

# THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

(FORMERLY INTERNATIONAL NEWS)

DEVOTED TO THE THEORY OF MARXISM

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VOLUME 2, No. 1

JUNE 1936

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*Published by*

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE  
28 EAST 14th STREET, NEW YORK CITY

10 cents a copy

\$1.00 a year

## THE ARABIAN AND JEWISH QUESTION IN PALESTINE

Palestine which belonged to Turkey for many centuries, was captured by Great Britain in 1917 thru an engineered revolt and a promise to the Arabian landowners and bourgeoisie to establish an Arab National State supported directly by British imperialism. By obtaining Palestine Great Britain obtained a position of capital importance. Thru Palestine British imperialism has a gateway to the Suez Canal. The great route to India and China. Moreover and particularly, the pipe line for Mosul oil terminates at the seaport of Haifa and with it, the railroad to Mesopotamia. Great Britain was thus placed in a position of holding a strategic commercial and military position over the land route to India. Haifa has become one of the most powerful naval bases of the British Empire.

The promise of Great Britain to help the young Arabian bourgeoisie to establish an Arab National State, unleashed a torrent of national sentiment throughout the Islamic territories, Syria, Mesopotamia, etc., which threatened to upset England's equilibrium in Egypt and the Mediterranean. To stifle these aspirations became England's chief problem thereon.

British imperialist policy with respect to Palestine is a part of the general colonial policy of imperialism of bribing certain strata of the colonial population to win its support for its work of super-oppression and exploitation of the colonial masses.

It was chiefly because of these fears that Great Britain began to make overtures to the Jews. Largely for the purpose of introducing another force to play against the growing danger of the Arabian movement for independence. It was with this aim that Lord Balfour made his declaration in 1917 to help the Jews establish their national home in Palestine as a solution to the world Jewish problem, naturally under Zionist domination and harmless to British imperialism. British imperialism now straddles between the two forces, one time favoring one, another time favoring the other.

The international Zionist movement seized upon this opportunity seeing a possible realization of their hopeless Utopian dream, and began calling upon the Jews to leave their homes and settle in Palestine, thus serving two purposes; disrupting the movement for revolution in their native countries and creating a solid support for British imperialism by acting as a buffer between the Arabian movement for independence and British imperialism. We are opposed to the immigration to Palestine as a solution to the Jewish problem. Immigration of oppressed national and racial minorities is no solution of their problems. On the other hand we are opposed to restriction on immigration of political refugees and persecuted racial minorities generally, and of restriction on the immigration of Jews to Palestine as a solution of the conflict engendered there by British imperialism by their Arabian and Zionist agents. The Second International is lending its support to Zionism, and thru it to British imperialism.

Lured on by the rosy dreams of the Zionists on the one hand, and greatly aided by the waves of anti-Semitism on the other, tens of thousands of Jewish workers and small business people emigrated to Palestine to colonize it. To provide for the means of colonization, millions of dollars were invested in Palestine by Jewish (and Gentile) capitalists. In addition many Jewish capitalists finding a new field for exploitation, settled there too.

It was from then on that a frightful expropriation of the Arab-

ian peasants took place. Their land was bought at an incredibly low price, or seized outright, leaving the Arabian peasants practically without means of existence. Pushed off his land the Arabian peasant would turn to the factory, where he would be paid far lower than the standard wage paid to the Jewish worker. Or in many cases the Jewish employer would refuse to employ him altogether. In this respect his relation to the Jewish worker would be not unlike that of the American Negro to the white worker. The extreme nationalist wing of the Zionist movement, the Zionist revisionists (Fascists) wish to drive the Arab out of Palestine altogether.

All this natural resentment of the Arabian workers and peasants against the Jewish employers behind which stands British imperialism, is canalized, emasculated by the Arabian landowners and incipient bourgeoisie, and directed against the Jews as such. The Jewish bourgeoisie in its turn, aided by the Zionist movement, directs the Jewish workers natural class-conscious hatred of British imperialism against the Arabs as such, in both cases away from British imperialism, upon which it depends for support. It is as a result of this racial hatred purposely engendered by the two national bourgeoisies that recurrent pogroms and flareups take place. Which is in reality a reflection of the class struggle finding expression in other forms. One important step to overcome this racial antagonism and proceed to consolidate on a class basis is to propagate and organize one trade union centre for Jewish and Arabian workers. Build trade unions to be composed of Arabian and Jewish workers.

The workers who migrated to Palestine constitute a majority of the toiling population in industry, but however, a minority of the total population. They are in the main from Russia, Poland, Germany where the revolutionary movement existed for long periods, and are in the main class conscious. But, chiefly because of the Zionist teachings that in order to establish the "National home" it is necessary to seek the support of British imperialism, that warped the militancy of the workers and consequently took on a reformist form, thus preventing them from finding their solution in revolution. As a result it gave rise to a powerful reformist trade union movement dominated by the Zionists (not unlike the SP Old Guard in the AF of L in the US) known as the Histadruth. This movement pales all other movements into insignificance, particularly the Communist Party which totals 300 members, mostly Jewish intellectuals. The CP manages to make itself heard occasionally, however, thru its extreme pro-Arabian anti-Jewish nationalism, which by the very nature of its struggle against the Jews as immigrants and as a whole, plays directly into the hands of the Arabian bourgeoisie and consequently fails to struggle against British imperialism.

The Stalinist slogan of "Arabia for the Arabs", and the slogan, "Federation of all Arab Peoples", is a further extension of the Comintern policy of revising Marxism: it is a nationalist slogan, anti-Marxian, it lays the basis for pogrom action against the Jews in Palestine. On the other hand, the nationalist Jewish policy of Zionism must be fought with the same vigor.

The Stalinist role in Palestine is to play against the Zionist pawn of British imperialism. The CP serves Stalin as a card in their game of bargaining with the international bourgeoisie.

The solution of the Jewish and Arabian workers and the peasants of Palestine lies in their united struggle, under the leadership of the proletariat, against British imperialism and their Jewish and

Arabian capitalists and landowner agents. Unity of the Jewish and Arabian workers is a prerequisite for the unity with the peasants. An alliance with the peasants is impossible as long as the proletariat are disunited.

The solution of the workers and peasants cannot be fulfilled in the framework of the Stalinist or Zionist slogans, or Arabian nationalist movements. The solution can only be had by carrying the revolution for national and social emancipation, for agrarian and democratic demands over to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This cannot be limited to Palestine as a special Jewish problem. The need for the exploited Jewish and Arabian peoples of the whole Near East calls for their united joint action against imperialism and their local agents.

The proletariat of the Near East, especially the Jewish workers of Palestine, with their peasant allies, must call for: "THE NEAR EAST UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS" (Egypt, Palestine, the Arabian States, Syria Iraq). A solution of the problems of the Jewish minority is possible only within a unit larger than the artificially created Palestine within this Federation.

The "NEAR EAST", embracing Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Iraq, constitutes a definite entity, recognized as such by those both within it and without. Its unity is based on:

- (1) A basically similar economic and social structure throughout the area - preponderance of agriculture and the contrast between feudal landlord and the Felaheen.
- (2) A common tradition and history - that of the Arab peoples under the Turkish yoke.
- (3) The fact that today the whole area plays one role in world politics - that of a corridor between the European imperialist powers and their Asiatic and East African empires.

Practically all social movements within any of these countries have had the tendency of spreading out over the whole area or at least have found a strong echo there - the only important exception being, of course, Zionism.

The Arab states of the Arabian peninsula proper are still in a far more backward stage of development, but are linked to the other countries by bonds of language and tradition, common aspirations for a unification of all Arab-speaking peoples, and by the fact that they form part of the same area as far as their key position in world politics is concerned.

This Federation will have to give to the Jewish and other national minorities full political, economic and social equality with the Arabs. The high political level and class consciousness of the Jewish proletariat assigns to it a leading role in the struggle of the Near East peoples for national & social liberation.

The Arab national revolutionists, including the Arab proletariat, do not recognize a special "Palestine". They will fight together with the Jewish Proletarian revolutionist only on either of the following bases:

1. A national Arabian program, the Stalinist position.
2. A common goal for the Jewish and Arab workers and the whole Arab national revolutionary movement within Palestine and without, for a Near East Soviet Republic.

A decisive defeat of Italian Fascism in the Ethiopian conflict can unleash the colonial masses against world imperialism, especially effecting Great Britain. The exploited Jewish and Arabian peoples must have the full support of the world proletariat, especially the workers on England to overthrow the imperialists. All this presupposes as a prerequisite the creation of a new revolutionary party as a section of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

January 28, 1936.

To the National Pre-Conference of the  
Bolshevik Leninist Party,  
Habana, Cuba.

Dear Comrades:

1.

For the successful solution of the problem facing the international revolutionary movement, international discussion between organizations and mutual criticism is invaluable and essential. Only on the basis of such comradely interchange of opinion, can the basis for the Fourth International be laid down. Especially is this true in the case of your country and ours, for the problems of our movements cannot be considered individually, the successful struggles of either being to a great extent dependent on the other. We have one enemy and a single struggle for which the closest collaboration is necessary. It is our fervent desire that you analyze and express your opinions of our programmatic documents with the same frankness and sincerity in criticism that we do with yours.

Unfortunately your Political Thesis with the request that we express our opinions regarding it, only reached us recently; and we are lacking in specific information on a number of important points of facts. Therefore we shall only analyze the general line and the conclusions arrived in your documents.

II.

Your political thesis is not an internationalist document. You enter into an analysis of the local situation prevailing in Cuba, without considering it, as is necessary, in its full international setting. You outline the tasks of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party without considering them in relation to the tasks of the international revolutionary movement. You discuss the struggles of the Cuban workers without taking up, by even so much as a reference, the struggle of the masses of the other Latin American countries and of the U. S. proletariat, without whose collaboration a complete and successful revolution in Cuba is impossible. This national limitation of your thesis is reflected throughout. There is no line of struggle against American imperialism; no analysis of the forces of imperialist domination in Cuba; no reference to the dangers of intervention by the imperialists against the Cuban Revolution; no provisions for joint action together with the toilers of Latin America and the U.S., against intervention and for revolutionary victory.

III.

While recognizing the present weakness of your own party, the disorganization of the working class, due to the repressions, the destroying effect of which has made possible by the errors and betrayals of the Stalinists and petty-bourgeois revolutionists, you still find in your opinion, to tackle this problem from the correct angle. Instead of posing primary and most important tasks the forging of an independent vanguard party, and the strengthening of the mass organizations, in which the Bolshevik-Leninist Party can lead if it has

correct policy of its own, you give first place in your consideration to the search for alliance with other parties. Your whole approach to the petty-bourgeois groups and the C.P. is tailendist and constitutes essentially a repetition of the "external road" theory and policy on a new plane.

You are correct in condemning the adventurism of those who declare in favor of the "immediate insurrection"; but you counterpose to this, a program of reformist demands as a basis for a "united front" which you hope to establish with them. You seem to condition your own party's activities on the success or failure of this united front; on the acceptance or non-acceptance of the "Program of Action" and the "Program of Democratic Demands" which you propose.

As regards these two "programs" we have the following general observations to make. It is of course correct to attempt to make use of the contradictions in the camp of the class enemy. Our information on the democratic current in the army is limited to the scanty data contained in your thesis and we should like to receive further material on this subject. It would however, be incorrect to base one's whole revolutionary strategy on the hopes of winning a section of the army in advance of the actual decisive struggles. Furthermore, these contradictions among the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and army forces cannot be utilized in the interests of the revolution on the basis of your present line as laid down in the document. The masses cannot be won for the revolution by a program of reforms. While the army and the peasantry might be led into an insurrectionary movement, this movement cannot play a truly revolutionary role, nor can it be directed in the correct direction unless the proletariat of the cities and plantations has been organized and set into motion. In this respect we can point to the examples of the Chinese peasant armies and the recent abortive military revolt in Brazil.

#### IV.

Your document neither contains nor mentions any program of action or program of democratic demands for which the Bolshevik-Leninist Party as such, will struggle. The "programs" which you do propose are clearly for the United front, if and when formed.

The acceptance of the united front by the other parties on the basis which you propose can only result in the strengthening of the petty-bourgeois parties of Graw and Young Cuba. Such a program of proposed reforms cannot widen the breach in the Young Cuba organization between the right and left wings, driving the latter towards Marxism; it is a program which any or all of them could accept without abandoning the ground of petty-bourgeois liberalism; it is a program that can only compromise the Bolshevik-Leninist Party and the banner of the Fourth International in Cuba.

#### V.

This proposed "United Front" has many features in common with the Left Bloc policy of the Chilean Communist Left, which we have several times criticized in documents which are familiar to you. In both cases - Cuba and Chile - the proletariat is given illusions regarding the possible extent of the progressive tendencies within the petty-bourgeois parties; the revolutionary forces are loaned as a

leftist mask for the petty-bourgeois liberals. This whole tendency was stimulated by the new orientation of the ICL., and in a sense flowed from it. It is one of the variants of the liquidationist line initiated in France when the Bolshevik-Leninists entered the SFIO. By the entry, they accepted the C.P. - S.P. united front set-up which orients towards the organic unity of these two social patriotic parties and by the entry they also gave objective support to the opportunists for the block with the French liberal bourgeoisie in the Peoples Front.

In Mexico a group of comrades, members of the ICL section, having accepted in essence the entry in France and the need of "reaching the Masses" have finished by declaring their support of the Stalinist inspired "Anti-Imperialist Peoples Front", an attitude which can only lead to a capitulation to Stalinism.

The revised and enlarged edition of the "external road" evidenced in your Political Thesis, is also a policy of liquidation and will wash out the basis of your organization, for which no independent policy is proposed. Essentially it too, contains the beginning of the "Peoples Front" and its dangers cannot be overestimated. It appears to us that this tendency on your part, reflects a failure to fully understand the role of the proletariat and its class vanguard in the democratic phase of the Cuban Revolution. No mechanical dividing line can, in the present period, be made between the Democratic revolution and the Socialist revolution. The one grows into the other and it is only under the leadership of the proletariat and its class vanguard that the democratic struggles themselves can be carried to a successful conclusion.

#### VI.

On a previous occasion your Political Committee repudiated the "external road" theory as an "opportunist application of the French turn"; but you refused to declare your disagreement with the theoretical premise on which the "French turn" is based, which left the door open to a repetition of the same error, and did nothing to correct it in those countries where it had been applied nor prevent its extension. A number of months have passed by since that time, the disastrous effects of the turn have been conclusively demonstrated on an international scale; and the new orientation still continues to tear the heart out of the Fourth Internationalist movement (the Workers Party of the U.S. has just been directly encouraged by Trotsky to complete arrangements for entering the Socialist party. There are indications that the Dutch Party will follow suit. The European sections of the ICL flounder about, torn by factional strife and splits, making no headway in the direction of independent activity, and now the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of Cuba repeats the mistake of a year ago. This was the inevitable result of your tactic acceptance of the international line of liquidation.

#### VII.

The Bolshevik-Leninist Party must rectify its position, and strike out courageously on the road of a politically and organizationally independent Marxist Party. The first step on such a course should be the adoption of the Leninist concept of the road to the masses and the Fourth International. This involves the rejection of the "French Turn", and its theoretical motivations. The second step is the building of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party as an independent force and the establishment of a regularly published paper with

international assistance if necessary for this purpose. Only when you have a solid independent organization, even though it be numerically weak, will it be possible to seriously take the third step, which is the fortifying of the position of the working class generally through the creation and strengthening of the mass organizations, trade unions, workers defense corps, etc. After these necessary preliminary steps have been taken, then for the purposes of the struggle against imperialism, other parties and even forces of other classes, should be approached for pacts and alliances. The seeking of alliances with other parties is to us, the fourth step whereas you place it in the forefront, as the first step. Naturally these "steps" are not to be understood in a mechanical sense as four distinct stages in the development of your activities. It is simply a rough scheme, for the various stages will in reality, merge into each other adapting themselves to the actual development of the party and the objective conditions.

#### VIII.

The Bolshevick-Leninist Party should draw up a brief series of democratic demands to be supported by the party. In our opinion, this "program" should revolve around the following demands:

(a) ANTI-IMPERIALIST DEMANDS: Confiscation and nationalization of imperialist properties under workers control; cancellation of the U.S. Government lease to the Guantanamo Naval Base; Repudiation of foreign debts and treaties imposed by the imperialists.

(b) GENERAL DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS: For a democratically elected constituent Assembly, with electoral committees controlled by the masses, low age limit for suffrage, etc.

(c) SPECIAL WORKERS DEMANDS: Full freedom for trade union organization rights of collective bargaining and strike; minimum wage and minimum hours; social and accident insurance; no discrimination because of nationality, race, sex, etc., etc.

(d) CONCRETE DEMANDS FOR PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS: These should be of a revolutionary nature and concretized according to the conditions and aspirations of those concerned. In the case of the peasants working on non-industrialized farms, either as laborers or tenants, the demand should obviously be "the land for those who till it", whereas on the highly industrialized sugar plantations, the demand for nationalization and workers control applies. In the case of the army, the demand for full citizenship rights for the soldiers should be raised and utilized to the utmost.

#### IX.

We regret that circumstances makes it impossible for us to send a representative of our organization to participate in your National pre-Conference. We trust, however, that our criticism of your position and our categorical rejection of your present political thesis, will be received in the same fraternal spirit with which we make it. As stated at the beginning of this letter, we hope you will favor us with as frank a criticism of our political documents. With the complete liquidation of the Workers Party through its entry into the Socialist Parth of the US, we hope to be able to give to our fellow 4th Internationalists of Latin America that fraternal co-operation and assistance in which the Workers Party, after a good beginning, so miserably failed.

We take advantage of this opportunity to reiterate our invitation to your party to send a fraternal representative to the First Natl. Convention of the R.W.L. to be held in the City of Chicago, beginning Feb. 29, 1936. Please communicate your decision in this regard to us without delay. We remain, as ever,

Fraternally,

Pol. Comm. - Hugo Oehler, Nat. Secy. - For the Fourth International,



Communism, The Struggle For The Dictatorship Of The  
Proletariat, And The Utilization of the Bourgeois Parliament.

1. Parliamentarism as a State system, has become a "democratic" form of the rule of the bourgeoisie which, at certain stages of development needs the fiction of national representation, which outwardly would be an organization of a "national will" standing outside of classes, but in reality is an instrument of oppression and suppression in the hands of the ruling capitalist.
2. Parliamentarism is a definite form of state order. Therefore it can in no way be a form of Communist society, which recognizes neither classes, nor class struggle, nor any form of State authority.
3. Parliamentarism cannot be a form of proletarian government during the transition period between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat. At the moment when the accentuated class struggle turns into civil war, the proletariat must inevitably form its State organization as a fighting organization, which cannot contain any of the representatives of the former ruling classes; all fictions of "national will" are harmful to the proletariat at that time, and a parliamentary division of authority is needless and injurious to it; the only form of proletarian dictatorship is a Republic of Soviets.
4. The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important instruments of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consist in blowing up the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie, in destroying it, and all the parliamentary institutions with it, whether they be republicans or constitutional monarchial.
5. The same relates to the local government insitutions of the bourgeoisie, which theoretically it is not correct to differentiate from State organizations. In reality they are part of the same apparatus

of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6. Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces the same as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it repudiates the possibility of winning over the parliaments; its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore it is only possible to speak of utilizing the bourgeois State organizations with the object of destroying them. The question can be discussed only and exclusively on such a plane.

7. All class struggle is a political struggle, because it is finally a struggle for power. Any strike, when it spreads through the whole country, is a menace to the bourgeois State, and thus acquires a political character. To strive to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to destroy its State, means to carry on political warfare. To create one's own class apparatus--for the bridling and suppression of the resisting bourgeoisie, whatever such an apparatus may be--means to gain political power.

8. Consequently, the question of a political struggle does not end in the question of one's attitude towards the parliamentary system. It is a general condition of the class struggle of the proletariat, insofar as the struggle grows from a small and personal one to a general struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order as a whole.

9. The elementary means of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is, first of all, the method of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by the organized masses of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. CIVIL WAR IS WAR. In this war the proletariat must have its efficient political general staff, to conduct operations during all the stages of that fight.

10. The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government. In this warfare of the masses developing into a civil war, the guiding party of the proletariat must, as a general rule, secure every and all lawful positions, making them its auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the plans of the general campaign, that of the mass struggle.

11. One such auxiliary support is the rostrum of the bourgeois parliament. Against participation in political campaign one should not use the argument that parliament is a bourgeois government institution. The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work, but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within (for instance, the work of Liebknecht in Germany, of the Bolsheviks in the Imperial Duma, in the Democratic Conference, in the "Parliament" of Kerensky, and lastly, in the "Constituent Assembly", and also in the Municipal Dumas, and the activities of the Bulgarian Communist.)

12. This work within the parliaments, which consist chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform, the denouncing of enemies, the ideological unification of the masses, who are still looking up to the parliamentary platform, captivated by democratic illusions, especially in backward territories, etc, must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside the parliaments.

The participation in the elective campaign and the revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary tribune has a special importance for the winning over of those elements of the workers, who--as perhaps the agrarian working masses--have stood far away from the revolutionary movement and political life.

13. If the Communist have the majority in the local government institutions, they must: a) carry on a revolutionary opposition against the bourgeois central authority; b) do all for the aid of the poor population (economic measures, establishment or attempt to establish an armed worker's militia; c) point out on every occasion the barriers which the bourgeois State power puts against really great changes; d) develop on this basis the sharpest revolutionary propaganda without fearing a conflict with the State authorities; e) under certain conditions substitute local Workers' Councils for the municipal administration. The whole activity of the Communists in the communal administration therefore must be a part of the general work of destruction of the capitalist system.

14. The elective campaign must be carried on not in the sense of obtaining a maximum of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the mottoes of the proletarian revolution. The election campaign must be conducted by the entire mass of party members, not by the leaders alone; it is necessary to make use of and be in complete touch with all the manifestations of the masses (strikes, demonstrations, movements among the soldiers and sailors etc.) going on at the moment; it is necessary to summon all the masses of the proletarian organizations to active work.

15. In complying with all these conditions, as well as with those indicated in a special instruction, the parliamentary work must present a direct contrast to the "dirty" politics which has been practised by the Social Democratic parties of all countries that enter parliament with the object of supporting that "democratic" institution or, at best, to "win it over". The Communist Party can only recommend a revolutionary use of the parliament as exemplified by Karl Liebknecht, Haeglund and the Bolsheviks.

16. "Anti-parliamentarism," in principle, in the sense of an absolute and categorical repudiation of participation in the elections and the parliamentary revolutionary work, cannot, therefore bear criticism, and is naive, childish doctrine, which is founded sometimes on a healthy disgust of politicians, but which does not understand the possibilities of revolutionary parliamentarism. Besides, very often this doctrine is connected with a quite erroneous idea of the role of the party which in this case is considered not as a fighting, centralized, advance guard of the workers, but as a decentralized system of badly joined revolutionary nuclei.

17. On the other hand, an acknowledgement of the value of parliamentary work in no wise leads to an absolute, in-all-and-any case acknowledgement of the necessity of concrete elections and a concrete participation in parliamentary sessions. The matter depends upon a series of specific conditions. Under certain circumstances it may become necessary to leave the parliament. The Bolsheviks did so when they left the pre-parliament in order to break it up, to weaken it, and to set up against it the Petrograd Soviets which was then prepared to head the uprising; they acted in the same way in the Constituent Assembly on the day of its dissolution, converting the Third Congress of Soviets into the centre of political events. In other circumstances a boycotting of the elections may be necessary, and a direct, violent storming of both the great bourgeois State apparatus and the parliamentary bourgeois clique, or a participation in the elections with a boycott of the parliament itself, etc.

18. In this way, while recognizing as a general rule the necessity of participating in the election to the central parliament, and the institutions of local self-government, as well as in the work in such institutions, the Communist Party must decide the question concretely, according to the specific conditions of the given moment. Boycotting

the elections or the parliament, or leaving the parliament, is a permissible, chiefly when there is a possibility of an immediate transition to an armed fight for power.

19. At the same time one must constantly bear in mind the relative unimportance of this question. If the center of gravity lies in the struggle for the power outside of the parliament, then naturally the question of a proletarian dictatorship and a mass fight for it is immeasurably greater than the secondary one of using the parliament.

20. Therefore the Communist International insists categorically that it considers any division or attempt at a division within the Communist Parties along this line a crime against the labor movement. The Congress calls upon all the elements which are in favor of the mass struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, and of being under the direction of a centralized party of the revolutionary proletariat for gaining influence over all the mass organizations of the working class, to strive for a complete unity between the Communist elements, notwithstanding any possible disagreement on the question of utilizing the bourgeois parliaments.

Part two.

Thesis adopted at the  
Second Congress  
Communist International  
1920.

C O M I N G -

IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF

"THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL"

1. THESIS ON THE FARMER LABOR PARTY.
2. THE MEANING OF THE WORKERS' VOTE.
3. THE DECLINE OF WORLD AGRICULTURE.

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## *Introduction to the World Labor Movement*

The following is a synopsis of Chapter Four of the programmatic draft statement the outline of which is published in an adjoining column. Chapter Four is entitled The World Labor Movement and deals with the situation in the movement today in the light of its development since the world war of 1914-18. The synopsis has been approved by the Editorial Committee of the Joint Sub Committee. As soon as possible the complete text of this and other chapters will be published for our membership and the working class in line with the decision of our convention.

This synopsis established the fact that principled agreement has been reached on the vital question of the attitude of the revolutionists toward reformism and centrism and the road to the Fourth Intl. On the question of the London-Amsterdam Bureau there is a difference between the Revolutionary Workers League and the Italian Left Fraction of Communism on the one hand and the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party on the other. The latter is for affiliation to the Bureau as it states, as a means of carrying out the line embodied in the synopsis. We are opposed to affiliation for reasons published in the last issue of the Fighting Worker. The discussion on this point is not closed. As it stands now the difference is a tactical one which need not in itself constitute an obstacle to the fusion of the three groups and can be settled inside of one organization.

### *The World Labor Movement:*

The World War of 1914 crystallized the tendencies in the labor movement into three basic ones: reformism; centrism; revolutionary Marxism. The classic representative of reformism is the Second Intl. the basic policy of which is class collaboration in peace and war, It executes the policies of the Bourgeoisie in the labor movement and is an agency of betrayal. Revolutionary Marxism was represented by the Bolshevik party and the Third Intl under Lenin's leadership. Its policy was uncompromising struggle in peace and war against the class enemy, and its representatives in the working class, in the first instance the Second Intl. and the corrupt trade union bureaucracy. It represented the historic interests of the world proletariat. Centrism is that tendency which moves between reformism and Marxism either from the former to the latter or vice versa, under the pressure of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The Third Intl. after Lenin's death is the classic representative of centrism of the latter type; while those forces which broke with the Second Intl. and found their way into the ranks of the Third in Lenin's day are the historic examples of the former type. The Third Intl. today in the capitalist countries has swung over to support of and collaboration with the liberal bourgeoisie and the open service of imperialism. Other centrist tendencies are the Trotskyist tendency represented by the International Communist League; the London-Amsterdam Bureau (IAG); The Socialist Workers Party of Germany; the Independent Labor Party of England; and many others.

### Need Fourth International

The degeneration of the Third International to the level of the Second, which is itself a tremendous manifestation of the demoralization which is sweeping through the world labor movement following

the defeats of the world proletariat on a world scale since the victorious October revolution, poses before the world working class the creation of a new Communist international to carry on the work begun by Lenin's world party. This is signified by the slogan: For the Fourth International! Work for its creation is the immediate task of the Marxists. Its creation as an organization with objective influence in the class struggle will be possible only on the basis of a revolutionary upsurge.

The organic unity of the social patriotic, national defensist Stalinists and social democrats cannot create a revolutionary international. Organic unity is an integral part of the people's front policy of subordinating the proletariat to the liberal bourgeoisie and tying it to the capitalist state and is a weapon in the hands of the bureaucrats against the Marxists.

#### Only One Road

There is only one road to the Fourth International-- Lenin's line in building the Third International, of uniting the revolutionists by their complete political and organizational separation from opportunism and centrism, from the Second and Third Internationals, from the Intl. Communist League, from the London-Amsterdam Bureau, etc.etc.

Trotsky who issued the slogan for the Fourth International fell victim to the demoralization in the world labor movement and the contradictions piled up in the International Communist League by its sectarian course and is now liquidating the organizations of his followers into the Second International.

#### I A G

A Loose federation of a centrist character like the London Bureau, composed of a heterogeneous group of organizations which have in common only the fact that they have broken with the Second and Third Internationals, but are in their majority not willing to work for, and in many cases, not even to recognize the necessity for a new Communist international, cannot become the propagandist and organizational center for the Fourth International. The task of the independent movement for the Fourth International is to carry out a policy which will clarify, differentiate and separate the revolutionary elements in the Bureau from the centrists and reformists with the aim of uniting them with the Communists outside in the creation of Marxist parties and a Marxist world center.

The immediate tasks which confront the Marxist tendency is the political and organizational consolidation through an international conference and following that the creation of an independent propaganda center for the Fourth International.

Read - Subscribe - Sell

"Fighting Worker"  
Official Organ of the R.W.L.

Read - Subscribe - Spread

"Call to Action"  
Official Organ of the Y.W.L.

## CANNON-SHACTMAN VERSUS CANNON-SHACTMAN

Five years ago Cannon and Shactman considered the Socialist Party as the camp of reformism, against which the Marxists must wage a frontal attack. Today they think otherwise. Five years ago orientation towards the S.P. was considered a principle question; today they consider it a correct tactic.

The very arguments which Shactman used to expose Lovestone now expose Shactman and Cannon. This is what Shactman wrote in the Militant (January 15, 1931): "Lovestone's orientation towards the S.P. did not begin yesterday. Nor did our opposition to it. At the time (Political Committee Minutes of C.P., Dec. 14, 1927) Cannon introduced a motion of principle declaring this "tactic" to be false and calling for a policy of frontal attack on the S.P. all along the line with particular emphasis against the so-called "lefts". Any one acquainted with the factional struggle in the C.L.A. and the W.P. can realize how true the words of Marx are when he says "the first time as a tragedy, the second as a farce."

In the same issue of the Militant Shactman said, "For a long time the issues were muddled and falsified. For a long time the Communist workers were confused and unable to orientate themselves upon a marxist course. Lovestone is helping to clear the atmosphere - in a negative sense - by his natural evolution towards unity with reformism." Isn't this also what happened in the W.P. where Cannon and Shactman accused us of being party splitters, wreckers, of having S.P. horrors, etc.? Now, however, the issue is clear: members of the W.P. have entered the S.P. under orders of the Cannon-Shactman caucus. Those who enter the S.P. are not called strikebreakers as was Albert Goldman when he drew the logical conclusions from the French turn and entered the S.P.

This is what Shactman said of the Goldmans in the Lovestone camp: "Miller and Benjamin and others were impatient to reach the comfort of port; these renegades from Communism change ships in mid-sea and are sailing home to where they always belonged under the reformist flag of Muste. Comforted by the thought that they will meet again their more cautious shipmates of yesterday." How true are these words! Did not Goldman (and the Oehler group as well) forecast that Cannon would wind up in the S.P.?

Why didn't Cannon and Shactman go with Goldman, or with Gitlow (whom they accused of having joined the S.P. by way of the Holland Tunnel)? To answer that question the Shactman of 1931 eagerly responds. This is what he said: "But Lovestone (now Cannon-Shactman & Co.) who wants to arrive on his own ship continues to sail under a false flag, or rather, one to which he is false. And like other captains before him, he must constantly assure the crew that the promised land is not only in the offing but that it is filled with fabulous wealth, like the riches of the Indies with which Columbus fascinated his men. The Social Democracy is Lovestone's (now Cannon-Shactman's) logical objective after departing from Communism." Surely Shactman would not have been so vitriolic had he known that the very arguments that he presented would turn out to be a boomerang against his present liquidationist line. Where Shactman attacked Lovestone and Zam for bringing back glowing reports of the land where milk and honey was in abundance (Social Democracy), today we hear the same arguments of these get rich quacks who have taken the opportunist road to the masses. Just as these arguments against the Lovestone liquidators were 100% correct then, so they are today.

In an article called "Lenin or DeLeon", written by Zam, we see, "It was not the revolutionary S.L.P. but the reformist S.P. that gave birth to the Communist movement. The looseness and lack of discipline in the S.P. made it possible for a revolutionary wing to develop within and secure leadership over the mass of its members, which led to the establishment of various Left Wing groupings and papers, and finally to the original Left Wing which became the C.P. But the strictly disciplined and centralized S.L.P. made impossible such a development. On the contrary every new tendency in the S.L.P. was crushed with a ruthless hand, and expulsion became a by-word." Is there any difference between this and the present apologetics for entering the S.P.? The only difference being that Zam in reality aimed at the C.P. while Cannon and Co. have brushed aside this pretense.

No one denies the possibility of doing revolutionary work in the S.P. But the Leninist concept of doing such work lies in faction work, which is carried on under the direction of the independent organization from the outside, free from the pressure of reformists and centrists and with the benefit of a full and unadulterated criticism from the outside. Correct faction work can only be maintained when one's line is correct. When one's line is false one can only expect fruit that is rotten, just as one cannot expect clean water from a rusty faucet.

The Cannonites will break their necks, as did Moliniere & Co. (the French Cannonites) who led the French Bolshevik Leninists into the French S.P. but have now parted with Trotsky because their line that the destiny of the world proletariat depends on social democracy is false to the core. If our destiny depends on Social Democracy, why build the Fourth International? We maintain that the destiny of the world proletariat depends on how well the forces of the Fourth International are able to undermine the influence of both the 2nd and 3rd Internationals.

In attacking the line of Lovestone in 1931 Shactman said, "Lovestone going back to the S.P.? Isn't that a bit strong? Doesn't he claim to be a fraction of the Communist Party? Doesn't he even go so far as to demand that the party return to Leninism? But pretention and intention are two different things. What Lovestone pretends to aim towards we find out from his "holiday" pronouncements. What he intends to do we find out by examining the various measures of "preparation" to lead the Communist workers off the revolutionary path." Translate that in regard to the W.P. In the declaration of Principles we see, on page 10, "At all times and under all conditions the Workers Party maintains its organizational and political independence." Together with the denials by Cannon & Co. that they would enter the S.P.; that the W.P. was the first party for the 4th International; that both the S.P. and C.P. in this country had all the vices and none of the virtues of their European sister parties, etc., we now see that members of the W.P. have entered the S.P. in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, New York, etc. which are preludes to the complete liquidation of the W.P. into the S.P., thus carrying out the decision of the Political Committee to enter the S.P. (Jan. 22, 1936). Again pretention and intention are two different things; actions speak louder than words.

To enter the S.P. gives up all possibility of winning the revolutionists who will and are breaking from Stalinism. Now in particular when the Stalinist line has unfolded itself and it is no longer a question of "hair-splitting", now when it is easiest to win over the revolutionists in the C.P., now when the possibility of realizing



all our past efforts is at hand the Cannonites can think of nothing better to do than join the S.P.! History will reward them as were the liquidators rewarded in Russia after the 1905 revolution had been defeated. The revolutionists in the C.P. will not break with one social patriotic swamp in order to enter another cesspool. They want a clean banner, the banner of the 4th International, independent and against both Social Democracy and Stalinism.

To compare the left wing in the S.P. of 1920 with that of today is false to the core. The crystalizing pole in 1920 was the Russian October, the enthusiasm of which attracted not only revolutionists but centrists of all kinds such as Cachin, Olgin, Engdahl, etc. Today the process is in the reverse. Due to the defeats of the world proletariat (Germany, Austria, etc.) the 2nd International, the Stalinists and their apologists the Lovestonites, have gone to the right. This has also affected the I.C.L. which has also gone to the right, thus holding back the revolutionists in the C.P. and S.P. from reaching a Marxian position. Instead of facilitating the break with these patriotic organizations the liquidation of the forces of the I.C.L. into the Socialist parties, together with the theory of organic unity, have disorientated these leftward moving workers to such an extent that both the 2nd and 3rd Internationals are able to speak of defending the democratic countries against the Fascists, thus repeating the formula of 1914 of defending democracy against the terrible Hun, with the exception that now it is not done as cautiously as in 1914 because there is no center towards which the discontented workers can gravitate.

The liquidationist formula of Trotsky and his American representatives Cannon and Shactman, offers the members of the W.P. only the perspective of entering either the S.P. or C.P. (Johnson, Hallett, etc.) It is our duty to again raise high the banner of Lenin, around which the leftward moving workers can rally. We realize that today we are in the same situation as was Lenin after the 1905 revolution when reaction in Russia caused the capitulation of many. But just as Lenin's line and not that of the liquidators triumphed in the end, so will we, for history is on our side.

L. Roberts.

#### SUPPLEMENT TO ARTICLE ON CANNON-SHACTMAN.

The steady stream of capitulations from the Workers Party to Stalinism which began soon after the Workers Party was founded is explained by Cannon and company on the ground that this was a right wing tail of the Muste A.W.P. force recoiling from Bolshevism, personified by Cannon, Shactman and West! This is a distortion of the essence of the question and is made by Cannon to cover up his anti-Bolshevik liquidationist line.

Capitulations to Stalinism from the International Communist League were not unknown before the new orientation. The adoption of the new orientation gave an impetus to tendencies inclining in that direction. There were desertions to Stalinism from the German Communist League and the Polish section.

More important, the new orientation (liquidationism) removed the principle base of the fight against Stalinism by abandoning the principle of the political and organizational independence of the Marxists, thereby making it impossible to fight Stalinism and making capitulations to it inevitable. Thus not only were Cannon and com-

pany unable to fight Stalinism externally (the Communist Party), but they were also unable to fight stalinist tendencies in the Workers Party. The abandonment of a continuous propaganda for an independent revolutionary party in the Soviet Union by Trotsky and his followers was an inevitable consequence of the struggle for an independent party in the capitalist countries. In essence this is a capitulation to stalinism which will be followed by others.

Now it is more than a passing coincidence that in his pamphlet "United We Stand For Peace and Socialism" (published in December, 1935) Gil Green, National Secretary of the Young Communist League of the U.S., makes a number of arguments for the 'transformation' of the Young Communist League into a broad non-party mass youth organization as a step toward organic unity with the socialists, which coincide with the arguments of the Trotskyists for liquidating their organizations.

In the section "United Non-Party Youth Leagues", on page 27, Green writes: "Why do we propose to change the character of the Youth League now? Was it impossible to decide to build a non-party youth organization in 1928 at the time of the Fifth Congress of the Young Communist International? If we study the situation now and then, we will understand why it was impossible in that period but absolutely necessary in this one. Let us take the situation in the United States ....."

What Green is saying here is: (1) In 1928 it was necessary to maintain the independence of the Young Communist League; (2) In 1936 it is necessary to abandon it.

The obvious conclusion from this is that the political independence of the revolutionary organization (for Green and his YCL readers believe the YCL is revolutionary) as a policy depends on circumstances and can be changed according to changed circumstances. That is to say, it is a tactic. This is the premise of the Trotskyists. They chose one form or tactic of liquidation; Green another.

The political identity does not stop here. Green says: "Our Young Communist League as it has been constituted has found it difficult to attract the largest numbers of these youth to its ranks." This has a familiar ring: the old story about isolation. "In 1928 the ranks of the youth and even the working class as such were saturated with petty bourgeois illusions. ----How different is the set-up today! The youth are moving to the left; the years of economic crisis, the lessons of Germany and Austria, and the danger of war and Fascism, are driving the socialist masses and the youth to an understanding of revolutionary Marxism; and last but not least, we have today a corp of thousands of young Communists who are a guarantee that the broader league will not become victim to reformist or demagogic leadership, but will on the contrary, educate a new generation of revolutionary fighters."

We have here a number of the motivations for the new orientation including the orientation on the left-moving socialists and Cannon's prize argument: we are held together by our ideas; organizational forms are things of secondary consideration. True, Green is able to use bigger figures and somewhat different labels, but the political argument is identical as far as it goes.

The Trotskyists give up their organization to build the Fourth International, -so they say. They end up in capitulation to reformism. The Stalinists do not need to capitulate to reformism. They are reformists. They want organic unity with their fellow reformists and centrists. The Stalinists and Trotskyists are establishing a theoretical basis for a rapprochement. Does this signify a capitulation of Trotskyism to Stalinism? It is not excluded. We must watch carefully.

RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATIONS AND FUSION WITH THE  
LEAGUE FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY AND  
THE ITALIAN LEFT FRACTION OF COMMUNISM.

I

In negotiating with the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party and the Italian Left Fraction of Communism the Revolutionary Workers League must be guided by the following considerations:

1. The principled line of the Revolutionary Workers League must be the programmatic basis of the fused organization.

2. The Revolutionary Workers League approached the problems involved from the standpoint of its line for building a Marxist Party in the United States to which these negotiations and fusion are an auxiliary line.

3. The situation involved in the fusion of the RWL, LRWP and ILFC is different from that of the fusion of the CLA and AWP in the following respects:

- a: The CLA, the Marxist force, was in decline and committed to a liquidationist international line.
- b: The AWP was an activist, centrist organization moving to the left even before the negotiations with it were begun.
- c: The CLA and AWP forces were practically equal organizationally.

In these negotiations

- a: The Marxist force, the Revolutionary Workers League, has a Marxist line nationally and internationally and is a growing force with a perspective of growth and activity either through the fusion or without it should it fall through, through no fault of ours.
  - b: The League for a Revolutionary Workers Party is a sectarian group with a centrist international and national line, now moving to the left thru our pressure in the negotiations.
  - c: The New York Group of the Italian Left Fraction of Communism, an ultra-left sectarian group, began to move toward a Marxist position even before the negotiations opened.
  - d: The relation of forces is overwhelmingly in favor of the Marxist force theoretically, politically and organizationally.
4. The problem involved in the negotiations and fusion are:
- a: The establishment of a Marxist programmatic basis for fusion.
  - b: The utilization of the fusion, or negotiations alone if fusion is not possible, to advance on the basis of our line to the solution of the tasks confronting the organization in the next period.
  - c: The political and organizational consolidation of the Marxists.

II

The National Convention endorses the line of the Political Committee as laid down in (1 - the PC Resolution on Negotiations; (2 - The Minutes of the same date on that subject; 3 - The structural outline

for the Programmatic Draft, (4) The line of the first three sections of Chapter 1 and of the text of Chapter 4 - "The World Labor Movement.

### III.

The Convention instructs the Polcom (1) To continue the negotiations to determine whether complete principled agreement can be reached, (2) To complete the Draft, (3) To submit it together with definite organizational proposals for fusion to the N.C. which shall consider the report and proposals of the Polcom and submit them together with its recommendations to the National Membership for discussion and its opinion.

Following this referendum, the Political Committee shall proceed to a two month period of political and organizational collaboration with the LRWP and ILFC. Final action shall be taken by a Plenum of the National Committee.

.....

### Resolution on Stalinism.

The evolution of S talinism (which originated in the camp of Marxism) from bureaucratic centrism, - expressing the pressure of both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, - to reformism, i.e. the instrument of the bourgeoisie, is proceeding at a rapid, though uneven pace. The basic factor determining the direction of this evolution has been the ever-increasing isolation of the Soviet Union. Upon the basis of a series of defeats culminating in the Fascist victory in Italy and the German defeat of 1923, and of the consequent temporary consolidation of world capitalism and the exhaustion of the Soviet population, nationalist moods arose in the Soviet masses out of which arose Stalinism and on the basis of which Stalinism came to power. The theoretical expression of this tendency was the theory of Socialism in one country which has spawned a vast progeny of revisionism in every sphere of Marxism, in theory and in practice. Upon this non-Marxian basis Stalinism became the leader of revolutionary defeats throughout the world, resulting in an even more accentuated isolation of the Soviet Union.

Stalinist policies are being shaped by the pressure of world economy on the Soviet Union on the one hand (exerted both through the non-proletarian forces in the Soviet Union, and directly by the world bourgeoisie), and by the pressure of the Russian proletariat on the other. This proletarian pressure from within the Soviet Union will continue to influence Stalinist policy (though to an ever-decreasing degree) as long as the dictatorship of the proletariat and the workers' and peasants' state based on it exist. As a result Stalinist policies within the Soviet Union formally fall within the category of centrist (though more and more definitely right centrist) while in the capitalist countries they have already become reformist.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has been driven to rely more and more on the support of certain capitalist states, through an alliance with, and a complete subordination of the Communist Parties to, the liberal bourgeoisie in these countries, through the policies of the People's Front and organic unity. This reformist policy of subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie has at the Seventh World Congress been made the general policy of the Comintern, i.e.

not only for countries whose state support the Stalinist bureaucracy either enjoys today or hopes to win tomorrow, but for all countries.

Through this adoption of a reformist policy for capitalist countries the Stalinist bureaucracy has become an ally and instrument of the bourgeoisie in the working-class camp and a rival of the old established agency of the bourgeoisie, the Social Democracy. In the capitalist countries the evolution of Stalinism from centrism to reformism has been completed.

Stalinism as a whole must still be characterized as centrist, but its centrism is a transitory stage to reformism. It is caught in between the steadily decreasing pressure of the material conquests of the October Revolution and the steadily increasing pressure of world economy. The direction of the evolution of Stalinist policies within the Soviet Union unmistakably follows that of their evolution in the capitalist countries, i.e., from centrism to reformism, and has already so greatly undermined the dictatorship and the economic bases on which it rests that a social crisis of the greatest magnitude impends. But their final transformation is possible only on the basis of the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the re-establishment of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The only force capable of preventing this and of restoring the full heritage of the October Revolution and defending it against world imperialism is a new communist party in the Soviet Union and the forces working for a new communist international in the capitalist countries.

Copies of the following documents will be sent upon request.

- 1-Report of the Washington Unemployed Conference.
- 2-Report of the New York May Day Demonstration.
- 3-An Open Letter to Vincent Dunne on the  
Farmer-Labor Party.

These reports clearly reveal, by documentary proof, the class struggle position of the Revolutionary Workers League vs. the class collaboration position of the Stalinists, Socialists, and American Trotskyites who have entered the Socialist Party.

# CONSTITUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' LEAGUE OF THE U.S.

## Article 1 - Name and Purpose

Section 1 - The name of this organization shall be the Revolutionary Workers League of the U.S. Its purpose shall be to organize a revolutionary Marxian i.e. a Communist, party based upon the Leninist concept of democratic centralism, the education and organization of the working class for the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of the Communist society.

## Article 2 - Membership

Section 1 - Any person who accepts the principles and tactics, and submits to the discipline, of the Revolutionary Workers League, and agrees to engage actively in the work of the League shall be eligible to membership. It is the aim of this organization to have in its ranks only those who participate actively in its work.

Section 2 - Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned, after having read the constitution and program of the Revolutionary Workers League, declares his adherence to the principles of the League, agrees to submit to the discipline of the League, as stated in its constitution, and pledges himself to engage actively in its work."

Section 3 - Every member must join a duly constituted unit of the League. There shall be no members-at-large in cities where there are established units. But in cities where there are no units workers may join the Revolutionary Workers League by application to the Political Committee which shall pass upon each application. When a member moves to a different city the Branch must notify the P.C. at once.

Section 4 - All application cards must be endorsed by two persons who have been members for not less than three months.

Section 5 - Applications for membership shall not be finally acted upon until 3 months after presentation to the unit (branch), and in the meantime applicant shall pay initiation fee and dues and shall attend meetings and classes. He shall have a voice but no vote. Proviso: this rule shall not apply to the charter members of new units and to workers joining the Revolutionary Workers League during the sixty days following the first national convention.

Section 6 - All members of the League must submit periodic written reports on their activities.

Article 3 - Units of Organization

Section 1 - The establishment of the Shop Unit form of organization is the basic organizational aim of the League. In the present period the territorial branch shall be the transitional form of organization. When 5 or more comrades of one shop, mine, mill, factory, etc., are also members of the League a shop unit shall be established.

Section 2 - The basic unit of the League shall consist of not less than 5 comrades nor more than 25 comrades.

Section 3 - Language branches and language federations are prohibited. Language fractions shall be organized of 3 or more comrades to carry on League activity in the language organizations of the different nationalities. These fractions shall be controlled by the units.

Transitional branches of comrades not speaking the English language can be organized (1) where no regular branch of the Party exists; (2) and until either a regular branch is constituted or a sufficient number join the transition branch who speak the English language, thereby enabling the transition branch to be integrated into the Party structure. It shall be compulsory for such transitional branches to conduct a class in Workers' English.

Article 4 - Administration

Section 1 - All officers and committees of the League shall be elected and removed by the membership in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. But the Political Committee shall designate the League's candidates for parliamentary campaigns and shall be guided by the Leninist concept of selecting chiefly workers.

Section 2 - The supreme administrative body of the League shall be the Convention of the League.

Section 3 - Between the meetings of the convention the supreme body shall be the Central Committee elected by the convention. The Central Committee shall consist of 15 members. The convention shall also elect alternates who shall take their places as members of the Central Committee in case of vacancies in the order of their vote.

Section 4 - The C.C. shall elect from its members a sub-committee of 5 members, who shall be known as the Political Committee. The members of the Political Committee shall live in the city in which the National Committee shall carry on the work of the League under the supervision of the Central Committee. Two C.C. members shall be elected as alternates to the P.C. Candidates for the C.C. at the time of election must have been in the revolutionary movement for, at least, three years of which one year must have been in the Revolutionary Workers League. (the second provision does not apply at the first national convention.)

## Constitution -3.

Section 5 - Roll-Call vote .... Any member of the NC can demand a roll-call vote of the NC between Plenums on any disputed motion of the Political Committee. The position of the PC stands and must be executed, until and, if it is overruled.

Section 6 - The Political Committee shall organize Plenums every three months. When 50% or more members of the CC demand, the PC shall organize a special Plenum.

Section 7 - City committees shall be organized whenever two or more branches are formed.

Section 8 - District organizations shall be formed in those industrial areas where the C.C. considers that we have a sufficient base in units. When District Committees are set up in cities in which City Committees have previously been created the City Comm. shall be abolished and their functions taken over and discharged by the District Committees.

### Article 5 - Press

Section 1 - The press of the League shall print the League position.

Section 2 - Minority positions shall appear in the press in pre-convention discussions, and when the P.C. shall decide in between convention discussion periods to initiate a discussion on certain questions. In such discussions the PC shall start the discussion with its position.

Section 3 - When a member or members of the CC present a document on questions upon which the League does not have a position, or does not take a position, the CC members have the right to present their position in the League press.

### Article 6 - Dues

Section 1 - No members are exempted from the payment of at least the minimum dues. In special cases, however, local branches are at liberty to provide payment for individual unemployed unit members from the unit treasury, upon vote of the unit. The CC is, however, empowered to exempt a unit and its members from this requirement, and to issue special unemployed stamps. Initiation 50¢. Dues 50¢. Unemployed 10¢.

Section 2 - Housewives, not employed, who are members of the League, may on request be granted unemployed exempt stamps.

Section 3 - Dues paying members of the youth organization, who are simultaneously League members, shall on request be exempted from the payment of dues in the League unit.



Section 4 - Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members in good standing and shall be so notified by the unit executive. Members six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls of the League.

Article 7 - Discipline

Section 1 - When necessary control commissions shall be set up by the Central, Political, District or City Committees to deal with extraordinary violations of discipline or to investigate extraordinary charges, or to inquire into the distribution of time and activity of the membership for the purpose of study and of facilitating a more efficient distribution by the responsible bodies.

Section 2 - The decisions of the higher bodies of the League shall be binding upon all members of the League.

Section 3 - A member or group of members may dissent from the decisions of the leading bodies but must subordinate his opinion to that of the majority and carry out its decisions.

Section 4 - Any member or group of members violating the decisions of the governing bodies of the organization shall be subject to disciplinary measures.

Section 5 - Disciplinary measures shall consist of censure, removal from office, suspension and expulsion.

Section 6 - Grounds for disciplinary action shall include violations of decisions, inactivity, carrying information to the class enemy and/or opponent organizations, cowardice in action, scabbing, employment by the police and other actions and practices which indicate attachment to or reconciliation with bourgeois society.

Section 7 - A member or group of members having twice been suspended, shall upon a third violation of discipline, be expelled from the League.

Section 8 - A member or group of members upon being charged with an offense, shall be presented with a written copy of the charges against him in sufficient time to prepare for his (or her) defense.

Section 9 - All charges shall be tried by a specially elected trial committee. The trial committee can make its decision binding only upon its acceptance by the body of which the accused is a member.

Section 10 - A member shall have the right to bring charges against any member of a higher unit, but the accused can only be tried by the body he (or she) is a member of, i.e.: unit, district committee, national committee.

Section 11 - Any member of the N.C. or P.C. may be expelled only by a convention, but may be suspended by vote of the C.C.

Section 12 - Higher units may review the disciplinary actions of lower units or the failure of these units to act after the procedure described above shall have been complied with.

Section 13 - Any member subjected to disciplinary action shall have the right to appeal to the next higher body, up to and including the National Convention.

Section 14 - Pending action on the appeal, the decision of the organization having jurisdiction remains in full force and effect.

Article 8 - National Conventions.

Section 1 - The National Convention of the League shall be held once a year. Special conventions shall be called by the N.C. upon the demand of units or local executive committees representing 51% of the membership.

Section 2 - The call for the Convention, together with an agenda and the proposals of the National Committee shall be issued at least 60 days before the date of the Convention for discussion in the local organization and in the official publications. Special conventions must be convened within two months of the demand.

Section 3 - When the Central Committee shall fail or refuse to convene a special convention within the time specified above, the units of the League, demanding the convention shall have the right of setting up a Convention Organization Committee which shall have all the rights of the Central Committee in connection with the calling of the Convention.

Section 4 - Representation at the Convention shall be proportionally based upon the membership in good standing at the time of the Convention call. Delegates to the conventions when disputed issues arise shall be elected on the basis of the votes for the political resolutions.

Section 5 - The Convention shall elect an Auditing Commission which shall audit the books of the League from time to time and report to the following convention.

Article 9 - Fractions

Section 1 - Members of the League in trade unions and other mass organizations shall organize themselves into fractions for common work within such organizations. The work of a fraction within a given mass organization shall be under the direction and

control of the League unit having jurisdiction over the League members constituting the fraction. The members of a fraction must work as a unit under all circumstances. Violations of fraction discipline shall be reported to the proper organization of the League for action.

Article 10 - Internal Bulletin

Section 1 - The League shall publish an Internal Bulletin under the jurisdiction of the P.C. at regular intervals, which shall present important internal and international information for the members. Disputed issues in the organization can be presented in the Internal in between Convention discussion periods only by decision of the Political Committee.

Article 11 - International Relations

Section 1 - The Revolutionary Workers League shall strive to consolidate an international body of all groups and parties standing upon the same international principles as the preliminary structure for the organization of the Fourth International.

Article 12 - Amendments

Section 1 - Amendments shall be made to this Constitution by majority vote of the National Convention.