

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE W.P.

P. C. RESOLUTION ON THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(Adopted by Plenum)

The Declaration of Principles of the Workers Party of the U.S. clearly establishes the creation of the Fourth International as the fundamental world aim of the revolutionary Marxists. The establishment by the party founding convention of fraternal relationships with organizations in other countries which pursue the same aim; the concretization of these relationships by the first two Plenums of the Party; the decision of the New York Plenum to sign the historical Open Letter together with kindred organizations - all these mark steps naturally and consistently taken by our Party to confirm the importance of the work for the Fourth International and the seriousness with which we take this work.

The collapse and bankruptcy of the two old Internationals, which determined our position in favor of the Fourth International, has been corroborated beyond the shadow of doubt since the fatal German events by all that has happened in the past two years. The present situation in Ethiopia, which creates the acutest threat of a new world imperialist war since 1918, only reveals the bankruptcy of the official movements in a more glaring light. The classic foundation of the 2d International - the defense of decrepit bourgeois democracy - leads it straight to its social patriotic position of defending the "democratic" fatherland. The classic foundation of the Stalinist International - the theory and practice of socialism in a single country, which steadily subordinates the interests of the world proletarian revolution to the momentary interests of the Soviet bureaucracy and its diplomatic auxiliaries - leads it straight to its own social patriotic position of national defense under capitalism, a stand indistinguishable from that of the social democracy and no less treacherous. In both cases, it is not an individual or episodic aberration that is involved. In the first instance, we face a course of action officially adopted by the Executive Committee of the 2d International; in the second instance, what is involved is the policy officially consecrated by the 7th Congress of the Communist International. Recent events, therefore, while they do not create the necessity of the Fourth International, serve to underscore the urgency of this need which was created by years of opportunistic and revisionist theory and practice of the two existing Internationals.

Because of its important position in the world movement, a greater responsibility in the struggle for the new International reposes on the shoulders of the Workers Party of the United States than upon almost any other organization. In conformity with the imperious demands of the world situation, which has flung the proletariat of all countries into the most difficult crisis it has faced for more than a generation, it is incumbent upon our party to pay even more attention to the international problem than ever before and to take a more audacious initiative in bringing into dynamic existence the new world movement. More intensely than ever does the working class, and its revolutionary vanguard in particular, require the inestimable, the indispensable benefits of an organized international center. War, which is international by its very essence, cannot be combatted by the class war of the proletariat save under the guidance of the firmly integrated International and with the solidarity of the collective sister organizations in every country.

Faced with the concrete situation, therefore, the Plenum of the Workers Party declares that, especially in view of tremendous and acute problems raised by the Ital-Ethiopian war and its likely consequences, it is prepared now to participate at the earliest possible moment in convening and participating decisively in world-wide conference held for the purpose of founding the Fourth International and laying down its line of principle and tactics. What the proletariat is lacking now, as in 1914, is the leading revolutionary International, in a period when it has been cruelly betrayed by the existing Internationals. Such an International, with a responsible and representative directing center, a movement based on the principles which underlie our party - and it could be based on others only at the cost of dooming it in advance - and which operates on the principle, moreover, of democratic centralism, is the crying need of the hour. The Workers Party therefore proposes to the Contact Commission for the Fourth International, which it helped to create by the signing of the Open Letter, and to its constituent organizations, the most serious consideration of this problem, urges them to associate themselves with our views and recommends that the necessary steps be taken immediately for carrying out the technical and political measures required for the international conference.

The Plenum of the Workers Party, in considering the tasks involved in the struggle for the Fourth International, with which it is so singlemindedly and proudly associated, takes note of the evolution of other groups and labor

organizations which belong neither to the 2d or the 3d International. It is inevitable that, in the process of disintegration of the old movements, there should emerge in every country new currents and tendencies, separating themselves from social democracy and Stalinism under the impact of events and the pressure of leftward moving workers. By their very nature, these tendencies contain both positive features and negative features - the former represented by their break with the old movements, the latter represented by the remnants (sometimes extremely strong) of the old ideology and principles which they take along with them even after the organizational rupture. In most cases, the official leadership of these tendencies and movements represent a conservative Centrist force which has become a distinct obstacle on the road to the Fourth International and which, if the latter is to progress, must be vigorously combatted. The principal rallying center of these Centrist forces is the so-called London Bureau I.A.G. The principal breaking influence in the London Bureau has been exerted by the S.A.P. of Germany which, while committed in words to the idea of the Fourth International, has been the most insidious opponent of any concrete steps to advance the movement, and the theoretical generalizer of all Centrist antagonism to the New International. Both the Bureau and its main inspirer, the S.A.P., have moved steadily to the Right in the recent period and instead of facilitating the clean and radical break with the dead past, have sought to perpetuate it to the detriment of the revolutionary movement. Instead of joining actively and boldly with the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland which has defended the Fourth International inside the Bureau, and spurring its affiliated groups toward the new movement, the S.A.P. has steadfastly sabotaged the cause to which it is formally pledged. The same reprehensible course has been pursued by the representatives of the S.A.P. in the so-called Stockholm Youth Bureau, created by the Laren conference where the idea of the Fourth International was endorsed. The latest violation of the whole spirit of this movement, and flagrant breach of faith, committed by the S.A.P. representative in the Youth Bureau - namely, the removal from the Secretariat of the representative of the International Communist League Youth, who has the confidence of our party and our Spartacus Youth League - a removal effected in combination with the representative of the conservative Swedish Youth - is merely additional evidence of the conservative, Centrist role being played in the world movement by the S.A.P. leadership on a world scale as well as in the United States.

The founding and consolidation of the Fourth International can be accomplished on a hard, sound Marxian basis drawing in all forces genuinely standing for revolutionary internationalism; but on the other hand by an irreconcilable opposition to the tiny groups, cliques and sects which hover at the fringes of the genuine movement for revolutionary Marxian internationalism, borrowing from its ideas, distorting them, and in general leading a parasitic spiritual and physical life. In the United States these little cliques are represented by the Weisbord and Field groups. In the former we have a sect which rests upon a strange melange of Fourth Internationalist and discredited Stalinist ideas of "Third Period" vintage, and which seeks to eke out a political living exclusively by fighting the responsible movement for the Fourth International. In the Field group, we have another sect which, by virtue of its blind hatred for the Fourth Internationalists throughout the world and in the United States in particular, has gradually and significantly evolved to the position of the S.A.P., i.e. of conservative Centristism. It would be absurd for the Workers Party, which has tasks of enormous scope to resolve, to preoccupy itself greatly with those parasitic factions, much less to consider them allies in the struggle for the Fourth International.

Our allies are to be found elsewhere. The Plenum of the Workers Party confirms the position taken by the New York plenum in establishing the closest revolutionary collaboration with the main stream of the Fourth International movement, namely, the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland and the International Communist League, cooperation with whom in the course of this year has already linked us in the most intimate manner. While such collaboration can be and is based upon solidarity in principle and activity, accompanied by mutual and comradely advice and criticism, the Workers Party categorically rejects the disloyal and disruptive attacks conducted against our allies by elements inside and outside our own ranks. We condemn the sapping work which the S.A.P. leaders are now seeking to carry on inside our Dutch sister party, and with equal vigor we condemn the disloyal - and from a principled point of view, fundamentally false - attacks made upon the International Communist League, and its French section in particular, by the Oehler-Stamm faction in our party.

The revolutionary Marxists have never honored the preposterous dogma that the working class movement must develop according to a rigid pattern in every single country. The principle of an independent revolutionary Marxian party is inviolate and fundamental, in our view; but such a party is attained in each

country at different times and in different ways, in accordance with the national peculiarities of the land, the stage of development of the labor and revolutionary movements, and the relationship of forces. Tactical considerations of a weighty nature thus compelled the French Bolshevik-Leninist group to move toward the independent party of the Fourth International by the transitional course of acting, for a time and in consequence of a unique combination of circumstances, as a faction of the French socialdemocracy. Our party is happy to record that this tactic, replete with difficulties and dangers of opportunist degeneration, is being successfully carried out and brought to a fruitful ending, by our French comrades. Not only do theoretical consideration and sound precedent corroborate the permissibility of this tactic as in no wise conflicting with revolutionary principle under the given conditions, but the concrete experiences accumulated by our French comrades in the course of over a year's work in the socialist party offer a full vindication of the correctness of their tactical step. We therefore reiterate our entire solidarity with our French comrades and their international organization, who alone, in France, have carried out an intransigent fight for the ideas of the Fourth International, and we indignantly repudiate the slanderous accusations of the Oehler-Stamm faction concerning "capitulation," "Menshevism," and "objective aid to social patriotism." Our French comrades are taking the first big steps to form the French section of the Fourth International precisely in the struggle against social patriotism, of the Stalinist and socialdemocratic stripe, against capitulation and Menshevism.

The Plenum further records that the fate of the international allies and similars of the Oehler-Stamm faction is sufficient indication of the lamentable sectarian existence, and departure from the living doctrine of revolutionary Marxism, to which our party would be doomed if it were to accept the line of policy advocated so irresponsibly, disruptively and factionally by this faction. In the German movement, this faction capitulated, bag and baggage to the S.A.P. In France, it leads a pathetic existence, entirely unknown to the fermenting working class movement and entirely without influence upon it, uniting one day with a group which opposes the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and breaking with it the next day. In Spain, the "opponents in principle" of the so-called "French turn" have recently effected a "merger" with the Marxian group into a "new party" which is only an enlarged shadow of the aforementioned group and which has taken a typically S.A.P. position on the question of the Fourth International and which, to this day, has failed to make its position clear toward - much less to dissociate itself from - the London Bureau, the Brandlerite "international" or the opportunist Doriot group in France. In the Latin American countries, the representative of this "principled" faction, Eiffel, has been carrying on a criminally irresponsible campaign of disruption among sections of an international organization, the I.C.L., with which our party, of which Eiffel is a member, is in comradely and harmonious relations.

The Party must condemn the comrades of the Oehler-Stamm group who charge the French Bolshevik-Leninists and the I.C.L., our co-signatories to the Open Letter, with capitulation and liquidationism. Instead of giving aid to the forces fighting our common battle in France, such a course constitutes sabotage of the courageous revolutionary activity of our French comrades and hinders the building of the Fourth International. We must extend every assistance to our comrades particularly in this crucial period. The forces of social-patriotism and class-collaboration are in sharp conflict with the forces of Bolshevism advocating a complete break with the bourgeoisie, the slogan of revolutionary defeatism as against truce with the bourgeoisie in imperialist war, the need for the struggle for power as the only means to defeat Fascism as against the betraying policy of uniting with the bourgeoisie to uphold bourgeois democracy and capitalism. It is clear whom we must support in this struggle.

SUBSTITUTE MOTION BY P.C. FOR RESOLUTION ON "FRENCH TURN"
BY MUSTE-WEBER, et. al.

(Substitute adopted by Plenum)

P.C. is instructed to draw up a comprehensive statement on the tactic pursued in building the Fourth International by the I.C.L. and its sections (questions of so-called "French Turn" etc.) and issue same in the name of the Plenum. The statement of Comrades Muste-Weber et. al. which is in essential conformity with the International resolution of the P.C. is accepted as basic material to be used by the P.C. in the preparation of this fully elaborated statement.

RESOLUTION

ON THE WPUS AND THE POLICY OF THE "FRENCH TURN"

By Muste, Weber, Glotzer, Lore, Johnson, Allard, Satir, Gould and Cross

1 In unmistakable terms, the Declaration of Principles of the WPUS committed the party to the speediest possible establishment of a "new Fourth International based on the theoretic and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin." The growing imminence of war, the forward sweep of fascism and the social-patriotic treason of the Second and Third Internationals, render it incumbent on Marxists to take all resolute and effective action to that end without delay. To temporize any longer with the opportunism, the diplomacy and the vacillations of the centrist elements of the London-Amsterdam Bureau, would be a fatal abdication of revolutionary leadership. Presented with these considerations, the Workers Party at its June plenum, in association with allies who in deed as well as word, had evidenced the like aims, took the decisive step of sponsoring the Open Letter for the Fourth International.

To say that "the Second as well as the Third Internationals are condemned, the future belongs to the Fourth International" does not yet "disclose how, under what circumstances and within what intervals the Fourth International will be constituted." In large measure the controversy as to how the new revolutionary parties and the new, Fourth, International are to be built has revolved around the question of the "French turn" (entry of the Bolshevik-Leninists in France into the Socialist Party, SFIO). The W.P.U.S. has not hitherto formulated its position on this question.

It is necessary for the Party to formulate a fundamental position because the issue involves the whole method of building the new International, the political character of our allies and the role of our Party. We are confronted also with the fact that with increasing disregard of consequences, the group of Comrade Oehler assails the policy of the I.C.L. and more particularly the French Bolshevik Leninists as capitulation to the Second International. If these accusations were well-founded, the W.P.U.S. would appear to be consorting with traitors to communism and immediate rupture of fraternal collaboration in building the Fourth International must follow. If on serious examination these charges prove ill-founded, the Party has no recourse but to condemn the attitude of the Oehler group as sabotage of the revolutionary activity of the French Bolshevik-Leninists and of the building of the Fourth International.

2. What lends such outstanding significance to the problem is that France today is the most important battleground of the classes, the key to the fate of Europe and perhaps of the world. Should fascism add this country to its list of conquests, it would hurl the proletarian cause back for decades and mortally endanger the existence of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the signal of the French Revolution would rouse the oppressed of Germany, Austria, Spain and Italy and forever destroy the fabric of Versailles, Hitler's vision of Mittel-Europa and Stalin's "socialism-in-a-single-country."

With the fresh multiplication of the inter-imperialist contradictions of decaying capitalism, the crisis in France has grown progressively more acute. Class antagonisms became explosive, the stability of the democratic state was undermined, and a formidable fascist movement engendered. A deep ferment set in among the masses. From the great demonstration of February 12, 1934, to the recent revolts in Toulon and Brest against the decrees of Laval-Herriot, the workers have given striking manifestation of their readiness to struggle. But equally the bureaucracies of the Stalinists and Socialist parties bent every effort to confine the militancy of the masses to the channels of parliamentarism. Under compulsion of the overwhelming mass sentiment for unity in the struggle, the SFIO and the CPF set up a United Front. But this United Front, the mere fact of the existence of which at first acted as a deterrent to fascist aggression, and which under revolutionary leadership could have launched a struggle for power, was converted by the bureaucracies into the complete negation of the class struggle. It has become a bloc with the Radical-Socialists, a pawn of the Stalin-Laval Pact, and a tool of ministerialism. Charged with all the elements of a pre-revolutionary crisis, the situation could become either directly revolutionary or counter-revolutionary depending upon whether the leadership of the proletariat embarked on the conquest of power or fatalistically and treacherously preferred to capitulate. But the existing leadership was anti-revolutionary. The most important factor in the development of a revolutionary situation was non-existent; there was no working class party capable of utilizing the conditions of the social crisis for a political offensive. There was no party of the Fourth International.

3. The specific features of the capitalist crisis in France determined the entry of the Bolshevik-Leninists into the SFIO. The immediate threat of fascism, the crisis of the democratic state, the crisis in the social democracy, and the formation of the United Front, all developed in the absence of a

Marxist party. "It goes without saying that if there existed in France a strong organization of Bolshevik-Leninists, it could and should have become under present conditions, the independent axis around which the proletarian vanguard would crystallize." - Vidal. But the Communist Ligue was unfortunately a propaganda group only, too isolated, and numerically too feeble to act as an independent center of attraction. The Ligue had properly never regarded itself as the new party but as the instrumentality of its creation. The Ligue had been the principal advocate of the united front but its distorted realization had deprived the Bolsheviks of even that tactical advantage. It was the treacherous aim of the bureaucracies of the two major parties in France to isolate the Trotskyists from the masses by excluding them from the United Front. Thus the French Communist League was faced with a situation in which its principal tactical argument, that of the United Front, was being taken out of its hands so that the one force that could properly apply this tactic might not be able to participate in the actions resulting from it. In the circumstances mere criticism from without would have alienated the masses. The problem of the Ligue was to gain access to the masses, to imbue their sentiment for unity with revolutionary substance, to lay the foundations of the new party of the Fourth International. Concretely, the Marxists had to influence the evolution of the masses and the course of their struggle from inside the united front by affiliation with one or the other of the two available parties. As between the CPF and the SFIO there was no longer any fundamental choice - both represented varieties of centrism. But the bureaucratic centrism of the CP effectively barred the way to entry, where the SFIO under the impact of the crisis, afforded it.

The crisis of the democratic state, the developing break of the bourgeoisie with social reformism in favor of fascism, undermines the internal stability of the social democracy as it involves its ultimate destruction. While the party bureaucracy still strives to attach its services to the transitional Bonapartist regimes (government by decree, etc.) and dreams of the old coalitionism, the rank and file, subjected to lowered living standards and political repression, find themselves in armed struggle with the bourgeoisie. The cleavage between leadership and following in the Socialist party widens; the conflicting tendencies take the field openly. The classic reformism of the party gives way to centrism. It was this conjuncture that enabled the Bolsheviks to effect their entry.

To identify the tactical flexibility of the Bolshevik-Leninists with opportunism would be doctrinaire sectarianism with its fixed and immutable categories. This does not mean that it is our concept that the Second International is now in process of becoming the "international of revolution." There is no warrant for such a concept in the actual course of this international. As the Open Letter unequivocally asserts: "In every part of the world, the social democracy, despite the decay of capitalism, continues to remain the agency of the bourgeoisie within the working class, and evinces its utter inability to mobilize the masses even in its own defense against Fascism," much less to mobilize and train them for the revolutionary assault on capitalism which is the only real "defense" against Fascism.

The parties of the Third International are completely bureaucratized and dependent upon the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. The membership, deprived of any real participation in party decisions, is systematically hindered from crystallizing any kind of independent political thought. While in the main the opportunity for penetrating the ranks of the Socialist workers is at the moment greater, we do not turn our backs upon the "Communist" parties on the assumption that no doubts and questionings are felt among Stalinists. Under the impact of events on the one hand and of the criticism of the revolutionary internationalists on the other hand, revolt will gather strength among them. Doriot in France, the open criticisms of Stalin in some French sections of the C.P. since the Comintern Congress registered his complete and shameless capitulation to social-patriotism, the very fact that the most extensive and brutal repression must be resorted to within the Soviet Union itself, as well as the movement for "organic unity" with the Social-democracy and for "labor parties," foreshadow the eventual disintegration of the parties and of the Third International and the recruitment of forces from the ranks of disillusioned Stalinist followers for the Fourth International.

Capitulation on the part of the Bolshevik-Leninists when they entered the SFIO would have meant acceptance of the principles of the social democracy, a truce with the bureaucracy, divorce from international control, liquidation of the faction, cessation of La Verite, and renunciation of the slogan of the Fourth International. The contrary occurred. The Bolshevik-Leninists militantly

pressed their revolutionary program of action on both the SFIO and the United Front. They broadcast their slogans of active resistance to fascism and revolutionary assault on capitalism. They raised the demands for workers' militia, the general strike, workers and peasants' government, socialization and workers' control. They challenged the social-patriotism of the Popular Front, and its agents the reformist bureaucracies. They raised the banner of the new International and joined their signature to the Open Letter. As a result the former propaganda group has become a ~~revolutionary~~ ^{highly significant} factor. The Bolshevik-Leninist slogans have penetrated the consciousness of wide masses, and crystallized a revolutionary left wing. At the Mulhouse Congress of the SFIO the Bolshevik motion secured 2000 votes. The Youth have won a commensurate influence over the most important sections in the country and have incurred expulsion at the hands of the anxious officialdom. But expulsion will no longer entail the old isolation. The foundations have been laid and the French party of the Fourth International is rapidly emerging on the order of the day. The dialectics of the entire process now places on the order of the day the formation of the independent revolutionary party, as a polarizing center for attracting the vanguard from both the C.P. and SFIO as well as from isolated groups.

4. That revolutionary politics predicate the complete organizational independence of the Marxist party is implicit in every line of the Open Letter. "Unity with reformists and social-patriots of the social-democratic or Stalinist variety signifies in the last analysis unity with the national bourgeoisie." While rank and file sentiment for unity whether in the form of united front or organic fusion is not reactionary in itself and unification of parties might under certain circumstances facilitate the regrouping and reorganization of genuine revolutionary elements and in this sense constitute "a step forward," what determines the worth of unity in any instance is its political content. The experiences in Austria, Belgium and Great Britain sufficiently indicate that unity devoid of revolutionary program and practice only prepares the way to disaster. The United Front in France today has become a conspiracy of the bureaucracies, and an obstacle in the path of the proletarian revolution. Organic unity under the same auspices and with the like program could mean nothing more.

The development of the Fourth International is a complex process. To attempt to prescribe an identical course for all countries would be a completely un-Marxian disregard of the specific stages of the capitalist crisis and the experiences of the masses. Mere reiteration of the principle of party independence solves little where the problem is first to create the party. We cannot do better than to reaffirm the position of the Open Letter. "Depending on the national conditions, upon the degree of the decomposition of the world working-class organizations, and finally upon the state of their own forces at a given moment, the Marxists can come forward, now in the form of an independent organization, now in the guise of a faction in one of the old parties or trade unions..." Organizational flexibility in the creation of the new party must be accompanied by unwavering firmness of principle. We reject any concept of the tactic of the French Turn as absolute and international. "The truth is always concrete." The Open Letter significantly underscores that factional work where necessary is only a stage on the road to the creation of the new revolutionary parties and its purposes must be openly avowed. "On whatever arena, and with whatever methods they function, they (the Bolshevik-Leninists) are bound to speak in the name of unqualified principles and revolutionary slogans. They do not play hide and seek with the working class; they do not conceal their aims; they cannot substitute diplomacy and combinations for a principled struggle."

We hold that the French Turn was carried out in accordance with these conditions. It was based precisely on that complex of national conditions, state of decomposition of the old organizations, state of organization of the Bolshevik vanguard, that is referred to in the Open Letter. To represent the action of the French League in entering the SFIO with its clearly avowed purpose of uniting the revolutionary vanguard around the principles of the Fourth International, as a form of liquidation and capitulation to the social reformism of the Second International is in our opinion unwarranted and without any semblance of support in the course actually pursued by the C.L. in France. Adherence to such a view in face of the facts we condemn as sectarianism which can only lead to an anti-Marxian course. Unquestionably the tactic involved serious risks. Fundamentally the course of the French League has been Bolshevik to the core and is an inspiration to Bolsheviks the world over. We must alertly oppose all illusions with regard to the Second International or a merger of the two Internationals. The social democracy remains the agency of the bourgeoisie within the working class. We must at the same time understand how to save the disillusioned and leftward-trending masses in the social democracy from taking the road of Stalinism. The Marxists are not satisfied with either "proclaiming" the Fourth International nor with passively expecting it as a gift of the "historic process." They will

actively intervene in every phase of the class struggle to create the new parties as rapidly as possible. The immediate condition for success is the consolidation nationally and internationally of the genuine proletarian revolutionists, the followers of Marx and Lenin, on a common program under a common banner. The new epoch requires a new International."

5. In the light of the foregoing how does the "French turn" affect the policy of our party in this country and more particularly, our attitude to the Socialist Party in the United States? It is our conviction that at no point is there any parallel to the conditions that justified entry into the SFIO. It is true that the SP is subject to international repercussions, to the impact of the changes wrought by the crisis of capitalism and "democracy", the tendency to displace reformism by centrism, as the bourgeoisie resorts to fascism. But what is of decisive importance for practical and above all for organizational considerations is the question of knowing how this tendency is refracted - at the given stage of development - in the social democratic party of a given country. (Vidal). There is no pre-revolutionary crisis in the United States as yet. The American bourgeoisie does not yet feel the imperative urge to destroy the organizations of social reformism. The SP cannot be deemed a centrist mass party in disintegration as in the case of the SFIO. The relation of forces as between the three parties is different than in France. The United Front does not exist and if it did could not have nearly the same significance. Above all the Workers Party already constitutes that independent revolutionary organization, even though it cannot yet claim to be a mass party, about which the class conscious workers of America may be rallied. For these reasons it would be entirely false to draw a parallel with the circumstances of the French situation, there is no warrant for it in the implications of the "French turn" and we therefore reject any concept of "entry into the S.P." in the U.S.

In conclusion the WPUS endorses the policy of the French Bolshevik-Leninists and the I.C.L. as a thoroughly Marxist policy for building the French party of the Fourth International. The Party must condemn the comrades of the Oehler-Stamm group who charge the French Bolshevik-Leninists and the I.C.L., our co-signatories to the Open Letter, with capitulation and liquidationism. Instead of giving aid to the forces fighting our common battle in France, such a course constitutes sabotage of the courageous revolutionary activity of our French comrades and hinders the building of the Fourth International. We must extend every assistance to our comrades particularly in this crucial period. The forces of social-patriotism and class-collaboration are in sharp conflict with the forces of Bolshevism advocating a complete break with the bourgeoisie, the slogan of revolutionary defeatism as against truce with the bourgeoisie in imperialist war, the need for the struggle for power as the only means to defeat Fascism as against the betraying policy of uniting with the bourgeoisie to uphold bourgeois democracy and capitalism. It is clear whom we must support in this struggle.

The issue of the French turn has divided our Party for a long time. The opportunity for a thorough-going political discussion of the problem has been provided. We believe that the Party will overwhelmingly endorse the French Turn and place itself in full solidarity with our French comrades and our co-signatories to the Open Letter. When experience itself refutes the allegations of those who traduce the course of the Bolshevik Leninists in France, they shift the ground to similar accusations against sections of the ICL in other countries. We are concerned with the main lines of ~~its application~~ the Turn and its Marxist legitimacy, and not with the details of its application or misapplication. To make the successes or failures in application of the so-called French turn in one country after another the crucial issues of our Party which our Party must resolve before it can turn to any other task in this period of crisis, is to put the matter in a false and even ridiculous light. When the Party has formulated its position, this must put a period to the discussion. It would be utterly indefensible to subject the Party, once it has taken a position on the basic issue, to interminable and bitter internal conflict over the detailed evaluation of the tactics pursued by parties and groups in one country after another. We call upon the Oehler-Stamm comrades to abide by the decision of the Party, to carry out party discipline, and to dissociate themselves from policies that can only lead to the blind alley of sterile sectarianism. Our Party has big and immediate tasks before it. Our Party is the independent revolutionary party of the American workers, the instrument for building the Fourth International on American soil. Let us close ranks! Forward to building the Party!

THE ROAD TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(Ogden substitute for P.C. resolution, - defeated)

The major political task of the proletarian vanguard - the reassembling of the revolutionary cadres and the building of the Fourth International - is recognized by all factions in the Party. The new orientation of the ICL - the so-called French turn - has posed very sharply before the American party and our international movement the manner in which this task is to be carried to fruition. The activity of the I.S. in the last period reveals a sharp contradiction between its statements (Declaration of Four, Open Letter, etc.) which seem to point a clear path toward independent revolutionary parties and the speedy launching of the Fourth International (the original perspective of the ICL) and its actions, which have been to liquidate sections into the Social democracy in a whole series of countries.

The resolution of the P.C., which attempts to confine evaluation of the new orientation to a discussion of the entry in France, gives the so-called practical reasons which were originally advanced for this "tactic." A consideration of these practical motivations in the light of the extension on an international plane of the French "tactic," notably in Belgium, where the situation in no wise resembles that in France, reveals the utter superficiality of this argument.

The real motivation is to be found in those articles published after the French entry which give it theoretic justification. Stripped of its verbiage, this justification can be summed up as follows: the attempt of the ruling class to solve its crises by means of Fascism has forced social democracy to the left. In a number of cases, notably Spain and Austria, social democracy has even taken up arms in its fight against Fascism. We witness today the phenomenon of the change of social democracy from classic reformism to centrism. This opens up a new arena for the Bolshevik-Leninists. The possibility of reform of the Second International or its constituent parties is "theoretically not excluded." Thus, the organizational conclusion, entry into the Social Democracy to complete its conversion into the instrument of revolution.

These arguments establish conclusively that the theoretical motivation and the organizational liquidation flowing from it are two sides of the same coin - which side is first exposed to public gaze is not decisive.

The P.C. resolution attempts to draw the balance of the turn in terms of the French entry alone. Though this is a false method of posing the question, France, where objective circumstances are supposed to have been most favorable, offers nothing to justify Cannon's continued enthusiasm or Muste's recent conversion. From the Internal Bulletin No. 6 of the Bolshevik-Leninist group, we learn that the imposing superstructure of 1087 votes, cast for a program of action based on the concept of revolutionary unity within the SFIO, rests uncertainly on the narrow base of 300 members in the faction itself.

We further learn that large numbers of Socialist workers evolving toward the left, and impelled to an organizational break with the SFIO, finding no independent revolutionary center, became disoriented and fell under Stalinist influence.

Finally, the imminent split and the independent party of which we have heard so much lately, whose realization was to answer once and for all the Cassandras of the ICL in the light of the speech of Molinier at the recent national conference of the Bolshevik-Leninist faction seems more distant than ever. "Patience," cried Molinier, "Have we the basis for a new party now? You people are all pedants. You use the word independence as though we were an oppressed colonial country. Our independence will make us independent of all working class action and the working masses." Peculiarly enough, the fight for the new party and the Fourth International takes the form of a relentless struggle for reintegration - revolutionary unity within the SFIO. So much for France.

It is no accident that the PC refuses to consider what it would term the "international repercussion of the French turn," or, to put it correctly, the world wide results of the new orientation. To attempt to confine the discussion to France, by assuming an ostrich policy toward the international movement, is the refusal to face all the issues raised by the new orientation.

The ICL has suffered splits in almost every section. Leftward moving Socialists, and centrist groups outside the 2d and 3d Internationals, have everywhere been confused and disoriented by the liquidation of ICL sections into the 2d International. The contradiction between our official pronouncements and the liquidationist course of the ICL has served only to sow confusion in the ranks of the advanced workers as to the direction in which we were traveling, with a resultant loss in recruiting power and influence. We condemn an attempt to blackmail a political minority into submission the Cannon-Weber tactic of characterizing everyone in the party opposed on principle grounds to the French turn as "anti-Trotskyite," "Bauerite," "international splitter" and "party wrecker." We consider this type of political blackmail has no place in a discussion on so vital a question as the road to the Fourth International.

Nevertheless, we cannot for a moment countenance the irresponsible attitude of the O-S faction, toward the major force for the 4th International, the ICL and Comrade Trotsky. Despite the grave error expressed in the new orientation, the ICL remains a Communist organization with which we must solidarize ourselves and collaborate loyally. We characterize as a provocation far greater than the issuance of the International News, the attempt by the Oehlerites to create a mechanical division between Lenin and Trotsky. The proposal to immediately reorganize the Contact Commission and the Youth Bureau on the basis of a new manifesto signed only by groups which accept the full line of the O-S faction, means, in effect, to build the 4th International without and against the ICL.

The WP which was founded on the principle of revolutionary internationalism, and which by its independent existence constitutes a powerful factor against the new orientation, must take the lead in the fight for the earliest possible formation of the Fourth International, based on the creation of independent revolutionary parties born in political and organizational struggle against the two bankrupt internationals - a repudiation of the new orientation.

We call on the French comrades to give this movement a powerful impetus by striking out boldly and unequivocally for an organizational break from the SFIO, toward the formation of an independent revolutionary party, which can become the polarizing center around which the revolutionary elements at present in and out of the two bankrupt internationals, will group themselves, for the decisive struggles that are already on the agenda of the French working class.

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RESOLUTION ON THE SAP (Presented by Ogden, not adopted, substitute follows)

1. The Plenum of the Workers Party, in considering the tasks involved in the struggle for the Fourth International with which it is so single-mindedly and proudly associated, takes note of the evolution of other groups and labor organizations which belong neither to the Second or Third International. It is inevitable that, in the process of disintegration of the old movements, there should emerge in every country new currents and tendencies, separating themselves from social democracy and Stalinism under the impact of events and the pressure of leftward moving workers. By their very nature these tendencies contain both positive features and negative features - the former represented by their break with the old movements, the latter represented by the remnants (sometimes extremely strong) of the old ideology and principles which they take along with them even after the organizational rupture. In most cases, the official leadership of these tendencies and movement represent a conservative Centrist force which has become a distinct obstacle on the road to the 4th Int. and which, if the latter is to progress, must be vigorously combatted. The principal rallying center of these Centrist forces is the so-called London Bureau IAG. The principal breaking influence in the London Bureau has been exerted by the SAP of Germany which, while committed in words to the idea of the 4th In-

Resolution on SAP -2-

ternational, has been the most insidious opponent of any concrete steps to advance the movement, and the theoretical generalizer of all Centrist antagonism to the New International. Both the Bureau and its main inspirer, the SAP, have moved steadily to the Right in the recent period and instead of facilitating the clean and radical break with the dead past, have sought to perpetuate it to the detriment of the revolutionary movement. Instead of joining actively and boldly with the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland which has defended the 4th International inside the Bureau, and spurring its affiliated groups toward the new movement, the SAP has steadfastly sabotaged the cause to which it is formally pledged. The same reprehensible course has been pursued by the representatives of the SAP in the so-called Stockholm Youth Bureau, created by the Laren conference where the idea of the 4th International was endorsed. The latest violation of the whole spirit of this movement, and flagrant breach of faith, committed by the SAP representatives of the International Communist League Youth has the confidence of our party and our Spartacus Youth League - a removal effected in combination with the representative of the conservative Swedish Youth - is merely additional evidence of the conservative, Centrist role being played in the world movement by the SAP leadership. These circumstances define the task of the Workers Party in energetically combatting the ideological and organizational influence of the SAP leadership on a world scale as well as in the United States." (Resolution for the Struggle for the Fourth International, submitted by PC majority.)

2. This section of the PC resolution establishes clearly the fact that in the building of the 4th International the SAP is not an ally but an enemy. To maintain fraternal relations on the same basis as with the ICL is obviously contradictory. The Plenum therefore decides to sever fraternal relations with the SAP.

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PLENUM)

That the concrete steps to be taken by our party with relation to the SAP and to the problem of bringing its supporters closer to the Fourth International, be referred to P.C. with instructions to proceed in accordance with the political line set down in the resolution on building of the 4th International.

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STATEMENT ON MUSTE-WEBER RESOLUTION ON THE "FRENCH TURN"

Submitted to October Plenum WPUS by McKinney

The main political position of the resolution, that the "French Turn" or the "New Orientation" was a tactic is, I believe, correct in the light of the available evidence. The "New Orientation" must be called a tactic unless we take the position that the entry in France and other countries was made on the basis of a plan, decision or procedure which urged or instructed the sections of the ICL to enter the Second International wherever both groups existed - in disregard of the time, the place or the circumstances in the country of entry. There is no evidence that this was the position of comrade Trotsky or of the IS.

Although information concerning the "New Orientation" has been meager and in part highly controversial, there is enough for the conclusion that the turn was tactical and devised for the purpose of bringing the small and weak Bolshevik-Leninist groups into contact with larger masses of workers, to the end that they have better opportunity to influence those workers ideologically, bring them to a ~~better~~ revolutionary Marxian position, and later draw them into a new independent party of the 4th International.

While taking the position that the "New Orientation" as carried out was a tactic, it does not follow that one must blindly approve the tactic and raise the cry of "no criticism" except that which is the most favorable. Analysis of the social democracy, I believe, will demonstrate that only in exceptional instances will it be correct, justifiable and effective for revolutionary parties to enter any of the sections of the 2d International.

France, it seems was an exception. Here the tactic may be admitted to be correct based on the concrete situation at the time of entry and on the results achieved to date.

This does not obligate us to give a complete, glorifying and uncritical approval to the method of applying the tactic in France and elsewhere. Comrade Trotsky recognized the grave dangers inherent in this method of making an approach to the masses. In a letter to the WP he remarked that not only was the SFIO not a revolutionary party but that it was not even a working class party. It is a petty bourgeois party, said Comrade Trotsky, and added that the workers were in the CP and in organizations outside of both parties. I ask: did the social composition of the SFIO change between the time of the entry and the time of comrade Trotsky's statement?

After the French entry the "New Orientation" was urged in other countries and finally found its way to the United States. There is ample reason to hold that what has been called the "Socialist Party orientation" of one group in the WP was the application to the United States of the "New Orientation" of the ICL. That the application was planned or suggested by the ICL is not the contention or the position of this statement. Rather is it more correct to say that those who developed the SP orientation interpreted the New Turn in such a manner that the SP orientation resulted.

Furthermore, certain facts and events do not bear out the contention that the application of the New Orientation to the United States was the merger of the CLA and A.P., and that the SP orientation was an incorrect and distorted application of the "New Orientation." If this interpretation is correct and such confusion as did arise was possible then it can be said that the method of the IS in handling the "French turn" was careless and unfortunate. This is true or else the leading proponents of the turn in the U.S. were careless and lacking in understanding of the true meaning of the turn.

Since the matter is before the party for discussion it would be irresponsible not to emphasize and explore all pertinent phases of the question. This question has been stirring the party for several months and it would be incorrect to attempt to hedge the discussion in with purely arbitrary limitations, such as the contention that the discussion be limited to France only. The chief defenders of the French Turn must concede that those who disagree with them also have the duty and the right to go into details and to draw what conclusions seem justified. In many respects the French turn is the central question before the plenum and the party. I have mentioned before that the SP orientation of one group in the WP was directly related to the "French turn."

It has been and is extremely difficult to discuss this question dispassionately and objectively for the reason that the two groups in possession of the necessary information have shrouded the matter in muddle, mystery and bitter dispute in the manner of sects trying to establish once and for all the true faith.

The party should not be swayed by proponents of the turn who hurl charges of anti-Trotskyism or of shame faced Oehlerism. Neither should we be influenced by those who say that if we do not oppose the turn on principle we will end in a swamp.

There are legitimate reasons for the WP at this time to attempt to restrict the discussion of the "New Orientation" to France and the United States. These reasons, however, must not be of the type "there is not time enough," "we cannot go on forever through France, Belgium, Poland, Chili and Zanzibar."

We emphasize France as the hub of the world revolutionary movement. While we do not turn our backs on the "New Orientation" as applied in other countries we do not - in the light of the facts - attempt to elevate Cuba, Chili or Poland to the importance of France.

The party must take the position that the Bolshevik-Leninists have conducted themselves in a revolutionary Marxian manner in the SFIO. Those sections of the Muste-Weber resolution which deal with this phase of the "French turn" should receive the unqualified support of all groups in the W. P. The Oehler group, of course, cannot make an objective evaluation of the course of the B-L when they begin with the premise that the entry was unprincipled and ideological capitulation to the social democracy.

The Bolshevik-Leninists have increased their revolutionary forces in the SFIO, have learned something of the difficulties of working inside the social democracy, have come into sharp conflict with the bureaucracy, have raised the slogan of the 4th International and are now about ready to set up the new independent party. They are not capitulators, nor is the ICL led by capitulators to the social democracy, nor Mensheviks, nor betrayers of the world proletariat.

For these reasons but with the above qualifications, I vote for the Muste-Weber resolution on the "French turn."

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THESES ON THE ROAD TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL AND THE
NEW ORIENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE
(Submitted by Oehler-Stamm and defeated by Plenum)

I

1. The central task of our time is the assembling of the revolutionary cadres in a Marxist party and their training and discipline in the principles of Marxism and the ideas and methods of Lenin. That is today, the road to the conquest of the masses and the overthrow of capitalist society.

The party of proletarian revolution can be only a world party composed of national sections subject to international control centralized in a world center guiding, directing and coordinating the struggle to overthrow capitalism, which moves in the channels of the Permanent Revolution and according to its laws both in the imperialist "mother" countries and in the colonies and semi-colonies.

After the collapse of the Third International and its renegade desertion to the side of imperialism, the revolutionary cadres can be assembled only in a new International, which, standing on the teachings of Marx, Lenin and the Permanent Revolution, will be separate, distinct and independent, politically and organizationally from all other parties, groups and tendencies in the world working class movement. Today, that is signified in the slogan of the Fourth International.

Essentially our task is a continuation of this work begun by Lenin, realized in the creation of the Russian Bolshevik Party, which made the October Revolution, in the establishment of the Third International up to his death, and vitiated, nullified and betrayed by Stalinism after his death.

2. The conceptions which guided Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik Party to success are our heritage. They are the basis of and guide for our work. Reduced to their essence they are: (1) estimation of our time as the epoch of imperialism, that is an era of the maturity of capitalist world society for its transformation into its opposite—a socialist society, which is characterized by (a) wars for the re-division of the earth by the imperialists to escape the contradictions and crises of capitalist society, objectively ripe for transformation to socialism but which is obstructed by private ownership of the means of production and exchange and its state-bound by national boundaries; (b) colonial wars for liberation from imperialism and (c) proletarian revolutions to overthrow capitalism; (2) in the imperialist epoch the success of the proletarian revolution is objectively possible and necessary and depends on the ability of the proletariat to lead the toiling and oppressed masses behind it against the bourgeoisie; that is first of all a question of its own vanguard, its revolutionary policy, boldness, determination and freedom of action; this in turn is primarily a question of its political and organizational independence from all bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences and organizations; in the imperialist epoch the independent action of the working class coincides exactly with the political and organizational independence of the vanguard; (3) in the period immediately prior to the imperialist epoch, the organized working class movement was captured by opportunism which served the interest of the bourgeoisie which bribed the upper strata of the class with crumbs from the super-profits of colonial expansion and exploitation, allowing it to organize and granting it concessions and certain democratic rights; but in the imperialist epoch opportunism has become entirely reactionary and serves the bourgeoisie directly against the working class under the formulae of social patriotism; national unity, national defense, defense of the fatherland and today, defense of democracy against external Fascist aggression, etc. blocking the road to revolutionary action and fighting the revolutionists; all forms of centrism are vacillations between chauvinism and internationalism; between the service of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat and the international proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie, moving either from the former toward the latter or vice versa; centrism essentially is a cover for opportunism and social patriotism (the entire war and post-war history of the Second International and the post-Leninist history of the CP prove this conclusively; (4) the internationalists can organize themselves and successfully carry out their tasks only by the most ruthless struggle against the influence and agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement and against the opportunist political parties; the pre-condition for the accomplishment of this task is the separation of the revolutionists, who represent the interests of the

oppressed, from the opportunists and social patriots, who represent only the interests of capital, splitting from them politically and organizationally and maintaining this split at all times both in the construction of the party and after its construction in all its activity and its entire policy. "We say that such a separation has ripened that it has become inevitable, that it is of a progressive nature that it is necessary for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; the history having turned from 'peaceful capitalism' to imperialism, has thereby turned to such a split." (Lenin). On the other hand, "Unity with opportunism means unity of the proletariat with its national bourgeoisie, i.e.: it means submission to the latter, it means a split in the international revolutionary working class." (Lenin).

3. That was Lenin's line for building the Third International. The application of it varied/48008356 under definite circumstances. "We do not assert that an immediate separation from the opportunists in all countries is desirable or even possible at present...". When to break; "how fast"; in what definite forms the process of separation"... will take place"; these are tactical questions. The fundamental line internationally, during the war, before the October Revolution and after it, was split from the social patriots.

4. In those days, the split from the social patriots could take one of two forms: either the purging of the social democratic parties of the opportunists by the revolutionary elements, or, failing this, the split from them. It was impossible, of course, in those days to tell the actual strength of the forces of opportunism and of the revolutionary elements in each party without submitting all tendencies to a decisive test. In the circumstances, that could only mean only one thing: posing openly the question of immediate separation from those who had gone over to the bourgeoisie. In the struggle to achieve the separation would be decided on whose side lay the greater strength and consequently what form the split would take. Lenin's own party had already made the separation in 1912 and was therefore able to meet the test of war, although in 1917 it required a heroic struggle by Lenin to combat social patriotism in his own party in which he threatened more than once to apply his line of split! As it turned out, the opportunists generally proved stronger and in only a few cases were the revolutionists successful in expelling the opportunists. Splits, in which the revolutionists were themselves expelled, or broke from the social democratic parties, proved to be the rule.

5. With the change in the objective situation after the war, after the October Revolution and the establishment of the Third International, and during the rise of the revolutionary wave in Europe, the revolutionary elements were able in a number of cases, notably the French Socialist Party (Congress of Tours, 1920) to make the split by capturing the party and throwing the opportunists out or forcing them to withdraw. In each such case, however, the split from the Second International and to the 3d International was the issue. And in every country the 3d Intl. was built on the line of splitting from the 2d Int.

6. After the October revolution and the establishment of the world revolutionary party, Lenin introduced yet another tactical element in the application of the line of split. The 2d Congress of the CI decided that the weak English Communists should enter the powerful British Labor Party. The objective of this maneuver was to push sections of workers toward the split from the 2d Intl. to affiliation to the 3d. On the surface, this tactic appears to contradict the line of split. In reality it does not. The tactic was based on (1) the existence of a world party, the CI which exercised a tremendous magnetic attraction for millions of workers and oppressed colonial masses over the entire earth; (2) the ferment in the Labor Party had forced the treacherous leaders to put on the agenda of the party's conference the question of affiliation to the CI; (3) supplement of the attraction toward the CI from within the Labor Party by pushing workers out toward the 3d International; (4) ability of the English Communists to continue an independent political and organizational existence; (5) "a relatively peaceful" period in English life" (Zeroview); (6) an experiment which involved a weak section of the world party, even the liquidation of which was not involved would not endanger the independent existence of the world party; (7) continuation throughout the world of the line of building the 3d International by splitting off the revolutionary elements from the 2d International.

7. To some, all this is an enigma without a solution, an inexplicable paradox. In reality, it is only the dialectic of Marxism in the sphere of building the revolutionary party which revolves around the principle of establishing the unity of the Marxist force on the basis of its political and organizational independence from opportunism which is the influence of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement.

II

1. Now we must recreate Lenin's party under the name of the 4th International. Our line must be Lenin's line. This is more than ever the epoch of imperialism; another world war impends; already before its outbreak the opportunists have embraced social patriotism. The 2d International never abandoned it; it could not without ceasing to be social democracy. The 3d Intl. has furled the banner of the Paris Commune and the Oct. Revolution and replaced it with the skull and crossbones of imperialist plunder and oppression. It marches now shoulder to shoulder with the 2d International and outstrips it in brazen villainess and treachery.

2. Neither International can be reformed into revolutionary Marxist instruments for the seizure of power and the creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The 2d International is the organizational expression of opportunism which rests on definite social strata in the working class. It is the necessary instrument of old world bourgeois democratic capitalism to tie the workers to the chariot of imperialism

It is a bourgeois party composed of workers. Given the substance of the historic conditions which obtained in 1919-20-21, it may be possible to take over parts of its organization or even entire sections. Today, that is entirely excluded. There is no revolutionary ascent; on the contrary, the proletariat has been defeated in a whole series of great battles; it is demoralized; it fights with its back to the wall in despair, without hope. There is no revolutionary leadership, no powerful authoritative organization to attract workers to its banner. The revolutionary elements inside the social democracy are weak. They are confused. To all of them Lenin's line is a book sealed with seven seals

Nor do we stand in exactly the same position in which Lenin stood in 1914-19. We stand on the experience of these years. What proved to be the rule in those years, insofar as tactical lines were concerned - the split away from the social democratic parties - will be even more so today. We must affirm it categorically.

But even if we could repeat today the triumphs of 1919-20-21 we still could not reform the 2d Intl. The destruction of parts of the organized expression of reformism would not eliminate the social need which it fulfills in capitalist society and its social roots which would create new organizations. The history of the French labor movement is conclusive. In 1920, the 3d International captured the SFIO. Today, another SFIO dominates the French labor movement.

Social democracy can be destroyed only by destroying the need for it. Capitalism itself, when it can no longer afford the expensive luxury of reformist strongholds in the working class, smashes social democracy. The proletariat can destroy social democracy only by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a classless society.

3. The Third International, until 1923, was the organizational expression of the revolutionary interests of the workers and the oppressed colonial masses. Under Stalinism it became an opportunist instrument in the service of the Stalinist bureaucracy which in turn serves the interests of the class enemies of the proletarian dictatorship, both those within and outside of Russia. Today, like the Second International, it has become the open, shameless agent of imperialism, and is in process of liquidation. It cannot be reformed and must be destroyed by the revolutionary action of the proletariat and colonial masses to overthrow capitalism.

4. The 4th International, cannot be built thru the fusion of the 2d and 3d Internationals, nor Marxist parties thru the fusions of sections of these bankrupt organizations. The marriage of the social patriot serves only the interests of the proletariat and the social revolution. Organic unity will only deepen the split in the working class. To the treacherous unity of and with the social patriots and their organizations must be posed the unity of the revolutionists in the independent

parties of the 4th International created on the basis of the split from the social patriots.

5. The application of the Leninist line of building the 4th Intl to the 2d and 3d Intls. calls for fraction work in them directed by the independent Marxist force outside, on a perspective of splitting away from the 2d and 3d and fusing with the independent force to build the 4th Intl. At all times the independent force calls for the split as the highest criterion of internationalism in the struggle against social patriotism.

6. The 4th Intl. must be built throughout the capitalist world and in the Soviet Union. As a revolutionary instrument the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been destroyed. A new revolutionary party must be created to defend the dictatorship against counter-revolution and to advance again on the road to the world revolution and a world socialist society. The accomplishment of this task now depends on successful revolutionary action outside of the Soviet Union primarily in the Western European imperialist countries and in the U.S. Unless the October Revolution is extended beyond the SU the new party in the SU will have to be built in the fire of civil war itself precipitated by counter-revolutionary attempts to overthrow the dictatorship already so dangerously undermined by Stalinism that it cannot withstand another shift to the right.

7. Lenin's line in building the 4th Intl. revolved around the International Communist League, its policy, its success or failure. The ICL was a world Marxist force, the only one. In its program were the basic concepts of the 4th Intl. It was the basic cadre of the 4th Intl., the world embryo of the world party of Lenin today, the only center of revolutionary unity. With the Pact of Four addressed to the Conference of Left Socialist parties in August, 1933, and the creation of the Committee of Four to work for the 4th Intl. of which the ICL was the moving spirit and revolutionary soul, the ICL created a milestone on the Leninist road to the 4th Intl. In its condemnation of Stalinist theory, policy, practice and organization; in its simple declaration that the revolutionists must overcome the policy and organizations of reformism; in its provisions for collaborative action to work out the programmatic basis for the 4th Intl, contained in part in outline in the Declaration itself in all this, the Pact of Four unfurled to the world the banner of the 4th Intl. and the Leninist line of building it.

8. To Marxists all over the world it gave a definite political and organizational line. Everywhere they set themselves the conscious goal of realizing the political and organizational independence of the revolutionists from the opportunists in new parties. According to concrete national circumstances, they realized the line of the Pact of Four - Lenin's line - differently in different countries. Thus, in Cuba, Canada, Chile and Australia, the Marxists converted their organization-parties. In the US and Holland the Marxist forces fused with centrists outside of the 2d and 3d Intls. to form independent 4th Intl. parties. These were tactical variants of the application of the fundamental line dictated by life itself. One other variant - the most important on a world scale - was possible, but unfortunately was not realized anywhere; the fusion of the Marxist force with left split-offs from the 2d and 3d Internationals, or from centrist organizations outside both Internationals, moving to the right. No other variants are possible in the present set-up of the world labor movement and the relation of forces in it. Abstractly, the English Labor Party variant is conceivable under the same basic conditions under which it was suggested in 1922. Practically, today it is excluded.

9. Even today, after the manifest failure of the Pact of Four to create a world center for the 4th Intl. it continues to influence the struggle for the Marxists for independent revolutionary parties. Thus, the Spanish Communist Left is in the process of fusing with the Workers and Peasants Bloc of Catalonia. In May of this year the Independent Communist Party of Puerto Rico endorsed the Pact of Four.

10. The Pact of Four embodied Lenin's line. Its shortcomings lie essentially in the failure to make Lenin's line appear more sharply, fully and concretely in it. The three tactical variants embody Lenin's line in practice.

III.

1. The failure of the movement for the 4th Intl to advance beyond the

Pact of Four lies essentially in the decline, disintegration and bankruptcy of the ICL. The decline of the ICL is the direct and fatal result of the new orientation of the ICL, itself a part of the general demoralization which set into the world labor movement following the German and Austrian defeats.

2. The new orientation formulated in the summer and fall of 1934 and spring of 1935 may be summed up briefly as follows: the crisis of the capitalist state develops to the right (Bonapartism and Fascism); the capitalists kick away their social democratic props; this engenders a parallel crisis in social democracy which develops to the left; workers move to the left and come into conflict with the bureaucracy whose grip on the rank and file is loosened; classic reformism is transformed into spectrum of centrism; possibilities are opened up for winning the workers in the social democratic parties and even entire parties for revolutionary ideas and struggle. This is an uneven process; some socialist parties like the French and Spanish move rapidly to the left; others like the Belgian and Norwegian, because of the situation of "their" bourgeoisie, move conjuncturally to the right; but the transformation of reformism to centrism, on an international scale - that is the fundamental tendency; consequently the parties moving to the right must move to the left as the crisis in "their" capitalist states develops; the Marxists are isolated; without their ideas the left ferment in the socialist parties will not crystallize into revolutionary results; to avoid that catastrophe, to influence the masses, to build the 4th International, the Bolshevik-Leninists liquidate their organizations and enter the 2d Intl. where decisive events impend, where united fronts have been made between the parties of the 2d and 3d Internationals, as in France, the reasons for entry are even more compelling; for there it is a question of the success of the united front, the struggle against Fascism and war, the proletarian revolution.

Reduced to its essence this thesis reads: the crisis in capitalist society forces the bourgeoisie to seek a solution in Bonapartism and Fascism; consequently it throws off the social democracy; reformism becomes centrism opening up possibilities of becoming Marxism; it is the duty of the Bolshevik-Leninists to bring the process to its logical conclusion, Marxism. Thus the new orientation revolves around the reform of the social democracy from the organized expression of reformism into the center of revolutionary unity, the instrument for the proletarian revolution, the seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence entry into the socialist parties is a principled necessity.

3. The new orientation has a theoretical side, a political line, an organizational conclusion. All three are false. All three are important phases of the question. But the theoretical basis and the political line are decisive. It is possible to begin the application of the orientation with anyone of these three phases. The others are sure to be involved later. That has been the case in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland and United States.

4. Politically and theoretically and organizationally it is false because (1) it overestimated the conjunctural development to the left of a few social democratic parties immediately following the German and Austrian events of 1933-34 as a basic tendency of the entire social democracy (Since the formulation of this idea the entire social democracy has moved far to the right) today it has once more openly proclaimed itself the agency of imperialism - (2) its basis is the utterly unscientific and consequently non-Marxian and anti-Leninist idea that the social democracy can be reformed into the party of proletarian revolution, thus removing the basic premises for the creation of the 4th Intl, creating a source of opportunist policies and laying the basis for revisionist and capitulationist tendencies. (3) It is the exact opposite of Lenin's line - laid down for the entire imperialist epoch - of building the revolutionary international on the basis of splitting from the social patriots; it abandons that line and forces the Marxist elements to seek unity in one organization with the social patriots, by that alone compromising the Marxist elements, introducing a centrist tendency into their policy and ranks, vitiating and nullifying their fight against social patriotism and establishing a bridge for outright capitalists. It liquidates the independent organizations of the Marxists on an international scale, and imprisons them in the chains of the discipline of the reformists making it impossible for them to act independently be-

for the masses in the name of Marxism, thus guaranteeing the impossibility of successful independent revolutionary action by the masses, especially before and during decisive events. Thus it violates the elementary principle of Marxism; that the political and organizational independence of the Marxist party must be maintained under all conditions.

5. The new orientation has been applied on an international scale in one form or another and in one or more of its aspects: France, Belgium, England, Switzerland, Italy, Poland, United States, Cuba, Chile, Mexico; on November 1, 1934 Prux demanded that it be applied to Austria. Unsuccessful attempts were made to apply it to Spain. Elsewhere where it was applied it was later rejected: Cuba.

6. The results everywhere have been disastrous. There is nothing positive to its credit either in France or outside of it. The results in addition to those discussed above are: (1) Destruction of the source of new adherences to the 4th Intl. movement by (a) confusion and disorientation in greater or less degree of centrists (Pivert) and leftward moving workers (Doriot tendency, left wing in POB, Argentine Socialist Youth; (b) inability to counteract centrists and opportunist influences on these workers, and win them to Marxism and themselves (Zyromski tendency, SAP rank and file, Spanish Socialist Youth, left elements in the US in the SP particularly, dissident elements in the CI) (c) false tactical line toward the CI (hopelessness of the rank and file; impossibility to do fraction work, etc.); (d) impossibility to oppose organic unity and counterpose to it new parties created on Lenin's line of split from all the social patriots; making necessary ambiguity on the entire question of the new parties and the new International, and encouraging internally (by failure to combat them externally) organic unity tendencies; (2) all this resulting in strengthening the social democratic and Stalinist social patriots against the Marxists and against their own rank and file; the centrists against their followers. Consequent failure to establish a broad and living center for the 4th International and new Marxist youth international (failure of the Committee of 4, collapse of the Stockholm-Oslo Youth Bureau, and now the abortive, because sectarian, factionally dominated and bureaucratically controlled new Contact Committee and General Council of the 4th Intl. (3) Consequent undermining of independent 4th Intl. parties which cannot live in national isolation or without international control and direction and introduction and encouragement of opportunist and liquidatory tendencies in them (Camron-Shachtman SP line in US). (4) Decline of the ICL manifested in: a) abandonment of policy of revolutionary unity on basis of ICL with respect to both social democratic and Stalinist workers; b) failure to gain new adherences since adherence of RSP (adherence of Australian Workers Party held up because of dispute over new orientation and organic unity); c) loss of sections (U.S., Holland, Spain, Argentina, Brazil); d) splits (France, Germany, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Mexico); e) encouragement of opportunists and liquidatory tendencies in the sections (theory of the external road in Cuba, Toledo and trade union labor party road in Mexico, parliamentary bloc in Chile, opportunist support of Plan de Man in Belgium, advocacy of organic unity and a ministry Blum-Cachin in France, theory of Africa for the Africans in the International Secretariat); f) retrogression of the International Secretariat toward a coordinator in the main, of factions in the 2d International; g) admitted failure to coordinate and centralize colonial and Latin American movements; h) outright capitulations (Youth and Charleroi in Belgium, Fersen in Spain, the Italian "section" a handful in England, Goldman and some Spartacus Youth in the United States); i) endorsement of the Belgian and English capitulations and attempt to collaborate with Fersen; j) failure to establish a collective international leadership; k) sabotage of the Spanish unification; l) introduction of bureaucratic methods in defense of the new orientation (usurpation of La Verite, Unser Wort, La Voix Communiste, New Militant and New International; arbitrary exclusions which in reality are splits - Argentine, Belgium, Bauer; refusal to organize an international conference; abandonment of Plenary sessions of the IS; juggling of personnel of IS; inclusion on it of people who are not members of any section; personal methods of Trotsky acting independently of the IS; suppression of material of opponents of the new orientation, and so on. 5) Encouragement of capitulations to social democracy and Stalinism from other organizations (Gitlow and Zam in the US) Spaak in Belgium from the German and Polish sections of the ICL to the CI) and encouragement of uncountable others to enter social

democracy to work in it on the perspective of reforming it.

7. IN France where because of the maturing social crisis the application of the new orientation has received its severest test the results have been equally disastrous. After ten months of struggle within the SFIO and the Socialist youth organization the Bolshevik Leninists have accomplished nothing which they could not have outstripped as an independent organization working on the Leninist line of building the new revolutionary party and the 4th International. And, in addition, they have demonstrated conclusively the falsity of the new orientation in practice. At the time of its liquidation the French Communist League had approximately 130-150 members. According to a recent Internal Bulletin of the French Bolsheviks (#6, undated, probably August) they have approximately 300 members; the average circulation of La Verite is about 5000; the editions of their pamphlets are small; they complain that the Verite is written only for themselves, its contents are unorganized; their political level is lower than in former years; they neglected mass work; they failed to clarify for themselves the question of organic unity; they failed to maintain contact with the provinces; they have reached their maximum; they failed to maintain sufficient interest in the international movement for the 4th International and so on. And now we learn Verite is to become a fortnightly again.

This much they admit. It is a confession of utter failure and bankruptcy. But it is not complete. They have confused and disoriented Pivert and his followers, Zyromski and his followers, Boriot and his followers, themselves and their followers, failed to influence positively the rebellious ferment in the CP, advocated organic unity and a ministry Blum-Cachin, failed totally to conduct a struggle against the social patriots on the question of their imperialist colonial policy (Ethiopia, Algeria, French Indo China, etc.) failed to denounce Valois of the New Age group, exposed as a paid agent of fascist forces involved in the assassination of Jaures, a signer of the Open Letter for the 4th Intl. and failed to withdraw from the recent conference against war and social patriotism which elected Valois head of its Resolutions Committee.

Crux

8. The "new turn" for the Bolshevik-Leninists which/ordered on June 10, and which the expulsion of the youth and impending expulsion of the adults pose as an actual question, proceeds on the basis of the correctness of the theoretical premises and political line of the new orientation. It is therefore a tactical shift under the pressure of the social patriots within the framework of the new orientation and not a correction of the false course to a Leninist one. The immediate results are (1) a policy of deceit; internally a perspective of a new party with the shortest possible delay; externally a struggle for reinstatement; (2) the Marxist elements are put in the utterly false position of seeking unity with the social patriots who split the movement in 1914 with their social patriotic course and have continued it ever since; and of struggling for unity with the social patriots on the basis of the struggle against social patriotism; (3) discouragement of workers from breaking with the SP and CP; (4) establishment of the basis for capitulatory and organic unity tendencies in the new party.

If the Bolshevik-Leninists do not capitulate to the SFIO bureaucrats and launch a new party, the results will be (1) the unfolding of the struggle in the new party between the opportunist, liquidatory and capitulationist tendencies on the one hand and on the other hand the Marxist elements who will strive to realize the full Leninist political and organizational implications of the independent course as in the WPUSA; (2) the inclusion in the program of the new party of the ideas of the new orientation or ambiguity on the question will give the opportunists, liquidators and capitulators great advantages over the Marxists and make an empty shell of the independence of the new party; (3) it will not arrest nor correct the insidious influence of the new orientation internationally nor check its application; but will constitute the basis for its extension on a wider scale (Trotsky-Roberts-Weber-Muste Colonial Commission scheme).

IV

1. To create the 4th International, its center, and a new Marxist Youth International and its center, we must (a) adopt Lenin's line of building the international; (b) reaffirm the line of the Pact of Four; (c) repudiate the new orientation theoretically, politically and organizationally, acknowledge the deviation openly explaining in precisely what it lies and its source in the general demoralization of the world labor movement following the German and Austrian defeats; (opposition to the new orientation on tactical grounds does not prevent its extension, consequently undermines the independence of the organization: Ver-eecken in Belgium, the Muste-Weber fight against the Cannon-SP line in the US, Sneevliet in Holland; and leads in the end either to capitulation to it: Naville in France, Barrett and Glee in the US; or to development to a principled opposition: Marlin group in the US. Opposition on tactical grounds to one or more phases of the orientation exists in the United States, Belgium, Cuba, Holland, Mexico; Spain; opposition on principled grounds exists in France, Germany, England, Scotland, Greece, United States, Argentina, Brazil; reconstitute immediately the independent Marxist organizations (d) combining with faction work in all opportunist and centrist working class parties with the aim of split from the former and fusion with the Marxist force, and fusion with or split from the latter and fusion with the Marxist forces; (e) openly condemn the bureaucratic regime in the ICL and WP.

(f) Issue a new manifesto by all groups who agree on this line; (g) reorganize the Contact Committee on that basis; (h) organize (1) an international conference against imperialist war and social patriotism (against the slogan of "New Zimmerwald") (2) an international conference of the signers of the manifesto before the conference against imperialist war and social patriotism; (3) organize a conference of Latin American parties and groups working for the 4th International and the WPUS and WPC; (i) create a new youth bureau by (1) proposing to the members of the Stockholm-Oslo Youth Bureau to expel the social patriots and adopt the manifesto as their own, and (2) following almost certain refusal to appeal to all working class youth organizations to collaborate on the basis of the manifesto to build a new youth bureau and youth international.

2. On this basis the International Communist League can play the role which history assigned to it. It can be the instrument for the creation of the 4th International and become its basic cadre theoretically, ideologically, politically. But if it continues on its present course it will fall victim to its own opportunism and the 4th International will have to be built without it and ~~organize~~ even against it. The next period will be decisive; the events in France, the development of the war and the struggle against it will determine the fate of the ICL.

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October 5, 1935

1. The armies of Italian Fascism, after months of deliberate preparation, have now launched their attack upon the Ethiopian peoples. Driven by the intolerable strains of internal social and economic contradictions, Mussolini and the Italian bourgeoisie seek a solution in open imperialist aggression against the last of the independent nations of Africa.

2. The outbreak of war in Africa demonstrates that the conflicts of world imperialism have reached the stage of armed struggle for a re-making of boundaries, and a redivision of territories and colonial possessions. Though the Italian campaigns in Ethiopia may not lead immediately and directly to a world struggle of the imperialist powers, this delay can prove no more than temporary. The war in Ethiopia must be understood as the prelude to the new imperialist world war.

EXPOSE THE BANDIT LEAGUE

3. In the preparation for the Italian seizure of Ethiopia, the League of Nations has once more demonstrated beyond any possible doubt its true role. The League is not in any sense whatever "the defender of peace." It is the legal and hypocritical cover for the maneuvering of the dominant imperialist powers. Since Ethiopia first invoked League assistance on December, 1934, the negotiations have served to permit uninterrupted preparation for the war by Italy, and to deter defensive preparation by Ethiopia. The League has been utilized above all to serve the ends of British imperialism. Behind its cover, the agents of Great Britain, France and Italy have haggled over the price in terms of treaties, guarantees, protection, and territories which each was willing to pay to preserve its own interests. The threat of League sanctions has been made not to save Ethiopia - which the League report itself offered to sacrifice - but to safeguard British colonial possessions and lines of communication, and to try to close the opening for Germany in Central Europe. The League of Nations is the agency, not of peace, but of imperialist aggression.

The struggle against imperialist war demands the unremitting exposure of the role of the League of Nations.

4. No less than the European powers is U.S. imperialism bound by the iron chain of cause and effect to the events in Africa and to the new world conflict which they herald. The sentimental dream of U.S. isolation, Roosevelt's promises that the U.S. will remain "free and untangled," have no more force than the unctuous phrases of Wilson in 1916. The U.S. will, on the contrary, play the dominant and decisive role in the new imperialist struggle. Behind its pacifist covering, the Roosevelt government is pouring more funds into its war machine than any other nation in the world. Both navy and army are constructed on a purely offensive strategic basis. The U. S. bourgeoisie, waiting and preparing, expects to intervene in the later stages of the world struggle, when the other powers are mutually exhausted, to achieve the world domination of U.S. finance-capital.

The struggle against imperialist war is above all the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

AGAINST STALINIST BETRAYAL

5. The USSR cannot avoid implication in the world conflict. The very life of the workers' state is threatened by the approach of war. A central task of the struggle against imperialist war is the defense of the USSR. But, in the last analysis, this defense can be based only upon the revolutionary advance of the international proletariat. Stalinist diplomacy, on the contrary, to an ever increasing degree, serves solely to disorient the international proletariat, break up the struggle against imperialist war, and thus undermine the real defense of the USSR. Basing itself not upon the international working class, but upon military pacts with bourgeois states, upon diplomatic deals, appeals to pacifist and liberal anti-war sentiment, and the maneuvers of the League, Soviet foreign policy promotes the most disastrous illusions in the minds of the workers, and acts in effect to further the interests of French and British imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war requires the constant exposure of the foreign policy of Stalinism.

6. One of the most dangerous illusions fostered by the diplomacy of the Soviet Union, in company with demoralized liberals, reformists, and pacifists of all shades, is the notion that the world is now divided between "peace-loving nations" and "war-loving fascist" nations. This notion is part of the preparation for support of the "peace-loving nations" in the coming war. Marxism rejects and dispels this illusion or any form of it. The idea that there are

peace-loving as opposed to war-loving capitalist nations, like the idea that one or another nation is "guilty" in an imperialist war, is at best formalistic ethical sentimentality, not political realism. The causes of war are to be found in the internal structure of world capitalism, operating within all nations. The national state of every capitalist nation, without exception, is the political instrument of the class enemy, the first and implacable enemy of that nation's proletariat. The revolutionary party can make no distinction between "good" and "bad" capitalist states. It is the enemy of every capitalist state, to the death.

7. At the outbreak of the last imperialist war, the Second International revealed its internal degeneration by betraying the working class to the class enemy, by espousing the cause of national defense and patriotism, by a truce with the bourgeoisie in the interests of "national unity," by going over to social-patriotism and social-chauvinism. Already, before the outbreak of the new war, the leaders of the Socialist and Labor International have announced a repitition of the betrayal, are already preparing to turn over their following to the war-makers. In England, the British Labour Party, by calling for government applied sanctions and the closing of the Suez Canal, once again takes the position of national unity - that is, solidarity with the class enemy - before the war danger, and of fully developed social-patriotism. In France, the leaders of the SFIO, have taken the same position - to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie against "Hitler aggression," and now to "implement the League Covenant" by government sanctions. In August, the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International adopted a program of full-blooded social-patriotism.

The struggle against imperialist war means the struggle against the Second International.

COMBAT SOCIAL PATRIOTISM

8. During the past year, the Communist International has passed from a policy which weakened and disoriented the revolutionary struggle against war to an active espousal of the policies of class truce and social patriotism. By the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Stalin-Laval communique, the conduct of the Soviet Union in the League during the development of the Ethiopian crisis, and above all by the Seventh Congress of the C.I., the Communist International stands unmasked as the heir of social-democracy's betrayal on the issue of war, announcing itself as ready to do the hangman's job of turning over the proletariat of England, France and the U.S. to their national bourgeoisie in the coming war, in return for paper promises of protection for the borders of the Soviet Union. In England, the Communist Party applauds the position of the Labor Party; in France, the Communist party supports enthusiastically the worst betrayals of Blum and Herriot; and throughout the world the Communist International prepares the sacrifice of the working class on the altar of imperialism.

The struggle against imperialist war means everywhere the relentless struggle against Stalinism.

9. Throughout the world the only organized forces conducting and advocating the revolutionary struggle against imperialist war are the parties and groupings of the Fourth Internationalists. The Workers Party of the U.S. carries on this struggle in the closest solidarity with its comrades in all countries.

Against the betrayers, the Workers Party rejects every form of social patriotism and social-chauvinism; it rejects every conception of national unity and national defense; it rejects all ideas of truce with the bourgeois state, democratic or fascist; it exposes the role of the League of Nations as the pawn of the imperialist member states; it rejects the sentimental illusions of pacifists and petty bourgeois liberals; above all it directs its attacks against the enemy at home, against U.S. imperialism.

The Workers Party places no reliance on the "peaceful" intentions of bourgeois-democratic nations, nor upon spineless "united fronts" of liberals, ministers and bourgeois women's clubs and "anti-war" professionals.

A DEFEND ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE

The Workers Party calls for the defense of the Ethiopian peoples against Italian aggression, for the defense of the USSR., for unremitting struggle against the coming imperialist war. But for this defense and this struggle, the Workers Party calls at the same time for the sole means by which they can be, in fact, conducted: for the independent and autonomous action of the working class. It is the international working class, especially the Italian working class, together with the oppressed colonial peoples, who are the true allies of the Ethiopian peoples - not "peace-loving" Britain, nor the League of Nations, nor Stalin-Laval, nor Roosevelt, nor their own Christian emperor and

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M.D. April 2013