

“For the Fourth International”

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

No. 4

O
C
T
O
B
E
R

1
9
3
5

Vol. 1

Special

Documents

SUPPLEMENTARY
ISSUE

on Spain

Published by the
LEFT WING GROUP
Workers Party U.S.A.

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

(LABOR DONATED)

the physical page

with pages 11 + 12 on it

was Missing from

the copy at Tamiment Library
when I scanned this issue.

Marty Feb 2014

THE UNIFIED PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

I

The present world crisis is unlike previous periodical crises, being distinguished from them not only by its breadth, depth, and duration but also in that it marks the culminating point of capitalist development. The capitalist regime, having come into contradiction with the vital interests of society, is itself in a crisis. The greater the technical development of capitalism, the lower becomes the acquisitive capacity of the masses. The army of the unemployed increases at a frightful pace. The constant increase in production, and therefore in wealth, corresponds to a progressive impoverishment of the masses.

II

The internal contradictions of capitalism cause the crises to re-occur with ever faster rhythm and ever greater violence. The creation of new industrial centers, the revolutionary movements in the colonies, and the rapid industrialization of the USSR on the one hand, together with the technical and organizational development of capitalism (trusts, cartels, monopolies, rationalization) on the other, impede the application of the normal measures for the solution of the crisis or the expansion of the world market as a first step towards that end.

In search of a way out, the capitalist class throws overboard the democratic parliamentary forms which are important in preventing the explosion resulting from the internal contradictions of the regime, and it resorts to dictatorial fascist forms.

III

A terrible crisis that presses the masses into unprecedented misery, the world danger of fascism, the prospect of a new series of wars threatening the destruction of all human civilization: We have here the present world situation, resulting from the bankruptcy of the capitalist regime.

Either the proletarian revolution will destroy this regime of oppression and commence the socialist transformation of society, or the world will revert to barbarism.

IV

The world crisis of capitalism poses the duty of breaking sharply with reformist politics and placing on the agenda the revolutionary struggle for the conquest of power, and the temporary setting-up of the proletarian dictatorship, which is the only road towards the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. The doctrine of the peaceful conquest of power through parliamentary and democratic methods is a dangerous illusion that disarms the working-class.

The proletarian revolution by its very essence is an international revolution. The proletariat cannot build a complete socialist society, that is, a classless society, except on the basis of an international division of labor and international collaboration. This does not mean, however, that we should wait passively in our respective countries for an international revolution to break out. On the contrary, the working class of each country should direct all of its energies towards the conquest of power and the strengthening of its national dictatorship by means of socialist construction, which will of necessity be incomplete and contradictory so long as the proletariat has not won power in at least several of the capitalist countries. At the same time the working class, victorious in one country, must devote all its energies to the extension of the socialist revolution to other countries.

VI

On a capitalist basis there is no possible peaceful solution to the conflicts between the divers imperialistic groups, between imperialism and the USSR, or between imperialism and the national emancipation movements.

Just as capitalism cannot organically solve the contradictions of the system, and prevent crises and their consequences, the efforts of the League of Nations, the Disarmament Conferences and the various Pacts will also be incapable of overcoming the war danger. These international efforts will lead to regroupings of the imperialist powers, an increase in armaments, and new conflicts. The Unified Party will constantly point out the danger of imperialist war, will put the masses on their guard against this danger, will rally them in energetic struggle against those who want to plunge the world into a blood bath worse than 1914.

The only real effective instrument against war is the proletarian revolution. The proletariat should therefore not let itself be seduced by pacifist illusions, but should prepare itself at once, if it cannot prevent the war in advance by its victory over the bourgeoisie, to transform the imperialist war into civil war, that is to say, into a war against its own bourgeoisie.

VII

It is the duty of every proletarian, everyone who is exploited, to defend the USSR, where the glorious revolution of October, 1917, created the basis for the first experience in proletarian dictatorship, based on the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. The struggle against the USSR continues to be one of the fundamental objectives of world imperialist reaction.

The most effective defense of the USSR is not through pacts and treaties, but by the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the other countries.

I

The movements for national emancipation have a democratic content which the proletariat must support unreservedly. A class which fights fiercely against all forms of oppression cannot be indifferent to the problems of national oppression. The national emancipation movements are a revolutionary factor of the first order which the working class cannot overlook.

On this question the proletariat can take only one position: to uphold actively the indisputable right of peoples to choose their own destinies freely to the point of setting up their own independent state if they so will.

II

While upholding this right, the proletariat does not identify itself with the national bourgeoisie, which aims to subordinate class interests to national interests, and which in the decisive moments goes over to the support of the ruling classes of the oppressor nation to crush the popular movements. The proletariat as the firm champion of all democratic demands must displace the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois parties from the leadership of the national movements which they betray, and carry the struggle for national emancipation to its final consequences.

III

The struggle for the right of the peoples to their independence does not presuppose the division of the workers of the various nationalities making up the State, but on the contrary their closer union, which is the only guarantee of victory.

The recognition of the indisputable right of the peoples to decide their own future on the one hand, and the common struggle by the workers of all nationalities making up the state on the other hand, are the indispensable premises for the future confederation of free peoples which in our country must take the form of the Iberian Union of Socialist Republics.

* * * * *

TRADE UNION POSITION

I

Taking as a point of departure the supposition that the unity of the working class is an indispensable condition if the proletariat is to acquire the strength necessary to defeat the bourgeoisie and carry out the proletarian revolution, the Unified Party strongly favors the trade union unity of the working class forces. This trade union unity can be helped by the Unified Party which will devote all its efforts to that end.

The Unified Party, therefore, considers the defense of the first triumphant workers' republic as an inescapable duty, reserving the right to criticize the positions taken by the leadership of the USSR, whenever it may consider these positions to be incorrect for the USSR itself, and to the interests of the revolutionary working class movement

* * * * *

The Unified Party and the Internationals

In the present circumstances objectively favorable for the victory of the proletarian revolution, the working class suffers defeat after defeat throughout the world. One of the fundamental causes of this tragic contradiction lies without doubt in the disunity of the proletariat and in the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals. The urgent duty of the moment is therefore to unify the proletariat internationally in a powerful revolutionary organization. Understanding this to be so, and in order to contribute to international proletarian unity, the Unified Party will remain outside of the existing internationals and will struggle for world-wide revolutionary unity on a new basis.

* * * * *

The Unified Party and the Present Political Situation in Spain

The present historical situation in our country is of a transition period when the alternative of fascism or proletarian revolution is sharply posed.

Although this present period of transition may be prolonged for some time with possible democratic-bourgeois oscillations, the final outcome can only be: either fascism or socialism. Either the counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie and the feudal remnants will triumph, setting up an implacable fascist movement - which would mean the organic disappearance of the labor movement for some time - or else the working class will be victorious and will set up the proletarian dictatorship that will carry out the democratic revolution - a task that the petty bourgeoisie was unable to accomplish - and develop it over into the socialist revolution.

II

Thus the character of the workers revolution in our country will be democratic-socialist. Through a defense of the democratic demands which the bourgeoisie fears and attacks, the working class will reach the socialist revolution.

The proletariat should become the true leader in the struggle for democratic rights. It must be the liberator bringing the desired solution to the problems of the democratic revolution: the land, nationalities, state structure, women's rights, destruction of the power of the Church, liquidation of the parasitical castes, etc.

The dictatorship of the proletariat - a transitory stage until class differences and the classes themselves have disappeared - will not destroy democracy, but on the contrary will strengthen it, giving birth to true democracy: workers' democracy.

III

The proletariat will take power at that time when the line of general interest of the nation and the line of the revolutionary working-class coincide. The Party will thus tend to become the center of attraction for the great popular masses who yearn for a social structure more than just the present one. For this purpose it must develop its action along two converging lines: with regard to the working class in general and with regard to the intermediary classes - petty bourgeoisie, peasants, middle class.

The policy to be followed as regards the working class should be: a) Unity of action of all workers; building the Workers Alliance horizontally and vertically; b) Revolutionary Marxist unity, of which the Unified Party is the first hopeful step.

IV

Because of their incapacity, impotence, and cowardice, the petty-bourgeois parties have betrayed the promises made to the workers, the peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie itself. Therefore the struggle against these demagogic parties for the purpose of taking away the working-class following which they still have, and in order to draw with us a part of the petty bourgeoisie and neutralize the other parts, becomes a matter of life and death for the Unified Party.

Fascism bases itself fundamentally on the petty bourgeoisie and the proletarianized middle classes. This petty-bourgeoisie orients toward fascism when the petty bourgeois parties and the labor movement are divided and without the ability or force to carry out the revolution which will solve the democratic-socialist problems posed.

V

In the implacable struggle against the petty-bourgeois parties, it is necessary to distinguish the period when the fascist menace is extraordinarily serious. It will at that time be correct to arrange temporary pacts, always however, preserving the organic independence of the workers' party and its right to criticize the petty bourgeois parties.

* * * * *

Outside of Catalonia the movement is less broken up: there are two organizations of weight in the field of trade unionism, the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. The members of the Unified Party will as a general rule work inside the U.G.T. unions, the latter having the greater degree of internal democracy, and having a larger membership. In exceptional cases, our members may work in the C.N.T. and also in the various autonomous and Opposition unions.

However, the trade union policy of the Unified Party outside of Catalonia will consist in getting the autonomous unions and workers to adhere to the U.G.T. Within the U.G.T. a firm campaign in favor of trade union unity - which, contrary to the claims of the CNTites and the Socialist leaders, cannot be achieved inside of either the C.N.T. or the U.G.T. - but which must result from a fusion of the two trade union centers, with the participation of the united trade union organization of Catalonia in addition to whatever autonomous organizations there may be - will be conducted.

In substance, the general trade union policy of the Unified Party is characterized by its consistent struggle for trade union unity of all workers, in order to form eventually a single trade union center for the whole of Spain.

* * * * *

THE WORKERS ALLIANCE

The Workers Alliance is the united front organization of the workers both for defensive and for offensive purposes. Through the Workers Alliance - unity of action - the labor movement joins its forces without need of sacrificing the independence of the various organizations, for struggle to prevent the triumph of the counter-revolutionary forces.

The Workers Alliance is furthermore the embryo of the organ of insurrection that the working class needs in order to assure revolutionary victory. After the working class takes power, the Workers Alliance will be transformed from the instrument of insurrection into the organ of the Workers Power. The bourgeois state must be replaced by something else, and this something is precisely the Workers Alliance.

The Workers Alliance, based on the real conditions of the labor movement in our country, will fill the role that was played by the Soviets in the Russian revolution: first as organs of the united front; then as organs of insurrection; and, finally, as organs of power. Without any doubt, the appearance of the Workers Alliance is an event of colossal importance in the history of our labor movement.

Convinced, therefore, of the importance of the Workers Alliance in the triple sense of United Front, instrument of insurrection, and organ of power, the Unified Party will struggle unremittingly for the broadening of the Workers Alliance until all the labor org-

anizations of Spain are affiliated with it, striving at the same time to give it the general coordination - the National Workers Alliance - that is so essential for effective defensive and offensive working class action.

END

LETTER OF THE I.S. TO THE I.C.E.

(From Internal Bulletin #14 of the ICE)

To the N.E.C. of the Spanish Communist Left:

Esteemed Comrades:

We have received and discussed your letters of June 3 and 14 referring to the fusion negotiations and the conflict with Person and other comrades. This is our reply.

1) In the first place we should need to know the exact state of your organization. After the interview that we had with Comrade Molius (who promised us a report on this matter) we have had no further information of what has happened in your ranks since October. Have you won new adherents? How many have you at present? What is the present composition of your N.E.C.? Please do us the favor of filling out and returning the questionnaire that we sent you before and of which we now send you a copy.

2) As regards the creation of the new party, that which we foresaw from the beginning has happened. The fusion negotiations have at last been boiled down to negotiations between yourselves and Maurin, that is to say, to our absorption by the Workers and Peasants Block (BOC). And what will this party be in reality? The name proposed by Maurin, "Party of Socialist-Communist Unification (POC)" proves precisely - although it be for a transitory period only - that fusion on these conditions will be unfavorable for our tendency and favorable for the Maurinist centrists. We believe that under these circumstances no good can come out of the new party. Every worker will see in it the figure of the B.O.C. Let us call your attention to the consequences of such a fusion. If you at least had the right of faction and entered with your banner and your own ideas, the matter could be judged differently.

As to Maurin's proposal, which appears to be identical with the recent decision of your organization, that is, to make the new Party a party for the whole peninsula (rather than limit it to Catalonia as was originally intended - Trans.) it is in our opinion equally unacceptable. What will be the banner of the new party? It is the well-known banner of the London-Amsterdam Bureau (I.A.G.) of international SAPism (S.A.P.). This being the case, what attractive force can it exercise among the socialists and communist workers who are seeking a new road after October? If the new party, like the Workers Party of the U.S., like the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland (RSAP), would take its stand openly on the road of the Fourth International, it

- 3 -

There are two aspects to the problem of trade union unity: one in Catalonia, where there exists the greater division and special conditions in the unions, and the other in the rest of Spain.

II

The position of the Unified Party in its efforts for trade union unity in Catalonia is the following: The trade union movement of the Catalonian working-class is divided as follows. Regional Confederation of Labor of Catalonia (C.N.T.), Opposition Unions in the C.N.T. (Treintistas, led by the Libertarian Syndicalist Federation), Unions that have been excluded from the C.N.T. (influenced by the Workers and Peasants Block), General Union of Workers, Unions influenced by the "Unio Socialista de Catalunya", Autonomous Unions (CADCI), and several others.

It is clear that the problem cannot be posed by saying that the most convenient arrangement is the gathering of all the unions into one of the existing organizations. The Confederation Regional de Trabajo (CNT) was until a short time ago the major trade union organization of Catalonia. And it is precisely from this organization of the CNT that two important groups, Opposition Unions and the excluded Unions, have been forced to withdraw because of the lack of trade union democracy under the sectarian, exclusively anarchist leadership that dominates it, and that has in effect transformed the CNT from a real trade union organization into a political party - the party of the anarchists.

Trade Union unity in Catalonia will have to be created independently of all the present groups through a Congress of Trade Union Unity of all organizations and unions in the field. The main purpose of this conference will be to tie together all of the workers' trade union organizations in one single organization based on class principles and the most complete trade union democracy.

The trade union organization coming out of this conference will maintain cordial relations with the two major trade union centers in Spain: The General Union of Workers (U.G.T.) and the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.). Without adhering to either of them it will work for the fusion of the two.

Now, the unified trade union organization that is formed in Catalonia will by no means play, as such, a permanent role, but will from the very outset make itself the most fervent supporter of trade union unity in the whole peninsula. And when the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. finally unite their forces as a result of the movement for unification set under way, then the united trade union organization of Catalonia should join the all-Spanish organization, assuming the role of Catalonian Federation of the new Unitarian Federation of Labor.

Fourth International, it could play a very important role and progressive function in Spain. But in the documents of the Unified Party that you have sent us, nothing is said on the question of the International,

All that we find in this regard is a reference in the NEC minutes of last April 30, that you are favorable to the Maurinist proposal to adhere to the London-Amsterdam Bureau "in view of the precedent of the Dutch Party". In this you are mistaken. In the first place the United Dutch party, inside of the London-Amsterdam Bureau, openly upholds the Fourth International and even though it be true that it has not yet decided to leave said bureau, it adheres on the other hand to the bureau for the Fourth International, for the creation of which it has just affixed its signature to our open letter which will soon be officially published. And Gorkin went to Paris in the name of the Workers and Peasants Bloc (BOC) to fight against the sectarian idealism of the adherents of the Fourth International. We believe that the second issue of our International Bulletin which is devoted to international "SAPist" centrism should be published in Spanish as well so that it may serve as a basis of differentiation with the BOC.

From a national point of view, therefore, besides being unable to lay claim to the Asturian October, the new party will be no more able to lay claim to the international revolutionary tradition. Everything else will be carried by the tide to the centrist tendencies that are today growing in the Socialist and Communist Parties.

3) Our fraction could play a very different role were it to enter openly and with its Bolshevik-Leninist banner into the Spanish Socialist Party, which is the traditional party of the Spanish working-class. October created a current in the Spanish S.P. that is sympathetic to Bolshevism. If we work badly, if we continue to commit errors such as that incurred with the Young Socialists, there is the great danger that we may push the progressive current in the S.P. into the arms of the Stalinists. To sum up on this point: if the new party that you want to found takes a clear position with regard to the Fourth International (as in America or Holland) it can play a very important role nationally as a new center of attraction. Under such circumstances the fusion is to be desired. But if the new party comes forward as an instrument of "socialist-communist unification" - something like Paul Louis' Party of Proletarian Unity (PUP) in France (Paul Louis was also at the Paris Conference of the IAG) - then our adherence to such a party would be to liquidate our tendency. There would be no other road than to enter the Socialist Party as a group in order to win over the Young Socialists and the most conscious vanguard elements to our position.

4) The question of "organizational discipline". You say that the organization has rejected the two proposals and has declared itself for the BOC point of view. Such a decision by the organization is to be lamented; but you as well as we know that

although there is a national organizational discipline, there is an international organizational discipline also. In our opinion your organization should discuss the matter again, re-acquiring your complete independence of the BOC and letting us know what you decide. The future of your organization depends entirely on this.

5) The Fersen case. We have no contact with these comrades. Thus we are not in a position to reach them in order to influence them one way or the other. We are sorry that they acted on their own initiative without first arriving at an agreement with their own national organization and the I.S. But we cannot take upon ourselves the responsibility for any sort of sanction in regards to them. The prestige and authority of our organization must be established by means of a clear, firm, correct policy. If on the one hand you go so far as to seek fusion with the members of the Partit Catalá Proletari, you cannot on the other hand refuse collaboration with those comrades who are closest to you and who claim your own ideas. If you consider it useful, you can invite comrade Fersen and the others to establish contact with us, so that we may call on them to work together with the organization as they have done heretofore.

We impatiently await news from you
Fraternally,
For the I.S.,
Martin

P.S. We shall write to you on the Workers Alliances in future letters. Now that you have the proposed Open Letter for the Fourth International, which should be published after its discussion and the same time that we indicate, it would be well to see if we can liquidate our differences with Maurin when said letters are read.

* * * * *

REPLY OF NEC OF I.C.E. TO THE I.S.
(Full Text)

Barcelona, July 21, 1935

To the International Secretariat,
Esteemed comrades:

It would be insincere on our part if we were to say that your letter came as a surprise to us. Painful experience has demonstrated to us, to the point of satiety, that the distinguishing features of what should be our highest international organism are:- its lack of understanding, a strange concept of organization that leads it to consider its members as though they were simple chess pawns to be moved over the board arbitrarily by an inexperienced player, and a fantastic speculation that consists in juggling texts and resolutions capriciously, and in seeing deviations when they do not exist excepting in its own fancy, but which allows it on the one hand to pose as the strictest defender of the most pure orthodoxy, and on the

other to carry out the most startling and unexpected "turns" without consulting the membership.

In this regard, your attitude on the fusion of the Spanish Communist Left with the Workers and Peasants Block is the limit. However, you have so effectively managed to despoil yourselves of all prestige and authority - remember your position on the Lacroix case - that you will now be unable to achieve the result to which your traditional incomprehension would certainly lead: the demoralization of the I.C.E. membership, with the splitting away of a section of it and the break up of the remainder into two or three insignificant groups with no mass contact or following.

Fortunately the organization is now of age and able to get its bearings, and has, entirely within its rights, laid down what it considers the policy best adapted to the interests of the revolutionary movement of Spain. This policy, as you know, does not coincide with the opinion of the N.E.C., but the latter which is only an instrument of the whole organization has done nothing to impose its policy by the methods of bureaucratic centralism to which you are accustomed, and will exert all its efforts to the strict fulfillment of the decisions arrived at by almost unanimous vote of the membership.

To act in any other manner could only result in a general breakup without any benefit for our ideas. If this did not happen, then we might be able to keep hold of an insignificant nucleus which, to your great satisfaction, would bear the pompous name - "Spanish Section of the I.C.L." But what real advantage could the revolutionary movement gain from this?

It is therefore absolutely impossible for us to reopen the discussion as you propose. Aside from the fact that the membership of the I.C.E. would in such a case tell us to go to the devil and abandon our ranks in disgust, the seriousness and prestige of the organization does not allow us to retrace our steps, nor do the interests of the revolutionary movement allow us to provoke such a state of deception and disorientation.

Furthermore, your conduct with regard to this question has been so light-minded, so lacking in seriousness, as to destroy whatever value and authority your present advice might have.

When the fusion negotiations were first initiated you were informed at once. You replied, telling us to continue them. Following this, we have informed you regularly of the progress of the negotiations, sending you all of the documents. For months and months you raised no objections and then all of a sudden just when we have reached an agreement with the B.O.C., you ask us to break off the negotiations and force our members to join the Socialist Party, which the immense majority of them do not want to do. Do you not realize that this is impossible in an organization with conscious members who know how to think for themselves? Can you not see that this would be equivalent to the "recognition of errors", the formula so dear to the Socialists? What is your concept of what a revolutionary organiz-

-16-

ation should be? Do you imagine that from Geneva without having made any effort to understand the real situation and with your "political emigre" outlook you can manipulate the members of an organization at your pleasure as though they were marionettes?

The reasons that you give for recommending that we take such an absurd attitude, which would make us ridiculous in the eyes of all revolutionists, are absolutely without foundation.

You quite graciously affirm that the fusion is "as you had foreseen" limited to the absorption of the I.C.E. by the B.O.C. But the fact that in your letter you say that in the documents which we have sent you, the question of the International is not even mentioned, leads us to suppose that you have not even read them, as we have twice sent you the resolution devoted to this question. This point alone is sufficient to judge you, and the organization will consider it sufficient to demonstrate your lack of seriousness.

Absorption by the B.O.C.? On what do you base this claim? The fusion is taking place on the basis of a program worked out jointly, as a result of a discussion that has lasted for months, and which contains all of our fundamental principles: affirmation of the international character of the proletarian revolution, condemnation of the theory of Socialism in one country, of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, defense of the USSR but with the absolute right to criticize all the errors of the Soviet leadership, affirmation of the failure of the Second and Third Internationals, and of the necessity of re-establishing the unity of the international working class movement on a new basis. What more do you want? You should have congratulated us for the victory obtained when we managed to get an organization that has long been characterized by its confusionism, to accept our fundamental principles.

You forget all of this, which is the most important, in order to concentrate on the secondary points and the fact that the new Party is declaring its adherence to the London-Amsterdam Bureau, and you hurl at our heads a whole lot of cheap literature telling us about "SAPist" centrism, about the French Party of Proletarian Unity, etc, etc, and then point out the advisability of getting the BOC to sign a manifesto calling for the creation of the Fourth International.

It is very easy for us to refute your absurd arguments. The important thing in the labor movement is not the name of the thing but the thing itself. That the new party should be called WORKERS PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION (B.O.C. & I.C.E. unified) does not at all mean that it has anything to do with the opportunist party of Paul Louis and Co. The important point here is the thing itself and that thing is the irreproachably revolutionary program and tactics of the new party. The name is the expression of the great yearning of the masses for unification, but without meaning any concession in principle. At this point all of your disquisitions on centrism and "SAPism"

fall of their own weight as there is no trace of wether in the resolutions approved. And the ideological unity at which we have so fortunately arrived, is so absolutely complete that the N.E.C. has not hesitated a moment in proposing the dissolution of the fraction. What would be the purpose of the fraction in a party whose program we have helped to elaborate without any of our principles being omitted? In the past we have accepted the fraction as a lesser evil. As a principle the true Bolshevik rejects it.

Now for the question of the International. It is true that the Fourth International is not mentioned concretely in the resolution that was adopted, although it is tacitly recognized. What else can "reconstruct international revolutionary unity on a new basis" mean, especially after affirming the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals?

Naturally, the categoric recognition of the need for the Fourth International would have been more satisfactory, but the text that would give us this satisfaction not being accepted, should we have broken off the negotiations and thereby dooned the good possibilities offered for drawing the new party into the movement for the Fourth International within a short time? In any case, we can assure you that the representative of the new party attending a future international conference will not speak of the "sectarian idealism of the adherents of the Fourth International", and that his position will be closer to the latter than it will be to the SAPists.

The adherence to the London-Amsterdam Bureau is not due so much to the suggestions of the B.O.C. as to our own opinion, as we favor intervention in that movement, not in order to solidarize ourselves with the centrists who inspire it, but rather in order to take advantage of the opportunities that it offers us for the propagation of our principles, just as do the Bolshevik-Leninist groups that have entered sections of the Second International.

In conclusion, let us say a word in reference to the Fersen case. His exit has had no repercussion at all in our organization, which has unanimously condemned his conduct; his influence is nil. Furthermore, we suspect that he and the few ex-comrades that followed him, acted from motives more pragmatic than ideal. Besides, in spite of all their efforts they have not been able to get the Socialist Party to admit them. If you want to maintain contact with them, that is your affair; our organization is not in the least interested.

We cannot send you the information you request for lack of time. On the other hand we do not believe that it could be of very much value to you, with your fundamental lack of understanding of Spanish affairs. With Communist greetings,

For the N.E.C. of the I.C.E.
The General Secretary

POSITION OF THE LEFT WING OF THE W.P.U.S. ON THE NEW PARTY IN SPAIN

The dispute between the International Secretariat and the Spanish Communist Left (I.C.E.) over the question of the road to the organization of the Spanish party for the Fourth International is of utmost importance to the whole labor movement. The two documents published here, one by the IS and one by the I.C.E., present both sides of the argument. The following letter gives the position of the Left Wing of the Workers Party of the United States on this question.

* * * * *

New York, Sept. 1, 1935

To the comrades of the I.C.E.:-

We have carefully studied your programmatic theses for fusion with the B.O.C. (Maurin group) as well as the material contained in the Internal Bulletins sent us by comrade Andrade. The following is our opinion concerning your problems:

Now, on the eve of the unification of the I.C.E. with the B.O.C., after months of negotiation of which the IS was fully informed, and during which period the IS did not make any criticism of the negotiation proceedings, the IS now suggests that the whole plan be dropped and that the I.C.E., instead, liquidate into the Socialist Party. In its letter, the IS says: "Our faction could play a very different role were it to enter openly and with its Bolshevik-Leninist banner into the Spanish Socialist party, which is the traditional party of the Spanish working-class." Your organization correctly rejects this course, although for a period last spring, the N.E.C. had supported a policy of fusing with the B.O.C. in Catalonia and entering the S.P. as a faction, in the rest of Spain. This attitude of capitulation to the new ICL orientation was rejected by the membership although Fersen and Co. were lost in the shuffle. In respect to its refusal to enter the S.P. as well as in its struggle against the arbitrary organizational methods of the IS, the Spanish section has our full support as can be seen from our documents dealing with the new orientation when it was raised for France, Belgium, etc. We need not present a detailed argument here against the line of the IS in their attempt to liquidate our Spanish section as they have other sections. This is the opportunist "road to the masses".

However, a few things must be said in criticism of our Spanish section. What is the political base of your fight against the new turn? Do you consider the theoretical motivations underlying the new turn of the ICL to revolve around principle questions, or did you oppose the so-called French turn merely on tactical grounds? To us the fundamental thing is not the ~~turn itself~~, but the theoretical motivations, of which entry is only a part. Unless you understand the principle question involved you will encounter grave difficulties ahead. We have no documents from the Spanish section that clearly define this question, but can only surmise from your vacillations of

last spring that you consider it a tactical question.

In regard to the fusion program adopted by representatives of the two groups working for unification in Spain, we can only say that on the basic Marxian questions, as listed in your letter to the IS, you were able to pull the Maurin group far to the left. However, we agree with the IS that your program is very weak on the question of the Fourth International. In fact, the formula for a new international as stated by your document could be adopted by any of the centrist groups with Two and a Half International programs. The ambiguity of your program on this point admits of several interpretations as do also the references to a "single party", which may or may not mean "organic unity of S.P. and C.P.

We have declared our opposition in principle to the new turn of the ICL, and have pointed out the detrimental effects of this new orientation on the creation of the Fourth International and the various national parties of the Fourth International. But the creation of parties with an ambiguous position on the question of the Fourth International which gives the upper hand to the centrists of the London-Amsterdam Bureau is also detrimental. In the popularization of slogans for the Fourth International we have no objections to speaking of the unification of Socialist and Communist workers for a new Marxian International, etc, but in the programmatic documents it must be made clear that this means a new Fourth International and not an ambiguous or Two and a Half International position. Then it could not be utilized by the centrists of the IAG London-Amsterdam Bureau. It must be made clear that the new party intends to stand on its own feet as an independent force and not a stepping-stone for unity between the present C.P. and the present S.P.

It is not incorrect to carry on faction work in the London-Amsterdam Bureau, but we are opposed to the liquidation of our independent international rallying center into the London-Amsterdam movement just as we are against the liquidation of our independent groups into the Socialist Parties. The RSAP carries on faction work in the I.A.G., and if they were not tied down by the new turn of the ICL, even though Sneevliet voted against it at the Paris Plenum, Oct. 1934, "for tactical reasons", it could be far more effective. There is a left group in the SAP exerting left pressure on the London-Amsterdam Bureau even though the SAP leadership has moved to the right since the Pact of the Four.

The fact that the ICL has assumed a "monopoly" over the slogan of the Fourth International, and because the new false turn of the ICL is a stumbling bloc in the road of building a strong international center coordinating the forces for a Fourth International, is no reason for our forces to make the same blunder in relation to the I.A.G. that the ICL makes in relation to the parties of the Second International.

The Spanish Communist Left should not dissolve itself into the Socialist Party, but should proceed to organize the new party upon the Marxist program already adopted. However, the

PROGRAMATIC THESES

As a basis of fusion between the Workers and Peasants Block and the Spanish Communist left, and the creation of the - WORKERS PARTY OF MARXIST UNIFICATION

* * * * *

The Problem of Marxist Unification

I

The history of all workers revolutions, victorious and defeated, and especially the experience of the revolution now under way in Spain, demonstrated that if on the one hand a great united front of all workers is necessary (Soviet, Workers Alliance, etc.), there is needed on the other hand, the equally indispensable strong revolutionary party which must in reality be the hub, nerve and brain of the broad united front.

Without a revolutionary party of the working class, the victory of the socialist revolution will not be possible.

II

This great revolutionary party does not yet exist in our country, and yet the necessity for the creation of the revolutionary party destined to bring the revolutionary victory becomes daily more urgent.

The Socialist Party is not the party needed for the revolution, because in spite of its partial rectification, the S.P. continues to be fundamentally a social democratic party. Three opposing tendencies co-exist within it:

1) - A right tendency; reformist to the marrow, faithful copy of the German Social Democracy, led by Besteiro, Saborit, Trifon, Gomez.

2) - A center tendency which is also reformist with a republican tinge, its sole aspiration being to help the petty bourgeois republicans regain power so that they can repeat their past policies which have already had such disastrous consequences for the revolution. The Center tendency led by Prieto and the majority of the parliamentary fractions and in actual control of the party leadership today, refuses to recognize the necessity for the working class of winning state power.

3) - An openly revolutionary tendency, represented by the Socialist Youth and an important fraction of the party itself. This tendency struggles resolutely against the reformist tendency.

Neither the Socialist Party as a whole, or even a majority of it, really desires a revolutionary solution; this is sought only by the left fraction.

To a lesser extent than even the S.P., could the Communist Party of Spain be considered the bolshevik party of our revolution. The weakness of its cadres, its sudden changes of policy by order

from Moscow, its absolute lack of internal democracy, its ever sharper drifting from traditional bolshevism, its slight influence among the masses, its absolute lack of understanding of the character of our revolution, and its recently acquired desire to trail behind republican parties, all these things more than sufficiently indicate that it is not the party of the revolution.

Neither the Workers and Peasants Block (Iberian Communist Federation) nor the Communist Left, because of their relatively small numerical strength, expect to be considered by itself as the center of the revolutionary party.

III

The great Revolutionary Socialist (Communist) Party will be formed by the gathering together of all that is sincerely revolutionary Marxist in the labor movement: The Workers and Peasants Block (C.I.F.) and the Communist Left, in addition to the new revolutionary force that will rise under the impetus of Marxist unity, together with those elements who have dropped out temporarily because of the division existing in the revolutionary labor movement.

The Workers and Peasants Block and the Communist Left do not believe that by the simple act of fusing with each other they will have transformed themselves automatically into the revolutionary party, but rather they simply consider this fusion a step forward and as a transitory, provisional stage on the road to definite revolutionary Marxist integration. These two organizations do not pretend to set up a definite party but propose rather, to carry on intensive work for complete revolutionary Marxist unification, nationally and internationally, in the conviction that the idea of a single revolutionary Marxist party will finally impose itself and that in the same way internationally, world revolutionary unity of the proletariat will be re-established on new bases, over the heads of the already outgrown Second and Third Internationals.

IV

The Unified Party created by the fusion of the Workers and Peasants Block (Iberian Communist Federation) and the Communist Left, will incorporate itself into the movement for complete revolutionary Marxist unification as soon as the principle of Marxist unity has triumphed inside the S.P. and C.P.

Therefore, not considering itself as definite, the Unified Party which comes out of the fusion of these two organizations takes a temporary name: i.e. Workers Party of Marxist Unification. For a while, as long as it is considered necessary for the sense of the unification to become understood, the following parenthesis may be used following the party's name: (Unified Workers and Peasants Block and Communist Left) or simply (Unified W.P.B. and C.L.)

During a period of an election campaign, if the party does not form an electoral coalition for the purpose of gaining broader popular support, the general expression: Workers and Peasants Block may be used.

new Spanish party must come out openly for the Fourth International. The Spanish party must organize faction work in the I.A.G. as does the RSAP, with the distinction that instead of objectively carrying out the line of the "French Turn" group, the Spanish Party must fight in the I.A.G. for the clear cut Marxist road to the Fourth International.

With Communist greetings,
For the Left Wing of the
Workers Party of the U.S.

Hugo Oehler
Rosalie Negrete

TOWARDS MARXIST UNITY

(Article appearing in La Batalla, organ of the B.O.C, August 23, '35)

By Andres Nin

The Workers and Peasants Block and the Communist Left have just taken an important step on the road toward unity. The joint commission designated to elaborate the bases of agreement has satisfactorily finished its work. The fusion into a single party of these two organizations who until a few months ago had engaged in fierce combat, can be considered an accomplished fact for we have not the slightest doubt that the task realized by the commission will be enthusiastically seconded by the membership of both organizations.

No class-conscious worker will fail to see the importance of this first step which is not lessened by the fact that the majority of the parties that participated in the negotiations at the outset withdrew to their tents, bearing the historic responsibility of turning their backs on that which is the ardent will of the entire proletariat.

The step taken is of indisputable importance for two reasons: The first, because with this partial fusion the possibility of a much broader unification is demonstrated; the second, because it points out the road to be followed, which is not that of unification for its own sake, but on the firm basis of absolute agreement in principle and on the fundamental tactics.

It is on this second point that we wish to be particularly insistent, as it is, in our opinion, of the greatest importance.

The working class of our country has need of a powerful centralized party. Without it, the will to struggle that animates the toiling masses, the fountain of energy and heroism which it possesses will be sterilized. Its triumph over the bourgeoisie, without which the Spanish Revolution will inevitably flow into Fascism, will be impossible.

It is evident that at the present moment the Spanish proletariat has no such party. But on the other hand, inside the

present parties and among the thousands of workers who stand aloof from them awaiting the appearance of a political force capable of inspiring them with the necessary confidence, there are more than enough elements for the creation of a party that could sweep all before it and turn the course of events towards proletarian victory. To gather together these elements, coordinate their action, this is the most urgent task of the moment.

But to realize this fusion would not represent progress, but rather retrogression if it were carried out at the expense of fundamental principle concessions. In such a case we would achieve the creation of an organization with a large membership, but which would turn out to be ineffective for action; we would be forging a weapon that would break in the first serious combat; we would be raising up an edifice that would topple under the effects of the first wind-storm.

The objection will be raised - Must we then create a sectarian party, characterized by the purity of its principles but incapable of leading the masses? By no means. The radicalization of the toiling masses of our country, the irresistible leftward evolution of a great part of the Socialist Party and especially of its Youth, and the need of drawing the Spanish Revolution out of the doldrums in which the parties of the petty bourgeoisie have left it, forcibly imposes upon us the creation of a mass workers party the effectiveness of which will be measured precisely by its greater or lesser identification with the principles of revolutionary Marxism. Not to follow this course - which is that laid down by the BOC and the ICE in their fusion - is to lead the labor movement to another certain defeat.

We are absolutely certain that this first step will be a powerful stimulus to the revolutionary workers of the whole country, that within their own organizations they will pose sharply the question of unity, and that in a short period of time no one can oppose the fulfillment of the fervent longing of the Spanish proletariat without bringing upon himself the most intense hostility of the working class, which will consider as traitors to its cause those who try to maintain the present division.

END