned here. [Please note: This appendix is not included in this PDF file.]

²⁵ Thus for example, some 200 or even 300 titles had to be excluded from this repertory because we failed to locate considerable parts of them or because too many bibliographic data were unobtainable.

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many of their publications can only be found, if at all, by chance or by the good-will of private collectors;

* Trotskyist organizations often suffered, just as mentioned above, from repression: in many countries they were - particularly during the 1930s and during the years of the Second World War - victims of both fascist and Stalinist bloody persecution, and even in the Western democracies they often became victims of governmental repression or at least of spying and diversion (26). As a consequence Trotskyists often had to work illegally or at least semi-illegally and this may explain why so many Trotskyist papers are not to be found in public libraries and archives and it may also explain the distrust - or even agentophobia - of so many Trotskyists;

* besides the obviously mainstream works there are a lot of episodic, short-run papers, some of which never got beyond issue #1;

* some papers announced and advertised actually never appeared;

* a considerable number of papers emerged from Trotskyists' (hidden) work inside other bodies of the Left (larger socialist, social-democrat, communist parties as well as youth organizations and national liberation movements);

* another serious obstacle the compilers have been faced with was the non-cooperation, ignorance, stubbornness and idleness of so many of the persons, groups and even institutions addressed (27). Thus we can but wholeheartedly give our assent to the following statement from the pen of W. Goldwater: "Many individuals and groups which have been chiefly involved, and from whom much of the information must be sought, not only fail to assist in supplying this information, but to a large extent refuse it and hinder its being obtained. Some individuals have denied having been involved in the publication of the very periodicals which list them as editors; some organizations have denied the existence of their organs, and being confronted with copies have denied any knowledge of them" (28). In retrospect, we can but say that the *Trotskyist press is a bibliographer's nightmare*.

8. SOME NOTES ON RELATED WORKS

After all, the warrant of the present bibliography is founded on the fact that it represents a pioneering work; however, there are some related repertories, some of them complementing or amending the present work or being complemented or amended by it. What follows is a listing of those (partly unpublished) studies and bibliographic repertories dealing with Trotskyist serials:

²⁶ See for example: *FBI on trial : the victory in, the Socialist Workers Party suit against government spying*. Ed by Margaret Jayko. New York etc., 1988; Gale, Jack: *Class struggle in the Second World War : the 1944 police raid on the R CP London, 1991*.

²⁷ Thus for example a considerable number of our letters remained unanswered, even if the persons or groups involved were addressed two, three or even seven times!

²⁸ Goldwater, Walter: *Radical periodicals in America 1890-1950*. 3.ed. New York, 1977, p.VII.

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* J. *Pluet-Despatin's* repertory of the French Trotskyist press (29) covering serials published between 1926 and 1968. Pluet-Despatin analysed all titles listed (some 200) personally and she provided exhaustive and detailed entries. Some locations were supplied, too. The work does not consider internal bulletins;

* A.M.R. *Penn's* work is a master thesis from 1979 (30) which deals with the press of the British Trotskyists from 1932 to 1956. Penn provides exhaustive descriptions of some 20 titles mentioning some other 25 titles for which no descriptions are given. The thesis has remained unpublished until now;

* another unpublished work about serials (as well as books and pamphlets) issued by British Trotskyist groups was compiled by Barry *Buitekant* (31), covering the years 1932 to 1976. It lists tables of contents and provides author and subject index to some 30 serials, including some internal bulletins;

* M. *Pfeffer* submitted a master thesis about "Unser Wort" ["Our word"], being the most important organ of the German Trotskyists during the 1930s (32);

* L. *Sinclair* (1909-1990) not only published his well-known "Trotsky: a bibliography" in 1972 (new ed.: 1989) but left behind an unpublished bibliographical work which proved extremely useful with regard to our bibliography, because it indexes internal and discussion bulletins issued by the International Left Opposition (and of the International Communist League, the Movement for the Fourth International, and the Fourth International respectively) as well as by most of its various national affiliates during the 1930s (33). The bibliography covers some 200 papers and provides tables of contents added by an index of persons, subjects, organizations and countries. Most of these bulletins were extremely shortlived, often erroneously numbered; they are scattered and hardly to locate in libraries and archives. Though Sinclair's bibliographical data descriptions are very concise this unpublished work is absolutely indispensable for research on the early history of the Fourth International;

²⁹ *Pluet-Despatin, Jacqueline: La presse trotskiste en France de 1926 ~ 1968 : essai bibliographique. Paris, 1978. 198 p.*

³⁰ *Penn, Alison M.R.: A bibliography of the British Trotskyist press, 1932-1956. Centre for the Study of Social History, Warwick University, Coventry, M.A. thesis, 1979. 203 p. [Unpubl. ms.]*

³¹ *Buitekant, Barry: A bibliography of Trotskyist books, journals and pamphlets published in Britain between 1932-1976 located in, the archives of Socialist Platform Ltd. London, s.d. [214 p.] [Unpubl. ms.]* It was prepared as part of a course at North East London Polytechnic.

³² *Pfeffer, Michael: Ober "Unser Wort " (1933-1941). Fachbereich Philosophie, Geschichte und Sozialwissenschaften der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen-Nürnberg, MA thesis, 1979. 171 P. [Unpubl. ins.]*

³³ *Sinclair, Louis: Documents & discussions 1930-1940 : source material for the history of the Fourth International. Glasgow, ca. 1981. XXII, 481 p. [Unpubl. ms.]* By the way, Altair Publishers, a British microform publisher, has made available some 60 of the bulletins indexed by Sinclair on microfilm: *Bulletins and other ephemera relating to the Fourth International 1930-1940. Hebden Bridge, West Yorks, ca. 1985. [5 microfilm reels/.*

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* very recently in New York started a project for computer-aided cataloguing and indexing of the bulletins issued by the *Socialist Workers Party* [USA] and its precursors (32);

* reference should be made to the recently published monumental work of R.J. *Alexander* on the history of the international Trotskyist movement from its beginning to 1985" which mentions a lot of Trotskyist serials, too, though its bibliographical data are quite scanty and sometimes useless;

* mention must also be made of a series called *Les cahiers du C.E.R.M.T.R.I.* (36) issued by the *Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Mouvements Trotskyste et Révolutionnaires Internationaux* (Paris). Many of the hitherto published issues of the series consist of indices or tables of contents to certain Trotskyist serials, including internal bulletins and the like. For a complete list of works consulted please refer to Appendix 2.

9. ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIAL. MAIN PART AND INDICES

The present bibliography is arranged into the following parts: *main part or bibliography proper, three indices, two appendices.*

The *main part* or core of the bibliography is the alphabetical listing (filed word by word) of the serials included. Heading is by title proper or by name of issuing body (see next chapter). Main entries containing full bibliographic description as well as numerous cross-references of variant titles, parallel titles, abbreviated titles etc. are filed alphabetically according to the order of letters in the Roman alphabet, titles using non-Latin characters have been transliterated.

User's access to the main part is by serial title or - in case of unspecific generic titles - by corporate body's name. Further possibilities of access are provided by the three indices following the main part:

1. The *index of organizations* which lists alphabetically all Trotskyist groups, parties etc. which are mentioned as issuing bodies within the main part. The index consists of "main entries"(37) and numerous cross-references (variant forms, abbreviations, foreign language forms of name etc.).

³⁴ For further details see *Gruenberg, Nick and Susan Lamont: Project to index SWP bulletins nearly complete, in: The Militant (New York) [ISSN 0026-38851 Vol. 55, no. 41 (NOV. 15, 1991), p. 13.*

³⁵ *Alexander, Robert J.: International Trotskyism 1929-1985 : a documentary analysis of the movement. Durham and London, 1991. XIII, 1125 p.*

³⁶ *Les Cahiers A C.E.R.M.T.R.I. [ISSN 0292-4963] [1] sq. Paris, 1977 sq.*

³⁷ As a rule, main entry is under the "official" or common form of a group's name, probably provided by the compilers with additional data (in square brackets) in order to facilitate filing and in order to make distinctions between two or more bodies using identical denominations. Special branches of an organization (e.g. "Central Committee") are cross-referenced or - in case of international bodies - filed as the following example shows: "Fourth International [Posadist] / International Secretariat".

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Main entries of international bodies are generally under their English name.

2. The *index of affiliations* lists international bodies. Since most of the Trotskyist groups are affiliated to (or in solidarity with) one of the international bodies listed in this index, their publications have been assigned to them accordingly. Titles which ceased publication prior to 1953 are of course not recorded in the index of affiliations.

3. The *index of ISSN* offers access to the main part if the ISSN (International Standard Serial Number) of a journal is known by the user. However most of the Trotskyist serials are lacking ISSN.

It applies to all three indices that numbers behind the index term refer to the *running numbers* used in the main part of the bibliography. The index of ISSN however provides additionally title proper.

At the end of the volume two appendices are to be found: first, a *List of abbreviations and symbols* (with several sub-divisions) and second, a *List of literature, sources, persons and groups consulted* (with several sub-divisions, too).

10. CONSTRUCTION OF ENTRIES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC STYLE

Concerning the question of how detailed the title description should be, the compilers sought for a well-balanced and pragmatic way, based upon the International Standard Bibliographic Description for Serials (ISBDS). However, in many cases not all the bibliographic details necessary were available (see above).

All entries consist of two main sections: 1) the *bibliographic description (or body of the entry)* containing data on title, issuing group, place of publication, and duration; 2) the *bibliographic notes* containing (optionally) additional bibliographic data as well as statements about the language and country (of publication) of a title, about the international affiliation of the issuing group and last but not least statements on locations.

It follows some necessary remarks with regard to bibliographic style of the entries and to some peculiarities.

a) Remarks concerning the body of the entry:

* *Main entry heading* can be a *title* (title proper) or *corporate body plus title proper*. In case of unspecific generic titles (e.g. "Bulletin" or "Bulletin intérieur") corporate body as heading is preferred. In those cases, cross-references are provided for the respective titles. If title proper and corporate body's name are grammatically combined (e.g. "Bulletin of the ...")

main entry is made under title, cross-referenced with the name of issuing body;

* *cross-references* are also provided in cases of parallel titles, short-term variant titles and in all other cases where it seems appropriate;

* main entry heading is (optionally) followed by *subtitle(s)* preceded by " : " (as a rule,

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unspecific subtitles are omitted);

* title proper or subtitle is followed by *statement of authorship*, i.e. the name of the issuing group as it appears in the respective serial; missing authorship statements are indicated by " --- ", *variations* in corporate author by "[later:]"; each variation is listed in the index of organizations (see above);

* statement of authorship is followed by *place of publication* which is followed by

* *duration*, i.e. *dating* of the serial; data on duration and suspension are given by years only, optionally more detailed data is provided in the bibliographic notes section (see below).

Statement of authorship, place(s) of publication and data on duration are separated from each other by "@".

Some peculiarities should be noted:

* *Periodicals which change their names* - one of the most characteristic traits of many Trotskyist serials - are generally listed under each name and in a special bibliographic note the title of the preceding or following serial is mentioned;

* *square brackets within the body of the entry* indicate data supplied by the compilers;

* *numbers and symbols* in titles and corporate bodies' names are expanded (following the language of the respective title), articles at the beginning of the heading are printed but neglected in filing;

* *question marks* (mostly put in square brackets) indicate that the authenticity or correctness of the respective data is questioned;

* if the serial is a *current publication* the year of the first issue is given only followed by a dash (e.g. 1980 -). This of course refers to the time of the editorial deadline; further information is to be found in a respective bibliographic note (e.g. "Current in 1991"). If definitive information about the first or last issue is wanting, data is provided with "[?]", indicating that an intelligent guess has been made or the term "*located*" is used (e.g. "1960 - 1980 located" means that issues appearing between 1960 and 1980 could have been traced but no authoritative evidence could be found as to whether the serial has ceased publication in 1980 or has been published beyond that year). It should also be mentioned that *volume designations* have generally been omitted and that separate *sequences of numbering* (such as "new series") have generally been indicated by "[n.s.]";

* last but not least it should be noted that data on *frequency*, *printer or publisher*, *page size*, *average number of pages*, *duplication methods* as well as *names of editors* or other persons responsible are generally not provided.

b) Remarks concerning the bibliographical notes section

The notes section provides supplementary information to the description of the serial, primarily information about the duration, the bibliographical relationships to other titles, and locations. The sequence of the notes is standardized, e.g. the ISSN is given always at the very beginning of the notes section whereas the locations are provided at the very end. Numbers in "<>" after titles

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of serials refer to running numbers in the present bibliography. Some peculiarities should be considered with regard to certain types of bibliographic notes:

- * Notes on *duration/dating*: they provide numbers and dates of first and last issues known; irregularities, errors and other peculiarities in the numbering are noted, too. All volume and issue designations are generally given as "vol." and "no." respectively. For the usage of the term "located" see above;
- * notes concerning *indices* and *tables of contents* are provided in those cases where indexing information could be found; please note that annual indices have not been included;
- * further notes are made concerning serial titles which have merged into or have been unified with another one and concerning serials which succeed or continue another one. That means that the whole variety of *bibliographical relationships* between certain serials is shown by these notes which as a rule are prefaced with standardized terms (e.g. "Continues:" , "Incorporated in:" etc.);
- * notes on *supplements*. Supplements, particularly supplements to Trotskyist serials, are indeed a bibliographer's nightmare. There is a great variety of "supplements", including a lot of "pseudo-supplements", i.e. serials which are published and sold separately but nevertheless are designated by the publishers as "supplement" to another paper, mostly for legal reasons. On the other hand there are a lot of real pull-out supplements, too, and last but not least there are innumerable single supplements lacking any individual numbering or the like which have generally not been mentioned but in a formal statement within the note on duration. Genuine supplements have been entered separately, with a reference to the parent serial and vice versa;
- * further notes concern *reprints* (please note that no microform editions are included), *circulation* (mostly based on publishers' information, thus taken with care), *addresses* and *prices* (in case of current serials only);
- * a serial's *language* is indicated by a 3-letter code, a serial's *country of publication* by a 2-letter code. The issuing group's *affiliation(s)* (38) is/are indicated by an abbreviation, too. For detailed explanation see "Appendix 1".
- * at the very end of the notes section there are *locations* (holding statements) expressed by means of symbols arranged alphabetically". In case of current serials, locations may have

³⁸ See also our remarks concerning the index of affiliations, above.

³⁹ Please note that not all of the institutions listed have substantial collections of Trotskyist serials. Please note, too, that indicating a given institution as location does not necessarily mean that its holding of the serial in question is complete. There are indeed papers which are so scattered and rare that even if you consider all collections given as location you will not see a complete set of the serial. It should finally be noted that only part of the institutions listed as locations was searched systematically; thus it might be possible that an institution listed 100 times as location is in fact in possession of another 10 Trotskyist serials for which it has not been indicated as location. Generally spoken, most holdings are not sufficiently sorted to be of use. Only a few of the libraries and archives considered for this repertory held between 10% and 20% of the titles listed (at least uncomplete sets): CER, HIL, ING, UMI, TL, BDIC, APO; some

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been omitted (or not yet found). A missing location statement (in case of a non-current serial) means either that no publicly accessible location could be verified but only private collectors who preferred to be kept unmentioned or that the compilers for the very exception gathered data from secondary sources; but this occurred to less than 1,5% of the titles altogether.

11. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Concluding this introduction we are left with the pleasant duty to express our thanks and great respect to all those persons who contributed in many ways to the success of the project, for instance by providing bibliographical information and addresses or by supplying xeroxes or originals of rare items. Obviously it is not possible to list them all.

However we feel bound to express our thankfulness to some people of various countries whose assistance and advice were indeed unique in one way or another; we address our gratefulness to: Barry *Buitekant* (London), Henning *Dahl-Arnold* (Berlin), Louis *Eemans* (Paris), Christer *Franzén* (Saltsjö-Boo), Ludwik *Hass* (Warsaw), John *Heckman* (New York), Baruch *Hirson* (London), Mieke *Ijzermans* (Amsterdam), Frank *Lovell* (New York), Molly *Molloy* (Stanford), John *Percy* (Mel-bourne), Herman *Pieterse* (Amsterdam), Dorothy *Swanson* (New York), and last but not least to Paolo *Casciola* (Foligno) who not only extensively supplied data and copies of Italian papers but who additionally provided the preface to the volume.

A special note of thanks is due to Klaus G. *Saur* for undertaking the publication of this work which is dedicated to the memory of the late Louis *Sinclair* (1909-1990), the unique collector and bibliographer of Trotsky's literary heritage.

W. & P. Lubitz

Berlin-Schmargendorf, June 1992

39 (... Continued)

other institutions held between 5% and 10%, for example BN, SP, ABA, HUL and CUL (the abbreviations used here are explained in Appendix 1, at the end of the volume). It should be mentioned, too, that for example in the *Zeitschriftendatenbank* [database of serials, an online database listing more than 500.000 titles available in German libraries] less than 8% of the titles listed in our repertory (as of december 1991) were recorded.