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DEVOTED TO THE THEORY OF MARXISM

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Supplement

Nov 1937

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SHALL REVOLUTIONARIES PARTICIPATE IN COALITION GOVERNMENTS?

1. Revolutionaries participate in parliamentary activity to expose the bourgeoisie, to help disintegrate the capitalist forces, to utilize the tribunal to reach masses against capitalism and for the end of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This parliamentary activity as a whole, is an auxiliary activity to the general activity below parliament, to mobilize the masses for extra parliamentary activity. But to confuse parliamentary activity of revolutionaries with the participation in coalition governments is to negate Marxism and is to accept the reformist position on parliamentary activity.

2. Parliamentary activity of reformism has as its cornerstone the "capture" of the "democratic" bourgeois state and the peaceful transformation from capitalism to socialism. As a step in this direction the reformists participate in coalition governments, in the bourgeois ministry. History, however, has proved time and again that as a minority or the ruling party the workers' utilization of the bourgeois state for the gradual evolution to socialism is a brake upon the maturing proletarian revolution.

3. But there are those who participate in coalition governments, in the bourgeois cabinet, for other reasons. At least they say so. They start with the premise that they are for the overthrow of capitalism and that the bourgeois state is a hindrance that must be removed. But in view of their present weakness, their minority position, it is necessary to go along with the coalition government and enter the cabinet in order to "expose" the moves of the enemy, to "guard" the workers interests, to keep "contact" with the masses. They go into the government in order to "take advantage" of their position within the government for "revolutionary" ends. This left cover is more treacherous than the open reformist position.

4. The POUM of Spain presents the above position. This position is centrist in words and reformist in action.

The Generality, with all of its "workers" garb, is a bourgeois government, is a government dominated by the Anglo-French Imperialists. The imperialists utilize the petty bourgeois Esquerre, the Stalinists, the Socialists and the Anarchists to serve their imperialist ends. The POUM was the tail to this structure.

5. The Anarchist leaders of the CNT develop their fundamental error of entry to the Peoples Front government to its logical conclusion. As Anarchists they are "opposed" to Parliament and while in the government of the bourgeoisie, which ruled by emergency decree in the war against Fascism, stated that the Constituent Assembly was outlived and was dead. But now that the bourgeoisie is stronger and the composition of the pre-July elected Parliament is to the right of the Cabinet of the Generality that came into life after the July days (although changed several times), the forces fighting for bourgeois normality call for the meeting of the old elected Parliament. The an-

archist leaders who knew nothing and learned less about the State since the July and May uprising calls for the rule by decree of the Council of the Generality as superior to the rule of the Catalan Parliament. The decrees of the Council of the Generality are by "agreement" of the parties of the coalition government, by an agreement of the Generality Cabinet, by the bourgeois ministers, while the Catalan Parliament is "nothing but a talking shop of reactionaries" elected before the July Days. The Anarchists confuse the bourgeois Executive Committee before the uprising and after the uprising - with the ebbs and flows of the civil war, confuse the pressure of the masses upon the bourgeois state with the state itself, thereby, like all other reformists, helping hold in check the workers.

6. Revolutionists participate in Parliamentary activity as an auxiliary activity, as opposition to the bourgeois state Executive Committee, while participation in coalition governments, in bourgeois cabinets is a position of sharing the ruling power with the bourgeois state Executive Committee. The interest of the proletariat, the interest of the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system demands no participation in coalition governments. Such is betrayal. The workers have no fatherland. The representatives can rule for the proletariat only under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is but a transition structure to a stateless society based upon a classless society.

(Note: brief supplement on the 4th Congress of the CI on this question to be added.)

THE PARTY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. Under the rule of the Dictatorship of the Capitalists, the party, that is, the revolutionary Marxian organization, is the seed and the embryo which through a series of transformations in the class struggle and the civil war becomes the dictatorship of the proletariat. A false position on the party will inevitably lead to a false position on the question of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the party like the state is not only an objective fact in the class struggle; it is also a subjective factor, of human beings, of proletarian revolutionists to bring to the class socialist ideology.

2. More complicated than revolutionary changes in inorganic and organic development is the social system which carries with it not only the seed of its destruction in its new birth, but also the developed form of the seed in new relation, in new content. Such is the case of the revolutionary Marxian party and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The party becomes the guiding, directing force of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This was the position presented by Lenin, that is the Marxian concept.

3. But Trotsky, who has revised Marxism on many fundamental questions, also revises this important question. Trotsky, in the Revolution Betrayed, on page 266 says: "The prohibition of opposition parties was a temporary measure dictated by conditions of civil war, blockade, intervention, and famine...The prohibition of other parties, from being a temporary evil, has been erected into a principle (by Stalinism)." The PCUM states this same principle deviation of Trotsky in cruder form. They state that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat can be exercised by the PCUM (centrists), CNT (anarchists), and the PSUO (Stalinists and Socialists).

Whereas the PCUM position on this one question is reformist, the Trotsky position is centrist. Trotsky's formulation leaves two doors open in the one formulation. 1 - That there can be more than one party under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. 2 - That there will be only one party directing the Dictatorship, but at the same time the communists will allow opposition parties in the early transition period because of the "strength" of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in advanced economic countries. Even though the Trotsky formulation is to the left of the PCUM, and leaves the door open for a left interpretation, it remains outside the bounds of a Marxian concept.

4. In the decay state of capitalism there can be no progressive capitalist or capitalist party. The only progressive class is the proletariat and the only progressive party is the revolutionary Marxian Party. Under capitalism there can be only one proletarian party - the revolutionary Marxian Party. All other parties, though working class in form, are bourgeois in content. To conclude that the proletarian party and the bourgeois parties can exercise the Dictatorship as the PCUM does or as Trotsky implies by his formulation is to negate the above concept of the party under capitalism.

5. Under capitalism the proletarian party (the revolutionary Marxian organization) must carry on united front activity with the other working class parties (working class in form and bourgeois in content) in order to separate in action the workers from these centrist and reformist parties. In the period of Civil War, in the period of Dual Power, the united front with other "working class" parties is continued. Under Dual Power it is expressed in the Soviets; as the highest form of the United Front. But the centrists like the PCUMites and Trotskyists also deny this, that is, they "go beyond this" by their formulations; they in reality state: That the highest form of the united front of the "working class" parties is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

6. But to confuse the period of dual power and soviets before the smashing of the bourgeois state with Soviets after the period of the seizure of power - with the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat - is false. Under Dual Power the united front of the "working class" parties in the Soviets is to enable the Marxists to win the majority of the proletariat and oppressed masses to the struggle for power.

7. In the fire of the revolution and in the fire of the insurrection, the clear line of demarcation between the Marxists and the proletarian revolutionists under their leadership and the non-Marxists will be revealed in ACTION for or against the smashing of the bourgeois state and the seizure of power. A bloc of parties, if such would be the case, in the struggle for power through the Soviets would result in a fusion in one party with the seizure of power. Fundamental agreement on the principle questions of the seizure of power and the establishment of the rule of the proletariat equals agreement on REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM.

If an agreement is obtained with two or more parties for the seizure of power (for the smashing of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat), the unification of these parties into one Marxian party may be accomplished only after workers' power is established. This transition is not excluded and once completed the forces fighting against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and for the return to Bourgeois "democracy" will be suppressed.

8. Trotsky attributes to Stalinism the concept of the one party guiding the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. But this is false. Stalinism has also revised this Marxian concept. Trotsky confuses the Stalinist non-Marxian position on this question with Lenin's, with Marxism. Stalinism also rejects the Marxian position of the party as the guiding organization of the state through the transition period. Stalinism struggles consistently to replace the party with the bureaucracy which warps the Soviet state and is leading to its defeat.

9. Not only is the concept of the Dictatorship of the bureaucracy (of Stalinism) wrong, but likewise the concept of the Dictatorship of the Party).

10. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not the dictatorship of the Party. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a structure of workers' democracy with the party only as the guiding organization, with the Soviets and the trade unions and the other workers organizations carrying out an indispensable part of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat AGAINST the remnants of the former exploiters and FOR workers interest through workers democracy. The living, active participation of the party, the soviets, the trade unions, and the other workers organizations have a part within the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (in check and balance) that can only be eliminated in the transition period to the detriment

of the proletarian interest.

Likewise, the elimination of democratic centralism in the party, like the elimination of workers democracy in the Soviets and the trade unions by Stalinist bureaucracy can only lead to defeat. The elimination of factions in a communist organization, factions as a fundamental aspect of democratic centralism, and yet factions regulated by democratic centralism, can only lead to further steps to the right. The temporary prohibition of factions by the party under Lenin was carried over to a permanent prohibition of factions by Stalinism. Factions within the bounds of democratic centralism shall not be prohibited. On this question we are

now of the opinion that prohibition of factions in the bounds of democratic centralism was an error on Lenin's part.

12. The dictatorship against the exploiters can be exercised by the proletariat only through democracy in the Soviets and in the trade unions, and under the leadership of the revolutionary Marxist party in the period of transition from capitalism to Communism; only such a structure will insure the development toward the classless society and the disappearance of the state.

FOR THE WAR AND THE REVOLUTION

1. The working class and petty-bourgeois organizations in Spain reveal their position for or against the proletarian revolution by the way they formulate and execute the slogan, "For the War and the Revolution".

The Esouerra, the Stalinists and the right and left wing Socialists issue the slogan, "For the War and the Revolution". Their position is to win the war against Fascism today and the revolution against capitalism tomorrow. In life the slogan of these organizations has resulted in directing more energy against the proletarian revolution than against the war against Fascism. Confronted in July 1936 with a matur-

ing social revolution, with a struggle of Fascism attempting to head off Communism, the "democratic" bourgeoisie and the supporters of the Peoples Front skillfully formulated this position against both the proletarian revolution, and the Fascists, but at the same time with the aim of subordinating the workers and peasants to the Peoples Front.

They filled the abstract slogan: "for the War and the Revolution" with concrete action of subordinating ALL to the "war against Fascism".

In life itself this meant a class war against the proletariat and an inner capitalist war against the Fascists. By the formula of the war against Fascism and the revolution tomorrow they were able to turn upside down the question of Fascism and Capitalism, of the war against Fascism and the revolution against capitalism. That is, they fought MURDER against the proletarian revolutionists and in a secondary way against the Fascists, while the workers and peasants who accepted this social patriotic formula fought only against Fascism. While the workers who were subjected to the bourgeois Peoples Front fought Fascism at the front, the Peoples Front fought the proletarian revolution in the rear and at the front.

2. The Anarchists, FAI and the CNT, as well as the centrist PCUM, formulated the question of war and revolution as follows: "The war and the revolution cannot be separated." But both the anarchist and centrist organizations in action placed the war against fascism before the revo-

lution against capitalism. They mechanically separated these two questions and trailed behind the reformist formula. The January La Batalla

unist formula presenting two positions. To win, to defeat the proletariat in its struggle against capitalism and not as the POUM claims, "to win the war (?) at a greater price". The ACTION of the CNT and the POUM ~~xxxx~~ since July 19th uprising clearly proves that the abstract slogan was filled with the content of the war first and the revolution later.

3. The revolutionary Marxists present the question of war and revolution on a different basis. The war against fascism and the revolution against capitalism are not TWO questions. They are two aspects of ONE question. The decisive part of the two-fold aspect is revolution. The proletariat must carry on the war against Fascism at the front and in the rear. The "fascist" bourgeoisie are the right arm of the defense of CAPITALISM used when the left arm, the "democratic" bourgeoisie is no longer able to hold in check the proletarian revolution. The proletariat can carry on a struggle against the "fascist" bourgeoisie only on the BASIS of a struggle against CAPITALISM.

This calls for the ~~politically~~ ^{politically} and organizationally independent action of the ~~xxxx~~ proletariat and its party, against both the "democratic" and "fascist" capitalists.

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Notice:

The Third Plenum of the League held in New York City Oct., 2-6, opened the pre-convention discussion period of the Second Convention of the organization, to be held in Chicago, starting Saturday Dec., 25. Now that the pre-convention discussion period is open the Political committee presents its position and all other positions to the membership and to the working class. After the Plenum material is issued, the documents and articles of the membership will be issued. Articles for the Internal bulletin shall be limited to 1000 words. Articles for the press shall be limited to 500 words.

Details on convention arrangements will be sent to all units in a special letter.

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REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM - RIFTEL

The outcome of the historic struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie depends upon whether the former comes to realize its historic mission and on this basis carries on its struggle in complete independence. The whole policy of the bourgeoisie consists in trying to prevent this. The only force that can give the proletariat the correct vision of its historic mission and independence in its struggle is its communist vanguard, whose growth in turn is conditioned by the maturity of the class situation nationally and internationally.

Since the bourgeoisie's attempts to prevent the proletariat from arriving at a clear understanding of its historic mission and to fight in complete independence TAKE EVER NEW FORMS, the decisive task of the communist vanguard consists in analysing correctly these continuous changes. Only on condition of understanding correctly and in time the new manœuvres of our enemy class can the vanguard lead the class into correct action.

The highest stage of the independence and communist consciousness of the proletariat is being reached in the proletarian revolution, i.e. in the frontal attack against the bourgeois state. Its lowest stage is reached in imperialist war, i.e. when one section of the proletariat fights for the preservation of "its" state against other sections of the class, which in turn defend "their" states. In the decay stage of capitalism society, i. e. above all the proletariat, is continuously moving towards either the one or the other, as indicated by the formula "War OR revolution".

The bourgeoisie's struggle against the proletarian revolution takes, therefore, the form of mobilizing the masses for imperialist war by driving them off their class line, i.e. by making them support one section of the exploiters. This mobilization for imperialist war, and imperialist war itself, take ever new forms, i.e. appear in ever new disguises. To uncover these manœuvres of the bourgeoisie and to put the proletariat on guard against them is the key task of the communist vanguard, whose fulfillment alone gives it the right to that title. Only the un-

masking of these manoeuvres allows the vanguard to maintain its full independence, every time it is endangered by some historical turn, or to regain it when it has been destroyed temporarily. Only thus can the course towards imperialist war be changed into the opposite course toward the proletarian revolution, and only thus can an imperialist war, once broken out, be transformed into class war and become the prelude to the triumph of the proletariat.

In the decline stage of capitalism imperialist war becomes ever more a method of destroying products and forces of production, including the force of labor, which in the form of the modern proletariat constitutes the living negation of the capitalist system. While the struggle between groups and individuals, among the exploiters necessarily continues as long as the capitalist system with all its contradictions exists, their struggle against each other becomes ever more a joint struggle against the proletariat and the peasantry. (We do not speak here of those cases where the contending bourgeois groups openly fight together against the masses, but of wars which combine both aspects, the struggle among various capitalist groups on the one hand, and their joint struggle against the masses on the other.)

The struggle between various capitalist groups becomes ever more THE method of fighting the proletariat and peasantry, by making the masses kill off each other under the leadership of contending capitalist groups. The more the capitalist system decays, and the more helpless the "solution" of redividing the earth becomes, the more imperialist war becomes A WAR OF EXTERMINATION OF THE PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY. THE PRESENT WAR IN SPAIN IS SUCH A WAR OF EXTERMINATION, WAGED BY THE SPANISH AND WORLD BOURGEOISIE AGAINST THE PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY OF SPAIN!

While the world bourgeoisie endeavors to localise this almost scientifically "organized" mass slaughter in order to be able to control it (an attempt which has thus far been crowned with success), it utilises it at the same time to mobilize the workers and peasants OF THE WHOLE WORLD for bigger future imperialist wars, an attempt which has also been successful, as the tremendously accelerated decomposition of the world labor movement during the 14 months since the outbreak of the war in Spain and the world-wide triumph of social-patriotism prove.

This time the bourgeoisie has been able to accomplish what in the past it would not even have dreamed of; ITS IMPERIALIST WAR IS BEING PROCLAIMED BY PRACTICALLY ALL WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS THE WORLD OVER AS PART OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION! And not only do all of them vie with each other to send as many workers into the shambles as possible but the farther to the left these groups stand, the more they insist that "the war and the revolution are inseparable".

To understand the causes and the historical significance of this central phenomenon of to-day is the first duty of Marxists. Only those who fulfill this duty will be able to participate in a leading role in the revolutionary revival of to-morrow.

The formula that to-day does the trick for the bourgeoisie is in its essence not a new one. It is the "struggle" of "left" against "right"

bourgeoisie, of "Progress" and "democracy" against "reaction". But to-day, in correspondance with the advanced stage of decomposition of the capitalist system it has taken of a new form; the new formula of "anti-fascist" against "fascist" bourgeoisie is being supported "from the left" by the out-and-out revisionist formula "communism against fascism", in which "communism" has become part and parcel of "antifascism", and is opposed to fascism, not capitalism.

Antifascism and fascism fulfill the same function of mobilizing the masses for imperialist war by temporarily establishing class peace, although they do it by opposite methods. They mutually strengthen each other (as do the "right" and "left" methods of the bourgeoisie generally) and depend each in their effectiveness on the existence of the other. This is especially true of antifascism, whose very development depends on the existence of fascism: without the "fascist danger" the antifascist maneuver of bringing the rebellious workers back into the fold of the nation would not work. Of the two, antifascism is undoubtedly the more dangerous weapon, because it gets the masses "voluntarily" to the trenches, as opposed to the obviously terrorist method of fascism.

There is no fundamental difference between an "anti-fascist" war within the nation and one between several of them, BECAUSE IN EACH CASE THE MASSES FIGHT UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THEIR CLASS ENEMY, AND OBJECTIVELY FOR ITS CLASS INTERESTS, in spite of their belief to the contrary. IN EITHER CASE BOTH ARMS (the fascist and the anti-fascist one) ARE BOURGEOIS ARMS, AND THE MASSES ON BOTH SIDES ARE MERE CANNON FODDER. AN INTERNAL ANTI-FASCIST WAR HAS TO BE CHARACTERIZED AS AN IMPERIALIST WAR JUST AS AN EXTERNAL ONE.

The internal antifascist war conceals its imperialist character better and serves therefore in the additional function of mobilizing the masses on a national and international scale for future imperialist wars in which the bourgeoisie may not be able to use the same kind of maneuver as to-day, to make the masses fight for its cause. Once driven off its class line by an internal antifascist war, the proletariat is ripe for the more open kinds of imperialist war to which the bourgeoisie may have to return to in the future, preferably in the form of a war or wars between fascist and antifascist countries.

The transformation of wars under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, i.e. in the imperialist stage of capitalism, imperialist wars, into class war requires A COMPLETE AND ABRUPT BREAK WITH THE FORMER BY THE COMMUNIST VANGUARD. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO "WIN THE LEADERSHIP" OF AN ANTI-FASCIST WAR OR ANY OTHER WAR UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE, AND TO CHANGE THEREBY ITS CLASS CHARACTER. Such attempts result inevitably in the ever deeper objective and subjective subordination of the proletariat to its class enemy, because a false hope (the more dangerous and lasting the "left" the arguments on which it is based) prevents the workers from making the complete break with the enemy's war which alone allows the re-establishment of class fronts. The Marxist formula for this complete break is REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM.

The rejection of the policy of revolutionary defeatism as applicable to the war in Spain by almost all organizations that claim to be Marxist.

and their acceptance of a social-patriotic position mark the final stage of the long period of disintegration of the communist movement which began with the defeats of the Central European proletariat after the world war. This last stage is characterized by the unmasking of all those who in the past had failed to build a solid theoretical foundation on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the lessons of the postwar ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ struggles (Comintern and Workers' State in Russia), of the new forms of the class struggle which have arisen in the post-war years (especially fascism and anti-fascism), and of the underlying changes in the structure of capitalism (above all the establishment of a war economy in times of peace). The historical process of selecting the cadres that are to lead the future revival of the communist movement, a process which is essentially one of sifting, on the basis of the continuous confrontation of programmatic positions, has entered its final stage.

The events in Spain have put every organization to the test. We have to admit that we have not stood it. Seeing this, our first and foremost duty is to study the roots of our failure. Our second duty is to admit our failure in all frankness before the national and international proletariat. Only thus can we hope to rehabilitate ourselves as a Marxist vanguard organization. If the organization pulls through this crisis, i.e. analyses to the bottom its failure to meet a historic test, and corrects it completely, it will be essentially new organization, having outgrown the weaknesses of its childhood days. It will then be one of the very few organizations on an international scale that have weathered the Spanish storm. In fact it will be stronger than before, as are those who capable of correcting themselves even when that correction touches the very essentials of their position.

By its failure to recognize the imperialist character of the war in Spain and by its rejection of the policy of revolutionary defeatism the Political Committee has demonstrated its inability to react to new events as Marxists and to give leadership to the class, while the acquiescence of the majority of the Central Committee and of the membership to the resultant social-patriotic policy of the Political Committee has revealed a fundamental weakness OF THE WHOLE ORGANIZATION.

In conjunction with its failure to recognize the imperialist character of the war in Spain the Political Committee has in the course of the 14 months since the outbreak of the war abandoned the two fundamental ~~principles~~ positions that separate Marxists from reformists: 1. THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF UTILIZING OR COOPERATING WITH OR DEFENDING ANY PART OF THE CAPITALIST STATE APPARATUS, INCLUDING ITS MOST DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AS A ~~xxxxxxx~~ STEP TOWARDS THE EMANCIPATION OF THE PROLETARIAT. 2. THE INDISPENSIBILITY OF THE EXISTENCE OF A COMMUNIST VANGUARD FOR THE EXISTENCE OF A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION.

The Marxist thesis of the indispensibility of the EXISTENCE of a communist vanguard has been replaced by the Political Committee by the opposite thesis of the indispensibility of a LINE for its creation,

Having that "line", it is now considered to be correct to call on the workers to fight in the army of the enemy class (i.e., to support the very backbone of the capitalist state), - of course on the line of "No support to Azana!" and of "No support to the Peoples Front army!" The most concise formulation of this new position is contained in the following paragraph in a document on Spain which the Political Committee accepted on July 20th, 1937: "What is decisive is not whether there are actually functioning independent workers militias, or soviets or party, but whether the masses are in revolutionary motion against the class enemy, even though the instruments of the masses are in the hands of the bosses' agents, and whether there is a LINE for the creation of these indispensable organs, especially the party" (Point 11).

On the basis of this abandonment of the Marxist position regarding the indispensability of the existence of a communist vanguard for the existence of a revolutionary situation, and of its evaluation of the war in Spain as essentially a civil war, the Political Committee has characterized the situation in Spain as REVOLUTIONARY and has affirmed the possibility of creating the class party of the Spanish proletariat ON THE BASIS OF THIS SITUATION, i.e., on the basis of the support which the Spanish proletariat and all its organizations give to the war under the direction of the bourgeoisie. It is plain that the only kind of party that can be created on this basis is not the class party of the proletariat, but JUST ANOTHER SOCIAL PATRIOTIC PARTY of the "Bolshevik-POUM-SAP" type.

The class party of the Spanish proletariat can not be created in the present situation of imperialist war, as the experience of the world war has demonstrated conclusively. But it can and must be PREPARED today, as it was prepared during the world war in those countries where no vanguard had been organized before the war. THIS PREPARATION HAS TO CONSIST IN THE FIRST PLACE IN THE OPEN CHARACTERIZATION OF THE WAR AS AN IMPERIALIST WAR AND IN OUR REFUSAL TO SUPPORT IT IN ANY WAY AND UNDER ANY PRETEXT.

By its refusal to proclaim this the Political Committee has demonstrated that its work is directed not towards the creation of a proletarian class party, BUT AGAINST IT AND TOWARDS THE CREATION OF JUST ANOTHER SOCIAL PATRIOTIC PARTY. Its affirmation of the possibility of creating a CLASS party of the Spanish proletariat in the PRESENT SITUATION serves the same end as the underlying characterization of that situation as revolutionary and as the denial of the imperialist character of the war: it serves the Political Committee to demonstrate that the transformation of that war into class war and the resultant creation of a situation of proletarian offensive, as the indispensable condition for the creation of a proletarian class party, IS UNNECESSARY. In other words, the affirmation of the possibility of creating the class party of the proletariat WITHOUT A COMPLETE CHANGE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION serves the Political Committee to JUSTIFY THE SUPPORT IT GIVES TO THE IMPERIALIST WAR.

With this revision of two fundamental positions of Marxism (state and party) the Political Committee has negated our whole past struggle against Trotsky's policy of entering the party of the agents of our class enemy, while retaining "the line" of building an independent class party of the proletariat, and has rejoined the ranks of Trotskyism, today the left flank covering the bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolution. The elimination of those responsible for the abandonment of the positions on which the Revolutionary Workers League had originally been built, from all leading posts is necessary as a first organizational measure to safeguard the future of the organization. The next step has to be an open discussion of the two diametrically opposed positions that have arisen within the organization, BEFORE THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, in preparation for the second National Convention of our organization.

###

Minority position of P. Eiffel

Read--

Volume 2 No.14 Fourth International Supplement

On the Revolutionary Workers League Reply to the Open Letter of the Bordiguist group on "revolutionary defeatism"

Another P.C. document on "revolutionary defeatism" will appear in a forthcoming issue.

Send in contributions to help us print the list of Plenum documents listed on the first page of this issue.

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