

For the Fourth International

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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THE NEW TURN OF THE ICL

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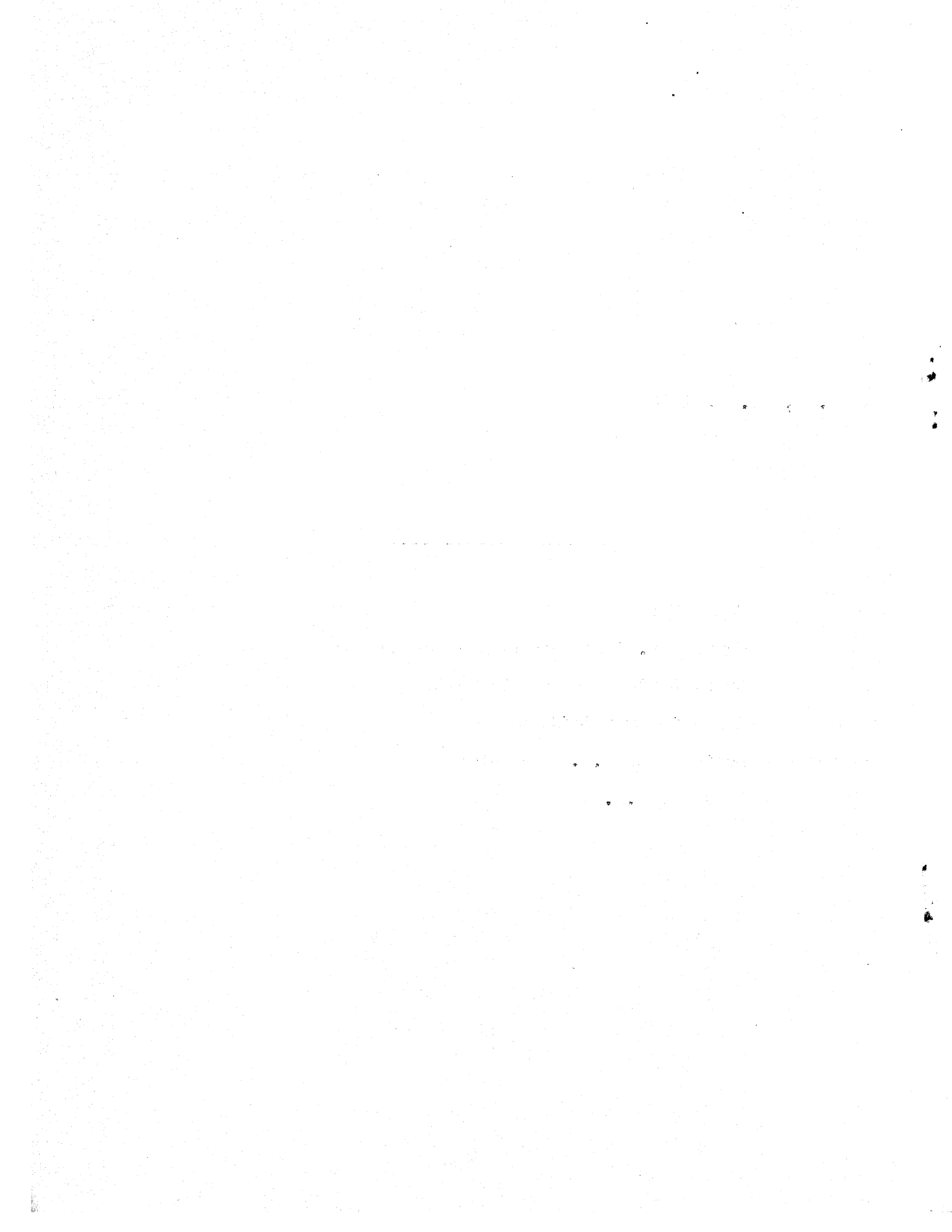
Letter from I.S. to Oehler

Reply to I.S.

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Send all mail to: **P. HANDY** ———— **67 West 11th Street, New York City**

(LABOR DONATED)



(This is the famous letter which extended the French turn internationally in the name of the new orientation).

November 1, 1934

TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE
BELGIAN SECTION

Dear Comrades:-

I have had an opportunity to peruse the minutes of the Viennese Schutzbund Conference at which Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch participated (June, 1934). This document is full of lessons. It not only gives an authentic picture of what Austro-Marxism was, but also of the unexpected and un hoped-for gains of the Austrian Stalinists. After breaking with the Social-democracy, the most militant workers sought support in the Comintern. The minutes show that events have in all seriousness, vaccinated the labor elite against reformism, but have left them almost entirely defenseless against Stalinism. This means that the best elements in the proletariat have as yet to pass through other tragic experiences before they finally find their way.

These same minutes, ample enough and detailed though they are, do not make any mention whatsoever, of the various groupings of the "Left Opposition". It was in Austria that sectarianism as exemplified by Landau and by Frey, reared altogether unhampered. And the results? The most formidable of crises came, and passed entirely over the heads of those grouplets, despite the fact that there had always been broad sympathies for our ideas in Vienna. It is a very sad, but nevertheless invaluable lesson. It must be said now openly: Ever since the beginning of the crisis in the Austrian party it was a supreme duty of our friends to enter the Austro-Marxist party, to prepare within it the revolutionary current. One cannot avow that on that condition events would have taken a different path of development. But it is absolutely certain that no matter what development events would have produced, our tendency would have come out of it ten times, a hundred times stronger than it is now. The objection may be raised that entry into a social-democratic party a year and a half ago would have been psychologically impossible, since the evolution of the reformist and Stalinist parties was not then sufficiently advanced enough, so as to impose on us our new orientation. This objection would be quite correct. But in this letter we are not concerned with finding an explanation or a justification for the shortcomings of this or that section at one moment or another. We are concerned here with taking inventory of the fundamental tendencies arising in the labor movement since the defeat in Germany, which imposes upon us a much more daring turn towards the masses. Without this, entirely fresh layers of the proletariat will be pushed into the arms of Stalinism and another whole period will be lost for the revolution.

The recent, as yet brief, experience of our French section already enables us to adduce a positive confirmation of the negative lessons of the Austrian experience. It is becoming self-evident that the French section has made a great step

forward which may have some genuinely salutary consequences... always on condition, however, that the Bolshevik-Leninist group learns to rid itself of propagandistic narrowness, and, without losing sight for a moment of its clear ideas and slogans, shows an ability to adapt itself to the milieu of the masses in order to fuse our program with their experiences and their struggles. It may be said now almost with certainty, that if we had been able to bring about entry into the SFIO on the morrow of the departure of the Nees, and in any case, before the conclusion of the united front, we should already at the present be able to show considerable successes to our credit. All this is said, not in order to deplore things that are past, but in order that we may learn - and we must all learn without any exceptions - to orientate ourselves on a national scale more rapidly and more courageously.

I have not as yet received any documents on the recent events in Spain, generally, and on the role played by our section. But the general line of development suffices to draw the conclusion that our Spanish comrades should have joined the Socialist party there at the very outset of the internal difficulties which began to prepare that party for the armed struggle. Our position in the Spanish would today be more favorable.

One of our Belgian comrades, who plays quite a part in the youth movement, has sent me some documents which describe the relationship existing among Jeune Garde socialiste, the Stalinists and ourselves, and also, a little of the internal life of the J.G.S. The conclusion that I have drawn from these documents is that our young comrades should immediately join the J.G.S. With this declaration, I will perhaps run headlong up against the impassioned objections of several dozen comrades. But I firmly hope that the French experience will be convincing enough for those of our friends who are more inclined to stress the dangers rather than the advantages of the new orientation. In any case, the question appears to me to be most urgent, a burning question even, and I pose it before the international as well as the national leadership.

The united front of the three youth organizations in Belgium was naturally an important principle acquisition. The fact alone that the question of so-called "Trotskyism" is posed before the Belgian young socialists is itself a step forward. But I do not believe that the triangular united front can last very long. Even if it does last, I do not believe that it can bring us any additional, important gains. We are strong as a revolutionary tendency, but weak as an organization. Accordingly, the united front, not only in the hands of the opponents, but of the well-intentioned allies as well, becomes an instrument to paralyze the development of our ideological expansion through the very statutes of the united front. The speeches of our comrades at the negotiations between the 3 organizations show the firm desire of our comrades to do their best and make the most of them. But it also is apparent how they are hampered, if we wish to avoid being chained down, by the diplomacy of the united front. The disproportion between our forces and those of the socialists imposes upon our comrades as a matter of fact a very modest attitude which corresponds to the relationship of the numerical forces, but not at all to the ideological role which we can and must play within the labor youth.

The united front, as it is proceeding in France and elsewhere at present, is poisoned by the diplomatic hypocrisy which is a means of self-defense for the two bureaucracies. By placing ourselves on the level of the united front as a weak organization we are condemned in the long run, to play the part of a poor relation who must not raise his voice too high so as not to incur the displeasure of his host. In this manner, our organizational independence avenges itself upon our political and ideological independence. We have witnessed the same phenomenon in France, after the events of February 6 and especially after the realization of the united front. La Verite today is much more independent in its criticism than it was before the entry into the SFIO. That is not an accident. The criticism which was banished from the domain of inter-organizational relations can only find its place in an intra-organizational form, not at all time and not in every place, but in any case inside of the SFIO and as far as I am able to judge, inside of the JGS. In such a case, organizational independence must give the right of way to political independence. Inside of the JGS our comrades will be able to carry on much more systematic work and much more fruitful work than from the outside. I have become definitely convinced of the necessity of entering there, ever since I heard that the young JGSes with whom our comrades are in contact, insisted that we come in and join them in their organization.

To postpone the decision would be a great mistake. The crisis in the FOB (Parti Ouvriere Belge -Belgian Labor Party) and especially between the youth and the party leadership may become brusquely sharpened and lead to the split. In that case, the JGS would unquestionably look to the Stalinists for attachment, in the manner of the Austrian left. That would mean a whole series of demoralizing experiences with the bureaucracy, an unfavorable "purification", that is, a selection of docile carp followers and careerists, the expulsion of the embattled and independent characters. In order not to perish the JGS require an anti-Stalinist vaccination. Only our comrades can provide it for them. But in order to fill this sanitary requirement, our comrades must be entirely free from the embarrassment imposed upon them by the statutes of the united front. It is necessary to go along with the JGS, to partake of their experiences, to inculcate them with our ideas and methods on the basis of these experiences.

I have not yet received any documents on the last Congress of the FOB. The question of the attitude of the left-including the Action Socialistes- is of extreme importance to the development of the proletarian vanguard in Belgium. But it seems to me that entry into the JGS is just as necessary, in case of an accentuation of the struggle inside the party as well as in the case of a momentary lapse. I shall await with the greatest impatience the opinions of the Belgian comrades.

CRUX (L.D.)

P.S. The SFIO is in a certain sense a petty-bourgeois organization not only because of its dominant tendency, but also because of its social composition: the liberal professions, municipal functionaries, labor aristocracy, teachers, white collar workers, etc. This fact naturally limits the possibilities created by the entry itself. The FOB, on the other hand, embraces the working class and the composition of the JGS is proletarian in its overwhelming majority. That means that adherence to the JGS would open up even

more favorable opportunities for us.

UNITY AND THE YOUTH

February -1935

The aim of this text: to correct the slogan of organic unity, which is not our slogan. The formula of organic unity - without a program, without concretization - is hollow. And as physical nature abhors a vacuum, this formula fills itself with an increasingly ambiguous and even reactionary content. All the leaders of the Socialist Party, beginning with Just and Marceau Pivert and ending with Frossard, declare themselves partisans of organic unity. The most fervent protagonist of this slogan is Lebas, whose anti-revolutionary tendencies are well enough known. The Communist leaders are manipulating the same slogan with increasing willingness. Is it our task to help them amuse the workers by an enticing and hollow formula?

The exchange of open letters of the two leaderships on the program of action is the promising beginning of a discussion on the aims and the methods of the workers' party. It is here that we should intervene vigorously. Unity like split are two methods subordinated to program and political tasks. The discussion having happily begun, we should tactfully destroy the illusory hopes in organic unity as a panacea. Our theses: the unity of the working class can be realized only on a revolutionary basis. This basis is our own program.

If fusion takes place tomorrow between the two parties, we place ourselves on the basis of the united party in order to continue our work. In this case the fusion may have a progressive significance. But if we continue to sow the illusion that organic unity is of value as such -- and it is thus that the masses understand this slogan and not as a more ample and more convenient audience for the Leninist agitators -- we shall be doing nothing but making it easier for the two conjoined bureaucracies to present us, us Bolshevik-Leninists, to the masses as the great obstacle on the road of organic unity. In these conditions unity might well take place on our backs, and become a reactionary factor. We must never play with slogans which are not revolutionary by their own content but which can play a quite different role according to the political conjuncture, the relationship of forces, etc... We are not afraid of organic unity. We state openly that the fusion may play a progressive role. But our own role is to point out to the masses the conditions under which this role would be genuinely progressive. In sum, we do not set ourselves against the current toward organic unity, which the two bureaucracies have already cornered. But while supporting ourselves on this current, which is honest among the masses, we introduce into it the critical note, the criterion of demarcation, programmatic definitions, etc.

"Nothing would be more dangerous," say the theses of Comrade Craipeau-Kamoun, "than to get hypnotized over this single

perspective and to consider all work useless so long as unity is not accomplished." This is right, but it is not sufficient. It is necessary to understand clearly that this perspective of organic unity detached from the revolutionary tasks can serve for nothing else than to hypnotize the workers by reconciling them with the passivity of the two parties.

In order to parry the sterilizing hypnotism of the slogan of organic unity the theses propose a "minimum of elementary Marxian principles as the charter of this unity". The formula is almost classic as the beginning of a downsliding on the opportunist incline. One begins by dosing up the Marxian principles for the delicate stomachs of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists. If it is a question only of enlarging the audience and of opening up to oneself an access to the Communist workers, why put conditions in the guise of "elementary principles" (very elementary, alas!)? And if it is a question of something else, that is to say, of the Party and the proletariat, how could a minimum of principles, and what is more, of "elementary principles", suffice?

Immediately after this the theses demand that it be explained to the workers "that there cannot be a genuine revolutionary unity except that which makes out of the Marxian party a coherent and disciplined organism." So? So? So?

We do not know if the very next stage of development will be an attempt at fusion, or on the contrary, a series of new splits in the two parties. We do not engage ourselves on the road of abstract formulae.

Since Feb. 6th La Verite has spent its time repeating the formula of the united front (which was moreover much richer in content at that epoch than the formula of organic unity is today. We criticize Naville for not concretizing the revolutionary content of the united front, thus permitting the two bureaucracies to seize upon this slogan without great risk. The same mistake must not be repeated under aggravated circumstances.

And for the youth? The same thing. There are not two policies: one for the youth, the other for the adults. Insofar as the youth carry on politics -- and that is their duty-- their policy must be adult. There are too many factors which are driving the revolutionary and inexperienced youth towards the Stalinists. The formula of unity facilitates this tendency and augments the dangers. Our weapon, which coincides with the superior interests of the proletarian vanguard, is the content of the unity. While basing ourselves on the currents toward unity, we develop the discussion, we deepen it, we group the best elements of the two camps around the "maximum" of our principles not at all "elementary", we reinforce our tendency. And then come what may, the revolutionary vanguard will profit by the fusion as by the split.

Let us look at the thesis: "The united youth (jeunesse Unique) cannot have the Leninist principles as its basis." Who says that? The reformists? The Stalinists? No, it is the Leninists of the generous type themselves. Every worker who reflects and who takes things in their totality, will reply: "If your principles are not good for making the revolutionary unity, they are good for nothing." "We will retreat," continue our generous Leninists, "on certain points if the agreement is impossible otherwise." Precisely why do the Leninists need to retreat on certain of their principles, of which they already possess only a minimum? It's absolutely incomprehensible.

We will be told: "But we are only a small minority!" Good. Then the two majorities -- or better yet, the two bureaucracies supporting themselves on the two majorities-- will make (or will not make) their fusion without our retreat. They have no need of it since they are the majority. The authors of the theses stand up not as propagandist of Leninism, but as benefactors of the human race. They want to reconcile the reformists with the Stalinists, even at their own expense. Still worse. They say so in advance, before being compelled to do so by the situation. They capitulate in anticipation. They retreat out of platonic generosity. All this contradictory reasoning, in which the authors feel themselves simultaneously the representatives of a small minority and the inspectors-generals of history, is the unhappy result of the trap which they set for themselves with the slogan of organic unity detached from all content or charged with a "minimum" content.

The authors of the theses obligate themselves even in case the Socialists should not want to accept Soviet form of power, to intervene among the Stalinists (in the given case the Leninists are the most logical intermediaries!) in order that they shall withdraw the slogan that the Leninists themselves find correct. Isn't that absurd, dear comrades? If you defend before the Socialists the slogan of Soviets (with our interpretation) you can win over a part of the Socialists and the sympathy of a part of the Stalinists. At the same time you remain faithful to yourselves, meanwhile assuring your future. But that does not suffice for you because you are the courtiers of unity. If this unity is realized thanks to your mediating intervention, the Stalinists will treat you like traitors -- and this time not without reason -- whereas the revolutionary Socialists will pass over to the left by the Stalinist path. Nobody will take kindly to you. That's the fate of all political courtiers.

* * *

I want to draw the attention of the comrades to Paragraph 2, which speaks of the necessity of reconstructing the revolutionary party "over the innumerable obstacles produced by the ruins of the Third International and the attraction still exercised by the Soviet Union. This formula must be qualified as criminal. The attraction "still exercised" by the Soviet Union is treated as an obstacle to the creation of the revolutionary party. Wherein consists this attraction for the broad masses, who receive neither a subsidy from the bureaucracy nor free tickets for trips to anniversary celebrations, nor any of the other gratuities well known by several "friends of the USSR"? The masses say to themselves: It is the only state that has come out of the workers' revolution. This sentiment is profoundly revolutionary. It is now reinforced all over again thanks to the Fascist danger. To appraise this attachment to the proletarian revolution and its acquisitions as an obstacle, is criminal, towards the Soviet Union as well as to the workers of the West.

It may be objected: "It's only a question of an unhappy expression, the authors mean to speak of the injurious result of the Soviet bureaucracy's imprint upon a part of the world proletariat." If it were only a question of a poorly chosen

formula it would not be worth discussing. Unfortunately this is not the case. In the ranks of the youth, and especially the non-proletarian, a display of cheap radicalism is often made by sowing doubts about the proletarian character of the Soviet state, by identifying the Comintern with the Soviet bureaucracy and, above all the latter with the entire workers' state. This mistake is ten times more grievous than for example, to identify Jouhaux with the trade union organizations, or Flum with the entire SFIO. Whoever does not have a clear and clean-cut point of view in this fundamental question does not have the right to speak before the workers because he could only sow confusion and scepticism repulsing the young workers towards Stalinism.

Whence come these artificial and even ambiguous constructions? They proceed from the bad social composition of the Socialist youth. Too many students. Too few workers. The students are occupied too much with themselves, too little with the workers' movement. A worker-environment disciplines a young intellectual. The worker wants to learn the fundamental and solid things. He asks for clear-cut replies. He does not like these factitious witticisms.

Salvation for the Seine district lies in mobilizing the students for the hard labor of recruiting workers. Whoever does not want to occupy himself with that has nothing to look for in the Socialist organization. The proletarian organization needs intellectuals, but only as aids for the rise of the working masses. On the other hand, the sincerely revolutionary and Socialist intellectuals must learn a good deal from the workers. The internal regime of the Youth must be adapted to this task, a division of labor must be organized, their exact tasks must be given to the students or groups of students in the workers' quarters, etc. Ideological oscillations will become all the less frequent the solidier the proletarian base of the organization will become.

CRUX (L.D.)



The Crux letter dealing with Organic Unity, now being circulated, received about five weeks before it was issued on Feb. 15, comes out against the slogan of Organic Unity. It is advisable to consider this letter in relation to the ICL turn, the so-called "French turn".

Crux retains the basic line of the new turn and has only changed his position on one important aspect of the problem---Organic Unity. Unless the whole turn is corrected fundamentally, on the question of the evaluation of Social Democracy, the road to the Fourth International, the SFIO, etc., further disintegration will take place.

The Organic Unity group in the former CLA had more than a rumor to hang their hat on. In fact, Crux did support Organic Unity. How? Where? The position presented by Comrade V in the Sept-Oct. issue of the New International laid down two variants for the building of the Fourth International. Organic Unity of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals. Of course, this could take place without us, but at the time V presented this variant the French section of the ICL was advocating Organic Unity as such - V said nothing against this. Second, the radicalization of the proletarian kernel in the Socialist parties and the decomposition of the Stalinists.

Further, in the whole critical period, when the French Section entered the SFIO and advocated Organic Unity in the most disgraceful fashion, Comrade Crux said nothing in opposition to this. Yet he was the initiator and guiding hand of this turn. Third, the Paris Plenum of the ICL, held in October, did not see fit to put the question of Organic Unity on the agenda, although it was a burning issue of the labor movement. The truth is that in a concealed fashion the Plenum endorsed Organic Unity by endorsing all of the acts of the Bolshevik-Leninist faction in the SFIO, including all of the issues of the Verite which clamored for Organic Unity. What Crux says now about Organic Unity was as true then and would have had ten times as much effect if said then instead of now.

Comrade Crux is now opposed to Organic Unity as such. He has changed his position too late, because the real harm has already been done. The Crux letter evades the main question. What about the turn itself?

Events in France and on a world scale have demonstrated the correctness of those opposed to the French turn on principled grounds, those who stood for the organizational and political independence of the French section and the sending of a faction into the SFIO.

The so-called French turn has had its damaging effects upon our International movement and clearly shows that all of the basic reasons given were false. The ICL thru the Verite propagated the slogan of Organic Unity at the same time the French section entered the SFIO, thereby exercising a retarding influence on workers of the two working class parties, grouping within those two parties working for a genuine revolutionary party based upon a Marxian program. It was argued that the imminent danger of Fascism in France and the War danger were matters of weeks making it necessary to liquidate the French League and enter the SFIO at once. This extremely short-range perspective proved false even though the danger of Fascism and the War danger is with us. In addition it was argued that due to the weakness of the League and the short perspective before decisive battles we could only influence events by liquidating and entering the SFIO. Facts have proved otherwise. The move of the ICL retarded the left drift in the Socialist ranks and started a new process in that direction. If the comrades in France and in the ICL would have realized that it was more than a matter of weeks the majority would have been convinced that we could have obtained far greater re-

sults by remaining an independent force and sending a faction into the SFIO.

Events proved that the new evaluation given to the Social Democrats was false; that no matter how radical sections became the fact remained that the Second International and its sections could not be reformed nor used as instruments for revolution; that the crisis within Social Democracy created by the crisis in the bourgeois state and the labor movement which impelled Social Democracy unevenly to the left, called for faction work and special emphasis of our ORGANIZATIONAL INDEPENDENCE outside of the second and third Internationals, to enable us to properly connect with the forces moving to the left within both organizations and to become the core for organization of a new party based upon revolutionary Marxism.

Since the "turn" in France, a group within the French Stalinist Party, has organized a faction and is issuing an imposing monthly theoretical organ---an open split in the Stalinist ranks. The turn in France prevented us from influencing this. The organ of these comrades say Trotsky capitulated to Social Democracy.

The French turn was posed as French exception, but events have since proven that it was the first step of an International turn based upon false theoretical premises.

The new turn of the ICL has resulted in a whole series of false steps and has compromised the ICL.

1..It has started a movement into the Second International from the ICL ranks and from other groups and by individuals. Crux's theoretical position on entry into Austria and Spain further developed this turn. Entry into the SFIO. Youth entry in Belgium causing a split with Vorceken in the lead of the opposition. Entry into the Labor Party of England of the returning delegate to the Paris Plenum. The Gitlow, Zam, Goldman capitulations in the U.S. The attempt to send the Y.S. into the YPSL and now the attempt to orientate the WP towards the SP.

2..The new turn has laid the basis for other sections to trail behind Social Democracy. In Belgium and in England.

3..The adoption of the slogan of Organic Unity of the French Section, a group in the U.S. and the Canadian section (only now rejected by Crux).

4..The willingness of our sections to unite with Contrist groups moving to the left on any kind of a "program". First draft for AWP and CIA unity.

5..The International turn helped check the leftward drift within the Second International. If the ICL could enter the left centrists reasoned it was alright for them to remain. This took place in France - Spaak group in Belgium - in the United States.

6..Cut us off from splits developing within the Stalinist ranks. New group in France.

7..In countries where it was not possible to unite with Socialists, where large petty bourgeois movements existed, the French turn was reflected in an attempt to get a bloc with this element. In Chile a parliamentary bloc with the Socialist and petty bourgeois parties has been formed.

The new turn of the ICL was the effect within our own ranks of the process of disintegration within the world labor movement since the German debacle. This new turn laid the basis for further disintegration. A whole series of revolutionary defeats led by Stalinism since 1923 which we fought against, has had its damaging effects upon the World labor movement and the Soviet Union. We were not immune from this process we fought against. The belated correction on the position of Organic Unity is a step in the correct direction but in itself is not sufficient to stem the tide of disintegration. The step necessary to stem the tide in the ranks of ICL is repudiation of International turn - French turn....

HUGO OEHLER

International Communist League (Bolshevik-Leninists)
International Secretariat.

Geneva, April 25, 1935

To Comrade Oehler, Member of the WP. U.S.
Copy to the National Committee of the WP. U.S.

Dear Comrade:

We have read your letter which contains a great deal of criticism without any proof.

It would be very interesting to have the comrades from all the sections discuss the experience of the French section, but this can be done precisely only on the basis of the accurate facts of these experiences, not on the basis of a priori, vague and sterile schemas.

First it must be established, that in view of the leftward trend in the Socialist Party (SFIO), the Leninist nucleus had to enter as a fraction into this party, in order to build the vanguard, first of all crystallizing a strong revolutionary tendency --- a tactic which has proved itself in practice as fully justified.

The French section, completely isolated by the wave of unity sentiment among the masses and by the collusion of the bureaucracies, was threatened with sectarian sterility, into which the splitters have fallen despite their fusion with the Union Communiste (one grouplet plus another grouplet does not make for a proletarian organization).

Now, today, despite the disruption caused by the split, it is safe to say that the French section has increased its membership 30 percent, that it has improved its social composition, replacing intellectual "gasbags" with serious workers or employees intent on carrying on positive work. A fusion is about to be effected with the group of comrade Naville whom it has not taken very long to grasp the necessity of the tactical steps executed by the majority of the former French Communist League.

Moreover, it is not only the recruitment of members alone which counts, for there are numerous working class militants who, because they already belong to a party or a union, are thus prevented from belonging organizationally to still a third organization which acts in effect as a party. The latter are nonetheless under our influence because of our constant presence inside the S.P., and we are able to involve them in our actions.

It is a great mistake to believe that from the outside we would have been able to influence them and to attract them toward us. From the outside we would never even have reached them. To think otherwise means to deny the fact that politics goes on within the limits of time and space.

If you wish to know several representative facts regarding the utilization (usefulness) of the French turn, you can find them in the Internal Bulletin of the I.C.L. of April 1, 1935.

Your statements regarding organic unity and the positions which you so gratuitously attribute to comrade Crux are no more based on fact than your condemnation of the French turn.

Comrade Crux has never said to us: 'Lull the workers with the slogan of organic unity, which is the Stalinists' and Socialist leaders' slogan. He said to us: it is necessary to build a vanguard, and in order to attain this objective, the experience of Lenin himself has taught us that such work can be carried on within a unified party as well as within a centrist party. We have never denied that if we were a revolutionary party, we would be against unity with a reformist party; and with even greater justification, we would not as much as think of joining as a tendency, a centrist outfit.

Your statement that "Comrade Crux is now opposed to organic unity as such" shows that you do not see how the question is posed. You attribute two positions to comrade Crux: yesterday, for organic unity; today, against organic unity --- neither of which he has ever held, because the one as well as the other results from an abstract conception of the workers' movement.

In the concrete, the situation is posed as follows: There is a current for unity among the masses who are under the illusion that unity will be the means of victory, and then there are the Stalinist and Socialist leaders who say: our highest hope is unity, desirous of covering up with their unity campaign the bankruptcy of their anti-fascist struggle. We say, this slogan of organic unity which expresses the honest desire of the masses is, in so far as the leaders are concerned, a treacherous slogan, a rotten slogan which they want to substitute for revolutionary will and for revolutionary policy. Unity based on the adoption of the policy of the S.P. and the C.P. will be a catastrophe just as it was in Austria, where unity was achieved within the confines of the social democracy. What is important is not unity --- the Leninists have always been able to achieve unity in the course of struggle --- but a vanguard which knows how to hammer out a policy which will involve the masses along the road to victory.

Nevertheless, that does not mean that we are going to combat organic unity. We merely say that it is not a panacea, as the Stalinists and the reformists present it to be; but that, just as due to the absence of a revolutionary party, and in order to build this revolutionary party, we have had to join with the progressive forces in the S.F. I.O., so on the basis of organic unity, which will have the one advantage of uniting within one organization the Communist and the Socialist workers, we will pursue our work of building the vanguard and working out the slogans of revolutionary policy.

Where have you read that comrade Crux is opposed at present to organic unity? He is simply opposed to our adopting the confused slogan which the Socialists and Stalinists present to the working class as the road to salvation in place of the policy of arming the workers, forming the militia, conducting the struggle for power which we advance. But that does not at all mean that we do not recognize the progressive role which such a unified party may play if it is formed, and that we want to oppose a unified party.

Moreover, in Verite No. 232 you can read the exact point of view of our French comrades on this question, a point of view which is shared by us and by comrade Crux.

If the effects of the French turn on our international movement have been as you say, "disastrous", i.e., if the discussion has sometimes taken place under unhealthy conditions and amid confusion, although in itself it was quite progressive, that is due in the first place, to the manner in which its adversaries have presented it as a betrayal of principles and a capitulation to the Second International. Every serious militant who

follows: closely the activities of our French comrades must recognize that the turn has nothing in common with a capitulation and that on the contrary, it has permitted them to influence the Left elements of the S.P. directly and to push them forward on the revolutionary road --- and for the first time --- to shake up the ranks of the C.P. Their open Bolshevick-Leninist activity, more tenacious than ever, does not in any way justify, but much rather refutes completely any tendency towards liquidation or capitulation wherever they might arise.

It is in the very spirit of the French turn that we must fight such tendencies, the origin of which goes back further. In any case, we cannot and we must not adapt our policy in France, the pivot of the world situation, to the backwardness of certain comrades. Though there may be a link between the panic created by the opponents of the new orientation and the "disastrous international effects", there is no link whatsoever between the latter and the substance of the turn itself.

With small propaganda groups, it is not the milieu in which they exist which determines their political character, but rather the activity which they conduct. To send fractions into other organizations is the duty of a revolutionary party. But it is ridiculous to believe that some 50 or so "independent" comrades can constitute an attractive pole sufficiently strong to make the work of its "fractions" effective. By entering the SFIO, the French section has not limited its field of activity, but much rather widened it; by this move, we have found the road to the masses, to the Socialists and Stalinist cadres.

In order to justify your thesis, you are obliged to resort to deformation of the truth. It is entirely untrue that there has been an open split in the French C.P., expressed by a tendency organized with a monthly theoretical organ. In order to judge the facts, it is necessary to be on the spot. The fact is, that this magazine which accuses T. of capitulating to the social democracy---"Que Faire?"--- is the creation of Lendau, who is in this manner trying to create the fraction which you think is already an accomplished fact. Furthermore, this magazine has had absolutely no effects either inside or outside of the C.P. The workers who are under the Stalinist pressure are the most obstinate in the whole French labor movement today. The split of the Doriotists has remained almost without any repercussions in the C.P. That does not mean that Stalinism is the most solid organization. No; the C.P. is hopelessly lost. But its bureaucratic degeneration makes it almost absolutely impossible to carry on any work inside of it, especially since we can no longer consider as our aim, the reform of the C.P. To save its best elements, its most active workers for the revolutionary cause, for our cause, only the external road is possible for us. This road has proved to be under the present circumstances, under the conditions of the united front, the road through the SFIO. Thus, for instance (a thing of which we did not even dare dream in the days of our "independence"), our comrades, speaking as representatives of the SFIO, bring before Stalinist audiences the contradictory points of view on the question of "Militia or Self-Defense of the Masses?", with the result of seriously shaking the Stalinist workers.

When you repeat the famous theory of the crisis of communism, of which we are also supposed to be victims, we can only reply: (1) There is no "communism" which embraces both Leninism and Stalinism; (2) It is self-evident that we are obliged to take into account, for our tactics, the

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ravages of Stalinism and reformism in the present-day labor movement. It is up to Bauer and yourself to prove to us in what way our policy has undergone the least trace of decomposition there where the turn has been applied (England, France, Switzerland, Belgium). The truth is to the contrary.

For the International Secretariat,
Adolphe
Administrative Secretary.

July 1935

Dear Comrade Adolphe:

Your reply of April 25th to my letter for comrade Crux dated Feb. 18th, was turned over to me by the Secretary of the Workers Party when I arrived in the city for the Second Plenum of our organization. The delay in answering your letter was due to the Plenum activity. I am very glad to receive this letter, for I think an exchange of opinions on the question of the new turn of the ICL can result in adding some clarity to the present situation in the ranks of the international forces which formerly were united as the Left Opposition but which now have suffered a whole series of splits wherever the so-called French turn was applied.

You begin your letter by saying that my letter "contains a great deal of criticism without any proof." Allow me to begin by saying that (1) your letter does not deal with the facts raised in my letter; (2) you argue for the so-called French turn by considering France as an isolated condition in a vacuum, and in no way does your letter properly connect this first application of the ICL's new turn to world events; and (3) several times you do not quote me correctly and therefore you are often not arguing against my position. Therefore allow me to take up this question in detail.

In the second paragraph you state: "It would be very interesting to have the comrades from all of the sections discuss the experiences of the French section, but this can be done precisely only on the basis of accurate facts of these experiences, not on the basis of a priori, vague and sterile dogmas." Yes, it would be very interesting to have the comrades from all of the sections discuss the experiences of the French section. Who is responsible for not discussing this step? None other than those who control the IS. Do you want us to recall how the minorities in France, Germany and Belgium became the majorities in favor of the "French turn"? Do you want us to list the methods used in several leading sections to prevent those comrades who were opposed to the "French turn" from obtaining a hearing? What about the case of comrade Vereekon?

The fact is that the world-wide application of the "French turn" and its clumsy application in the U.S. and Belgium is itself the worst kind of "sterile schema" and your treatment of the question fits into the same characterization.

You talk about discussing the experiences of the French section but you consider France in a vacuum. The experience of the French section must be considered, but this cannot be separated from the EFFECTS of this turn upon the sections of the ICL throughout the world and its EFFECTS upon the class-conscious workers in and around the centrist and reformist parties throughout the world. Stalinism tried to confine the "experiences of the theory of socialism in one country" to the USSR, but we correctly considered this question in its world setting, which includes the USSR. Likewise, the new turn of the ICL can only be considered in its world relationships, the balance sheet of the so-called French turn cannot be drawn in France alone; the new turn of the ICL can be properly appraised only upon a world scale. These, comrade Adolphe, are the facts you ignore in my letter, and this is the reason you cannot speak of the French experience separate

and apart from its devastating effects throughout the world.

In the third paragraph of your letter, speaking of the entry of the French section into the SFIO and the liquidation of its independent position, you say that it is "a tactic which has proved itself in practice as fully justified." As far as comrade Adolphe and the IS is concerned the balance sheet is already drawn, and yet not once in this letter do you consider the question of the new ICL turn OUTSIDE of France, nor do you present FACTS for France to substantiate your assertion. At the time you wrote me this letter, stating that the "tactic" had proven itself, comrade Trotsky wrote the comrades in Charleroi saying that he was inclined to believe that the Belgian comrades should wait for positive and visible results from the entry of the youth and the French League in order to make the entry with the minimum of loss.

In the fourth paragraph of your letter you criticize the Lullillier group because they have been unable to increase their activity and instead have had some setbacks. Unfortunately, the whole history of the Left Opposition is covered with such negative results. The Left Opposition presented a correct analysis and pointed out the road to power in more than one revolutionary situation, but the false policy of Stalinism and the resulting defeats drove us back still further, in spite of the fact that we were proven correct in the negative sense. The disintegration in the world labor movement, and the fact that a large section of the former Left Opposition has been sucked into the whirlpool does not make for rapid growth of small groups upholding the banner of Marxism. This is no excuse, but it does explain a phenomena which you twist out of its true context.

"It is a great mistake to believe that from the outside we would have been able to influence them (SFIO members-H.O.) and to attract them toward us. From the outside we would never even have reached them." Such is your argument, but our group in the U.S., and as far as I know the other groups in Europe and other parts of the world which opposed the liquidation of the French section into the SFIO, did not hold to the position that we must attempt to influence members of the SFIO from the OUTSIDE. Our position is clearly stated in the Communist League of America documents we sent you. We stated that it was necessary to send a faction into the SFIO, but not to liquidate our independent organization outside. We advocated a two-fold tactic. Once the general plan is agreed to it is a secondary question as to how many comrades are sent into the SFIO as a faction and how many comrades remain outside continuing the French section of the ICL. We pointed out that the French section must control its fraction inside the SFIO.

Would the members of the SFIO distrust us any more than now if we also had an independent French section outside? The IS is outside but it does not have the living, recruiting and directing power for the French working class that an independent French section of the ICL would have. Theories (ideas) are decisive, but if they are not clothed in flesh and blood, in an independent organization with its own press, the best ideas are of no value in a struggle for leadership and power. Our faction in the SFIO cannot play this necessary historic role in France or on a world scale.

The question of organic unity is dealt with in your letter, but I must say it is not I who "present no facts" - rather it is you. Let

me quote to refresh your memory. The second position comrade Crux presented on the question of the slogan of Organic Unity is contained in his letter "Unity and the Youth":

"The aim of this text: to correct the slogan of organic unity, which is not our slogan. The formula of organic unity - without a program, without concretization - is hollow. And as physical nature abhors a vacuum, this formula fills itself with an increasingly ambiguous and even reactionary content. All the leaders of the Socialist Party, beginning with Just and Marceau Pivert and ending with Frossard, declare themselves partisans of organic unity. The most fervent protagonist of this slogan is Lebas, whose anti-revolutionary tendencies are well enough known. The Communist leaders are manipulating the same slogan with increasing willingness. Is it our task to help them amuse the workers by an enticing and hollow formula?

The exchange of open letters of the two leaderships on the program of action is the promising beginning of a discussion on the aims and the methods of the workers' party. It is here that we should intervene vigorously. Unity, like split, are two methods subordinated to program and political tasks. The discussion having happily begun, we should tactfully destroy the illusory hopes in organic unity as a panacea. Our theses: the unity of the working class can be realized only on a revolutionary basis. This basis is our own program.

If fusion takes place tomorrow between the two parties, we place ourselves on the basis of the united party in order to continue our work. In this case the fusion may have a progressive significance. But if we continue to sow the illusion that organic unity is of value as such - and it is thus that the masses understand this slogan and not as a more ample and more convenient audience for the Leninist agitators - we shall be doing nothing but making it easier for the two conjoined bureaucracies to present us, us Bolsheviki-Leninists, to the masses as the great obstacle on the road of organic unity. In these conditions unity might well take place on our backs and become a reactionary factor. We must never play with slogans which are not revolutionary by their own content but which can play a quite different role according to the political conjuncture, the relationship of forces, etc... We are not afraid of organic unity. We state openly that the fusion may play a progressive role. But our own role is to point out to the masses the conditions under which this role would be genuinely progressive. In sum, we do not set ourselves against the current toward organic unity, which the two bureaucracies have already cornered. But while supporting ourselves on this current, which is honest among the masses, we introduce into it the critical note, the criterion of demarcation, programmatic definitions, etc.

"Nothing would be more dangerous", say the theses of comrade Craipeau-Kamoun, "than to get hypnotized over this single perspective and to consider all work useless so long as unity is not accomplished." This is right, but it is not sufficient. It is necessary to understand clearly that this perspective of organic unity detached from the revolutionary tasks can serve for nothing else than to hypnotize the workers by reconciling them with the passivity of the two parties.

In order to parry the sterilizing hypnotism of the slogan of organic unity the theses propose a "minimum of elementary Marxian

principles as the charter of this unity." The formula is almost classic as the beginning of a downsliding on the opportunist incline. One begins by dosing up the Marxian principles for the delicate stomachs of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists. If it is a question only of enlarging the audience and of opening up to oneself an access to the Communist workers, why put conditions in the guise of "elementary principles" (very elementary, alas!)? And if it is a question of something else, that is to say, of the Party and the proletariat, how could a minimum of principles, and what is more, of "elementary principles", suffice?

We comrades, who oppose the SLOGAN of organic unity (for we are not considering the question of organic unity) think that in the main the statement of comrade Crux is correct. From our standpoint, if we may be permitted to differ, we think the weakness of this statement on the slogan of organic unity lies not in its statement of facts, but in that section which deals with the question of the slogan of organic unity in the future, tomorrow. In this section the door is left open for two interpretations.

But in spite of this, why did it take comrade Crux so long to issue the above statement? Why wasn't this statement or the content of it issued when our French section entered the SFIO and became most ardent advocates, not only of the SLOGAN of organic unity, but of organic unity itself?

I quote again from my letter to you, "Further, in the whole critical period, when the French section entered the SFIO and advocated organic unity in the most disgraceful fashion, comrade Crux said nothing in opposition to this. Yet he was the initiator and guiding hand of this turn. The Paris Plenum held in October did not see fit to put the question of organic unity on the agenda, although it was a burning issue of the labor movement. The truth is that in a concealed manner the Plenum endorsed organic unity by endorsing all of the acts of the Bolshevik-Leninist faction in the SFIO, including all of the issues of the Verite which clamored for organic unity,"

In that same letter to you, I referred to comrade V's article reprinted in the Sept.-Oct. issue of the New International, in which he laid down two variants for building the Fourth International. One road was organic unity between the 2nd and 3rd Internationals. Comrade V presented this variant in the abstract, which again left the door open for more than one interpretation. But considering this statement upon the basis of the material in La Verite, which brazenly advocated organic unity, one could read into this variant grave doubts.

Comrade Crux deals with the question of the slogan of organic unity for the third time in his article "Once More: Whither France?". Here again, although opposing the slogan of organic unity as such, he nevertheless leaves the question open for more than one interpretation. In fact, in the U.S., where we had three groups at the Communist League Convention - the Spector-Weber group (for organic unity and entry into the SFIO), the Cannon-Schachtman group (against organic unity and for entry into the SFIO), and our position (against the slogan of organic unity, for the organizational and political independence of our French section and for the sending of a faction into the SFIO), we find the contradictory positions of these first two groupings both using comrade Crux to prove their position. The Cannon-Schachtman group

of the Workers Party use the letter on "Unity and the Youth" to prove their point, and the Weber group quote "Once More: Whither France?" to prove their point.

From our standpoint the clearest statement is contained in the letter "Unity and the Youth". But we are forced to add a few remarks to this. The only time the slogan of organic unity can be filled with a Marxian content is when a Marxian group and one or more other groups unite upon the basis of a revolutionary Marxian program or programmatic declaration. To fill the slogan of organic unity with any other content would be reactionary. The unification of the American Workers Party and the Communist League upon a revolutionary Marxian programmatic declaration is the correct content. The advocacy, in any form, of the unity of the parties of the 2nd and 3rd internationals, two non-Marxian parties, is only sowing illusions among the workers and playing into the hands of the centrist leaders of the two bankrupt parties.

In France, and other places, the slogan of organic unity, is no longer an abstraction. It is filled with the content of unity of the 2nd and 3rd international parties. And in this sense the Bolshevik Leninist faction in the SFIO has dealt with the question. That is the reason they are wrong. And that is the reason comrade Crux spoke late and inadequately. If organic unity is consummated in France on the basis of the plans of any group of Centrists, while at the same time we have presented a Marxian position on the question, we can reap the harvest. But for organic unity to be consummated, while our French section has muddied the water on this question, means to sink into the Centrist swamp.

"Once More: Whither France?" is a masterly criticism of Stalinism and is a worthwhile document on certain trends and developments in France; but in spite of this, the article has important errors of omission. And the important and root cause of these errors of omission can be traced back to the new false turn of the ICL and its application in France.

As a faction of the 3rd international, the Left Opposition endeavored to "reform" this organization. By "reform" the Left Opposition intended to win the majority of the members and oust the Stalinist leaders. This perspective was rejected with the German debacle. But in its place, as a living process in world developments, both in theory and in practice, and although the ICL has not said so in so many words, the former Left Opposition to the 3rd international has now become the left opposition of the 2nd international. The ICL has as many sections inside the parties of the 2nd international as it has outside. And now, in the same sense in which the Left Opposition intended to "reform" Stalinism, the ICL and its sections today are going to reform the parties of the 2nd international. The grossest expression of this theoretical position is presented by the Cannon-Schachtman-West resolution to the second Plenum of the Workers Party of the U.S. This resolution was rejected.

So much of the argument above is an analogy, but it is not an identity. When the Left Opposition functioned as a faction of the 3rd international the "Trotskyites" held the position that the 3rd international was a Marxist organization, deviating from the correct line, but as yet an organization that could be "reformed". Today, as the left opposition of the 2nd international, the ICL does not even say

this much. The ICL, under the leadership of those who support the French turn, admit that both internationals are non-Marxian and bankrupt, but in the next breath the ICL followers say that while the 3rd international is hopeless, the centrist parties of the 2nd international can be "reformed".

How does the article, "Once More: Whither France?", consider this question? It bears out the above contention, as does many other articles written by the leading forces of the ICL and the defenders of the French turn. The article says that Stalinism, in moving to the right, and Centrism in the Social Democratic parties in moving to the left, have crossed paths. Concretely, the article says the SFIO is to the left of the Communist Party of France. This means the party of Social Democracy as a whole. The article implies that the SFIO can be reformed - that it can be used as an instrument of revolution.

But more important: the article devotes its entire polemic against Stalinism and dismisses the leaders of the SFIO and the 2nd international with one sentence, which says we have criticized them before. But haven't we criticized the Stalinists, not once, but a thousand times before? Not as a faction of Stalinism but as a faction of the party of Social Democracy we devote the major article of many issues of the Verite to a criticism of Stalinism. The purpose of this is due to the fact that the Bolshevik-Leninist faction of the SFIO discovered that the largest left wing of the SFIO is heading for Stalinism instead of for our forces. In addition, the election gains of the Stalinists show the same tendency.

To round out the argument and give the workers a proper directive, it is necessary to point out with equal clarity the role of the SFIO as well as the role of Stalinism. Without this the argument tells the workers to stay in the frying pan and don't go to the skillet. This one-sided argument can be traced to the false position on the building of new parties and the road to the 4th international. The liquidation of our sections into the 2nd international prevents a clear-cut analysis along this line.

But worse than that, the article speaks of a pre-revolutionary situation without pointing out HOW the French workers can build a PARTY. When a leadership must present ambiguity on the question of HOW to build the revolutionary PARTY in the pre-revolutionary situation, there is something fatally wrong. This false base is the French turn. With only a faction inside the SFIO, with the liquidation of our section into the SFIO our comrades have cotton in their mouths when they speak about this party. We want clear-cut answers: Can you reform the SFIO? Can you use it as an instrument of revolution? Is a split inevitable for the creation of a revolutionary Marxian party? At this moment we need a clear-cut answer on the question of how to build a revolutionary party in France. We have given our answer more than once. We demand the re-establishment of the French section of the ICL. We demand that the faction in the SFIO, no matter how much larger, be subordinated to the independent organization outside the SFIO. We demand the independent French section carry on, and supplement the work of the faction inside with clear-cut answers against the centrism and social-patriotism of the SFIO, as well as of Stalinism. We are convinced that such an independent organization, working in conjunction with the faction inside the SFIO, can rally to its banner workers who are leaving Stalinism as well as workers who are leaving Social

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Democracy for Stalinism, and workers from other tendencies; syndicalists, etc.

Likewise, the article speaks of the Vanguard. But you can read the article over and over and it will not be clear just who the vanguard is. The article does not make it clear if the left Socialists are the vanguard, if part of the left Socialists are the vanguard, if the Bolshevik-Leninists are the vanguard, or if some other force is the vanguard. To correctly say this is a pre-revolutionary situation and to leave the question of the vanguard in the abstract is false. This, too, flows from the "French turn". In fact, the most outstanding characteristic of those who endorse the "French turn" is ambiguity on the question of the 2nd international, on the question of how to build new parties, on the question of the road to the 4th International, on the question of organic unity, and, on the other hand, the brushing aside of the arguments of their opponents as sectarian, mechanical schemas, etc. Above all, the defenders of the French turn write their theoretical formulas leaving the door open for two roads and two interpretations. The downsliding of any group on any theoretical position of Marxism fell into this same trap.

In your letter, comrade Adolphe, you state, "When you repeat the famous theory of the crisis of communism, of which we are also supposed to be victims, we can only reply, there is no communism which embraces both Leninism and Stalinism, and it is self-evident that we are obliged to take into account, for our tactics, the ravages of Stalinism and reformism in the present-day labor movement." More confusion and misstatement could not exist in one sentence. Reread my letter. I did not say the crisis of communism. I said the defeat of the German working class, the victory of Fascism and the betrayal of the workers by the 2nd and 3rd internationals has caused as the after effects of the German debacle, disintegration in the WORLD LABOR MOVEMENT. The German defeat, compared to the October Revolution, had the opposite effect upon the world labor movement. Just as the October Revolution ASSISTED the Marxists everywhere, so too the German defeat HINDERED the Marxists everywhere. Only Marxists could stand up against the effects of the German defeat. But the effects of the defeat are so great that it not only caused big rifts within the camps of Stalinism and Social Democracy, but also here and there penetrates the ranks of the Marxists - the former Left Opposition, etc. In this sense, the "French turn" is the effects of the German defeat upon our own ranks - the Marxists.

Please recall the history of the Left Opposition. Every time the proletariat met another defeat at the hands of Stalinism, in spite of the fact that the Left Opposition presented a correct Marxian answer, our forces were thrown into another convulsion. The whole history of the Left Opposition in every country, especially in Europe, is riddled with small splits, cliques and personal struggles, as a reflection of the difficulties which penetrated the ranks of Marxism. Don't accuse me of mixing up Stalinism with Marxism. You only muddy up the water by these methods.

In the same sentence you speak of "the ravages of Stalinism and reformism in the present-day labor movement". Is this formula an accident or a deliberate consideration? You speak of Stalinism and reformism. What about centrism of the 2nd international? Why don't you use

the expression: the ravages of Stalinism, other forms of Centrism and Reformism? Is Centrism today, in this pre-war period, any better than Centrism in the last pre-war days or in the days of Lenin? You confuse the role of centrism with the role of Marxists in relation to centrism. But the formula is even worse. The so-called French turn is based on a false evaluation of Social Democracy and a false concept of the road toward the 4th International. Your activity in the SFIO, in the POB, in Poland, in Italy, in Spain, in England, and in other countries where you have liquidated the independent sections into the parties of the 2nd international, is based upon CENTRISM of the 2nd international and therefore you leave them out of your criticism, although the ravages of centrism are not as fatal in the long run as the ravages of Stalinism and reformism.

Comrade Adolphe, why is it you can write a four-page reply to me, and call it a reply to my letter, and not once deal with the effects of the new ICL turn on a world scale? You confine the whole argument in the "vacuum" of France. Surely, as the Secretary of the IS, you know what is going on in the other sections? I will only mention the sections, and will send you under separate cover, if you desire, full information. What about the liquidation of the section in France, Poland, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, in retrospect (Crux) Austria. What about the opportunist line and SP orientation of the Cannon-Schachtman group in the Workers Party of the U.S.? What about the split in Mexico and the attempted entry of some comrades into a petty-bourgeois party? What about the Cuban situation, their bloc, and later the attempt to liquidate the party - to get to the masses? Fortunately, this leadership that accepted the "French turn" was ousted before it was too late. What about the bloc of four parties in Chile?

The new turn has started a world-wide movement of the ICL forces into the parties of the 2nd International.

The new turn has retarded the leftward drift of socialists, and in some cases was a vital contributing factor in driving these forces to the right (Spaak).

The new turn has started a drift of groups and individuals toward the parties of the 2nd international.

The new turn has laid the basis for tail-endism in relation to Social Democracy. You continue the struggle against Stalinism but have toned down the struggle against the parties of the 2nd International. This is true in all countries, of all the groups who accept the so-called French turn.

The new turn has cut us off from splits and individual movements away from Stalinism.

The new turn has left us in the position whereby we have forsaken the independent position and Marxian rallying center.

In countries, where it is not possible to enter the SP for the reason that the SP is insignificant, the new turn has laid the basis for these comrades within these countries, who accept the French turn, to use every conceivable opportunist method as the road to the masses.

Our group in the United States, and the groups throughout the world which oppose the new turn of the ICL and the capitulation of our comrades to Social Democracy, stand today as yesterday upon the principles laid down by the former Left Opposition, upon the principles embodied within the first four congresses of the Comintern, the 11 points of the Left Opposition - in short upon revolutionary Marxism. We will do all in our power to reorganize the Marxian forces and win the left centrists in order, as rapidly as possible, to build the 4th International upon the firm foundation of Marxism.

Fraternally yours,

Hugo Oehler
Member Political Committee
Workers Party of U.S.A.

Copy to Secretary, Workers Party, U.S.A.

