

For the Fourth International

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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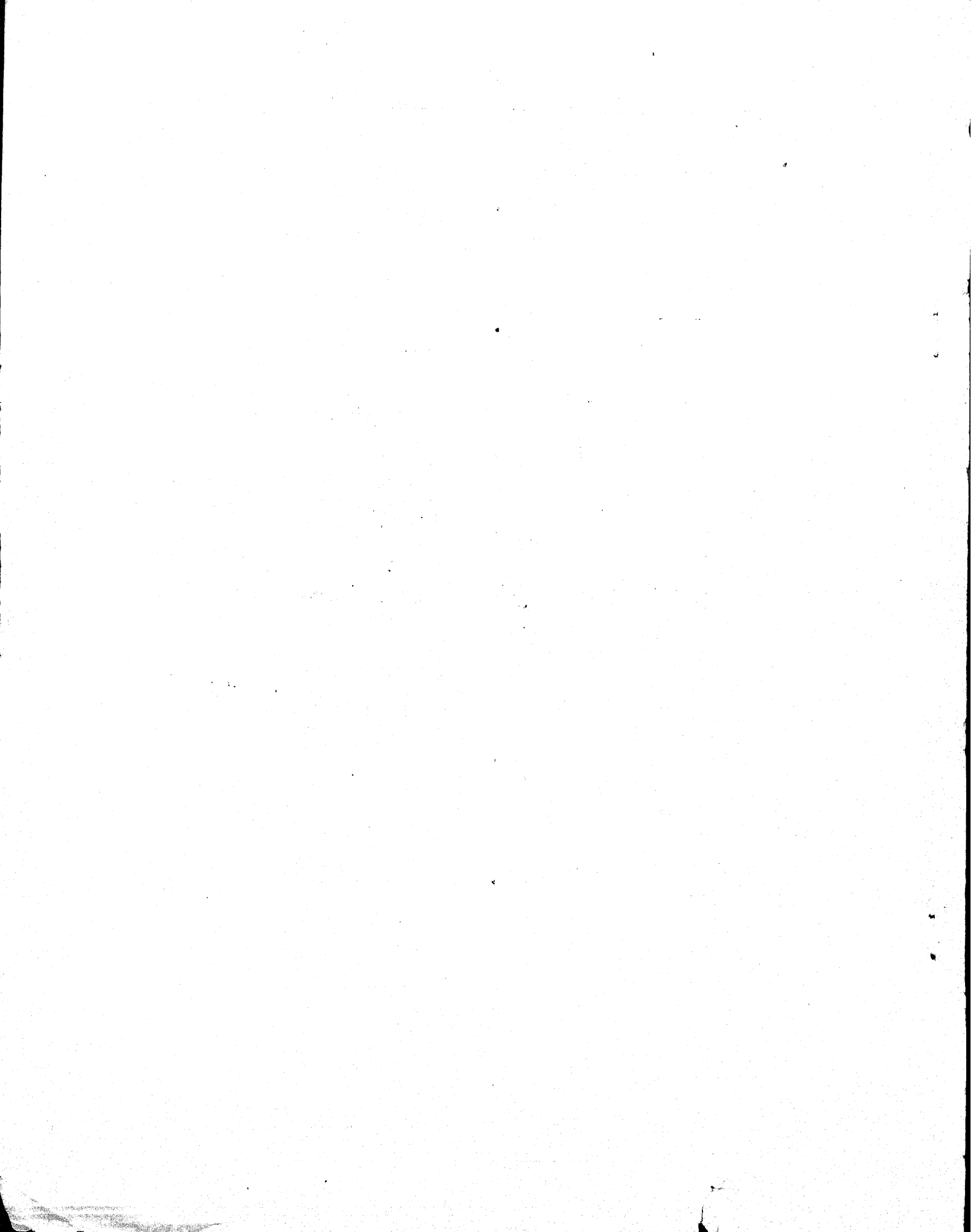
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## OUR POLICY.

The undersigned comrades are issuing the INTERNATIONAL NEWS which will express in its pages a specific point of view not in conflict with the program of the Workers Party. It will support wholeheartedly the Party's program, activity and political clarification.

To its shame the Workers Party has pushed to one side the burning issues of the permanent revolution and its application to the United States, the Negro question, the character of the Latin American revolutions, etc., and has handled the vital international problem of the new turn of the International Communist League with purely organizational, slanderous and bureaucratic methods. These burning issues must be dealt with to the fullest extent throughout the Party. The factional usurpation by the Cannon caucus of the public Party press and official inner-Party channels - in favor of the French turn, so-called, which the Party has not endorsed - must be overcome. A question of principle vital to the revolutionary movement cannot be kept under lock and key.

Since the organization of the Workers Party the Cannon caucus, which controls the apparatus and the press, has systematically suppressed material and articles presented by left-wing comrades. At the same time it has publicly presented voluminous material in support of the new turn of the I.C.L. - the "French" turn which has not been endorsed by the Party - and it has openly and brazenly stated it would publish nothing opposing this turn. In its initial period the policy of this caucus has shifted the Party far to the right of the Declaration of Principles and has placed stumbling-blocks in the way of recruiting left-wingers into the Party. To this day it has never printed in the New Militant the second draft of Principles which the fusion forces adopted at the founding of the Party. Its policy allows right-wing enemies of the Party, such as Budenz and others, to resign from the Party while it carries on month after month an expulsion campaign against left-wing comrades, such as Zack and many others.

With the suppression of the ordinary Party rights of expression discipline becomes a factional usurpation of the apparatus for the suppression of political discussion throughout the Party. Left-wing comrades, therefore, find it necessary to issue an INTERNATIONAL NEWS bulletin to the Party membership in order to present valuable suppressed documents and international material of vital importance to the Party's political decisions. Space will not permit us to list the entire catalogue of suppressed documents and articles; we will have to select those dealing with the most important and pressing issues. Since the inception of the Party articles, documents and resolutions of many comrades have been suppressed by one method or another. Resolutions up for vote in the Political Committee have been bottled up, - voted neither for or against, - and to this day they remain bottled up. On this basis and in spite of the fact that resolutions were presented to the Political Committee BEFORE the event, many important issues have passed by the Workers Party with no position at all presented by the Party or with a false and watered-down position published to the Party's public disgrace.

The responsibility for the present situation in the Party is shared with the Cannon caucus both by the comrades supporting comrade Muste, on the one hand, and especially by comrade Weber, on the other hand, because of their inability to fight the policy of the Cannon faction. This faction can be fought effectively only by a left-wing program, by properly connecting up its S.P. orientation in America with its support of the new turn of the I.C.L. - a turn and an orientation which have strangled the Party since its foundation. It is precisely the material on this question which is being rigidly suppressed and those comrades who are leading the fight against the liquidation of our sections into the parties of the Second International are the ones who are discriminated against by the controlling faction.

Unlike other members of the Party who publish material outside the Party and contrary to its Declaration of Principles, the undersigned will issue this suppressed material only for the Party, and all of the material we present will be within the bounds of the Declaration of Principles. We will defend the Declaration of Principles against those who are watering it down in the Party's life from day to day, and at the same time we will seek to complete the Declaration as a full, rounded, Marxian document as rapidly as possible and within Party bounds. We aim, too, and on this basis, to assure the Party's correct and timely leadership in day to day struggles.

Against the "French" turn.

Against the S.P. orientation.

For the Marxist road to the 4th International.

Publishing Committee:

Handy  
Beardslee.

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The next issue will contain important articles on the following:

**PROBLEMS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN SECTIONS**

- by P. Eiffel.

Thesis on the Negro question.

International notes.

Other important articles.

AGAINST THE LIQUIDATORS.  
FOR AN INDEPENDENT MARXIAN PARTY.

One of the most important questions confronting the world labor movement, if not the most important question, is the dispute over the road to the Fourth International. Just as many of the parties of the Second International are torn with factional strife over the question of the road to power, so too the sections of the International Communist League and those close to it are torn with factional strife and splits over the question of the road to the Fourth International.

The new axis of dispute, now that the Committee of Four for the Fourth International had such a short period of life, revolves around the question of the new turn of the I.C.L., commonly known as the "French" turn. In America it first took form in the dispute at the third and last convention of the Communist League of America in the three-cornered factional fight over the question of the "French" turn.

In this fight only a comparatively small number of comrades understood that the entry into the S.F.I.O. (S.P., France) was only the first step of a new international orientation. If they could at that time have been convinced of this undoubtedly the overwhelming majority of the rank and file would have opposed it and probably could have defeated it. Instead they believed all the false arguments about the "exceptional circumstances" which in France necessitated an "exceptional step" and believed assurances given to them that this step would not be extended to any other countries. Even when only a short time later its application to other countries was proposed by the International Secretariat or by the national leadership of other sections, many comrades hesitated to admit that they had been wrong in regarding the step taken in France as merely a national tactic. Two or three or four "exceptions", even if they concern the two or three or four leading sections of the international organization, in their opinion still do not affect the 'international line'. We maintain, however, that it is precisely the "orientation" itself which made it from the very outset an international turn.

FROM SECTARIAN ISOLATION TO OPPORTUNISM.

The new orientation, first smuggled in as the "French" turn, was supported precisely by those who, as the result of their inability to make the turn from a mere opposition and propaganda group to an independent political organization, had lost faith in the I.C.L. as an independent Marxian force. This was true in an especially high degree of the leadership of the C.L.A. (Cannon, Shachtman, Swabeck). They had lost faith in the future of the League and supported the new orientation in the hope that it would save the League (or rather their leadership).

But in America this orientation took on a special form. An intermediate link - the impending fusion with the American Workers Party - was interjected which helped to obscure the essential facts. It allowed the leadership to lull the doubts of most of the members as to the danger of the "French" turn being extended to other countries and above all to the U.S. and at the same time it served a similar purpose in other countries. "Fusion in the U.S. and Holland! This must be the line and not the

"French" turn' - so argued comrades in all countries. They did not see behind the surface; they did not see that to the C.L.A. leadership fusion with the A.W.P. was only a stepping stone on the road to the S.P. Militants. Today ever greater numbers of comrades begin to see through this double bookkeeping of the national and international leadership of the I.C.L. Unfortunately in some countries - France, Belgium, perhaps in others - heavy losses have already been suffered. All the more reason, therefore, to put shoulders to the wheel and prevent further disaster. The fate of the sections of the I.C.L., to this day one of the decisive forces for the Fourth International, is of immediate concern to every member of the Workers Party. The new orientation must be defeated if the New International is to live!

#### FUSION IN THE UNITED STATES.

The historic task of the fusion between the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. was to broaden the organizational basis for the application of Marxism to the American scene. If carried out correctly and sincerely it opened up the possibility of creating in the U.S. an independent Marxist party, standing for the Fourth International, precisely at the moment when in Europe the I.C.L., - up till then the main protagonist of the Fourth International, - began to liquidate its sections into the parties of the Second International.

But the fusion was carried out neither correctly nor sincerely by the leadership of the C.L.A. They supported wholeheartedly the "new orientation" of the I.C.L. Not without good reason they were stricken with the same panic as the international leadership of the I.C.L. The difficulties accompanying the turn from a mere opposition and propaganda group to an independent political and organizational life frightened them. They were unable to make this turn. Thus they lost faith in the C.L.A. Something had to be done to "save" it; that is, to save themselves, its "leaders"! The "new orientation" seemed to open up the perspective of an easier and quicker way "to the masses". They eagerly seized upon it. They had been ready for it. Now, with Trotsky's authority behind them, they could openly support it.

But there was the A.W.P. It had come out for an independent revolutionary party. It had to be eliminated as an independent force if the application of the "new orientation" to the U.S. was to go through successfully. The Cannon group had two perspectives in this respect: either fusion with the A.W.P. might result miraculously in such a growth of the new party that a deal with the Militants of the S.P. would for the time being be unnecessary; or, the A.W.P. had to be taken along on the road to fusion with the Militants or even outright entry into an S.P. dominated by the Militants. Fusion would swell the ranks of the Cannon group leading towards this objective. It was numbers now that counted, nothing else. Therefore: fusion - at any cost!

#### FUSION AS A STEPPING-STONE FOR THE "NEW ORIENTATION".

Consequently the Cannon group, instead of using the pressure of the left wing in the A.W.P. in order to achieve a more

advantageous initial position for transforming the merged party into a truly Marxist party, yielded to the numerically more important right elements in the A.W.P. Thus the all-important task of assisting the best elements in the A.W.P. to find the road to Marxism was sacrificed to the ultimate - and immediate aims of the Cannon group: to use the fusion with the A.W.P. as a stepping stone towards fusion with the Militants or entry into a party dominated by them.

Fusion with the A.W.P. served the Cannon group another and very important purpose. They would never have been able to persuade the members of the C.L.A. to support the "new orientation" and its first application in France if the members had not been led to believe that this was a strictly French matter, not to be applied to any other country. If they had understood that it was a new international orientation, to be applied during the following months to one country after the other, they would never have consented to give it their moral backing. They would have been even less willing to do so if there had been any suspicion left in their mind that it would be one day applied to the U.S. as well. The impending fusion with the A.W.P. served to dispel this suspicion.

#### THE AMERICAN SIDE OF THE NEW ORIENTATION.

The minority in the C.L.A. pointed out that it was impossible for the Cannon group to support the new orientation - which they knew to be of an international character - and at the same time be sincerely for the fusion. But as a smoke-screen the Cannon group used the time-honored trick of accusing their opponents of exactly the crime of which they themselves were guilty. Being themselves insincere in their professed attempt to build, on the basis of the fusion, an independent Marxist party, they accused those who were against the "French" turn of being also against the fusion!

While the minority pointed out that on the contrary they were for the fusion because they were for building independent parties, the slanders and lies of the Cannon group succeeded at the time in misleading the majority of the delegates to the C.L.A. convention.

Since then, seeing that the predictions of the minority had been correct, more and more comrades have left the Cannon group and sided with the former minority in the C.L.A. which since then has widened out into the left wing of the W.P.

For a time the slanders and lies of the Cannon group had another serious result: they induced many comrades from the former A.W.P. to believe that the former C.L.A. minority was against fusion. These comrades too have learned in the meantime that they were victimized by a gross misrepresentation of facts. They have learned that if there are groups in the party which are against the fusion as the basis for building an independent Marxist party, they are to be found not at the left but at the right, among the followers of Budenz on the one hand, and among the supporters of Cannon on the other hand. Both have to be isolated and if necessary eliminated if the Party is to live as an independent Marxist force.

#### "TWO ROADS".

The Fourth International can be built only by an independent organization and political force which utilizes fraction work as

a tactic for achieving this goal. But there are two diametrically opposite views as to how to proceed in this respect. One group of comrades believe that it is necessary to build a left wing within the parties of the Second International by dissolving into these parties the existing independent organizations standing for the Fourth International. Once inside, these comrades hold, it will be easier to win not only the left socialists but also the left Stalinists to the idea of a new international. A second group of comrades holds the opposite viewpoint. In their opinion the left socialists as well as the left Stalinists can be attracted to the idea of a new international only if confronted with independent groups which conduct fraction work inside the Centrist parties and which, by their very existence, force the crystallization of left elements. Only a firm and consistent line and organizational steps in harmony with it can attract and hold these leftward moving comrades and groups in the Second and Third Internationals and expose the vacillations and in part the insincerity of the leaders of these left currents before their own followers. If carried out with the correct combination of firmness and flexibility this policy will sooner or later succeed in splitting off groups from the parties of the Second and Third Internationals, thus opening up the possibility of their fusion on a Marxian basis with the independent organizations outside.

On the contrary the policy advocated by the comrades who are for the liquidation of these independent groups will slow down and even stop the leftward development of the oppositional socialists and Stalinists by giving their leaders the best possible argument for not breaking with their own parties. Both the left socialists and the left Stalinists,--both indispensable for the building of the Fourth International,--will by this policy be lost and pushed to the right.

#### THE NEW ORIENTATION RETARDS THE LEFT DRIFT IN THE 2ND INTERN'L.

The last six months have given the international working class the opportunity to test which of these two policies helps to build the foundations for the Fourth International and which hinders it. The two most important European sections, the French and Belgian, have already been dissolved into the socialist parties of those countries (SFIO & POB), and in other sections,--the Spanish, Polish, Swiss and Italian,--the international leadership of the I.C.L. has been trying to bring about majorities for the same step. The effect of the entry of the French section into the S.F.I.O. last Fall was immediately felt, nationally and internationally, by the left socialists and left Stalinists. It goes without saying that the latter looked with utter disgust on an organization which, while in words standing for a new communist international, concretely could think of nothing but entry into the parties of the Second International. Nowhere, notwithstanding the repeated assertions of the international leadership of the I.C.L. --(characteristically enough these assertions are never accompanied by concrete facts!) -- nowhere has the I.C.L. since the entry of its French section into the S.F.I.O. been able to gain any influence over the oppositional currents which have developed in the Third International against its shameful degeneration into a new species of social-chauvinism.



The left socialists, on the other hand, have reacted even more directly to the "new orientation" of the I.C.L. The main fact which has to be stated clearly and emphatically is this: the movement for a break with the Second International, which just in the summer of 1934 began to assume bigger and bigger proportions, is for the time being dead. It has been killed by the famous "French" turn. The main groups whose leftward evolution has been affected negatively by this orientation are naturally the left socialists in France and Belgium, but they are by no means the only ones. In France, where the political crisis made it especially urgent to push the left socialists still farther to the left, up to the point of breaking with their party and fusing with the independent force outside on a Marxian basis, the general leftward evolution of the S.P. has been retarded and has even given place to a new evolution to the right. Most of them, led by Pivert, the hope of the I.C.L. leadership, support the official leader of the Paris district, Zyromsky, wherever it comes to concrete acts or even to votes on resolutions only. Zyromsky, whose leftward evolution, in turn, has been arrested by the entry of the I.C.L. section, has been pushed into a position of leaning towards the Third International! So now: criticize Zyromsky but not ourselves! Push Zyromsky toward the Third International and then warn him against Stalinism!

This is one of the most tragic effects of the "French" turn. The workers can see only one alternative: the Second or the Third International. Nobody can blame them for choosing in that case the Third International which traditionally still represents the October Revolution and the first Workers State. And nobody can blame them for not having faith in the movement for the Fourth International when the leaders of this movement liquidate their sections and become the left opposition of the Second International with the "advantage" of being inside. The workers have seen these leaders push Spaak towards capitalism.

#### THE I.C.L. ALSO DISINTEGRATES.

Our contention that the "new orientation" would destroy the I.C.L. as an international force (unless corrected in time), and that this event, disastrous for the cause of the Fourth International, would more than offset all the apparent small gains that might be possible here and there on a national scale where the turn was applied, has unfortunately been proved to be only too correct. Of the seven European sections five have experienced a split as a result of the turn: the French, German, Belgian, Polish and Spanish. (The Dutch section has been saved a split for the present at least by fusion with the O.S.P.; the Greek section had just gone through a number of splits so it should be left out in this connection).

In every case the total membership of the pro-entry and anti-entry groups is very much smaller than the total membership before the split. Hundreds of comrades have given in to their feeling of disgust and despair and are, for the time being at least, lost for the movement. The worst case of all, especially in view of the gigantic tasks confronting that section, is the case of the German section. Here the membership, which during

one year of the Hitler regime had soared from less than 200 to about 900, once more dropped to about the same number as before Hitler! All over Europe, threatened by war and fascism, the sections of the I.C.L. have been broken up - all this, too, and pathetically enough, in the name of the struggle against fascism and war.

Another aspect of the disastrous effect of the new turn on the I.C.L. is that the lack of collective leadership has even been intensified. In truly bureaucratic fashion international decisions of the first importance are made without any consultation of the sections; in those rare cases where it is regarded as necessary sham plenums are held to give these decisions a post-festum sanction; all information is withheld from all those who oppose the new orientation, including even those who oppose it on tactical grounds only as in the case of comrade Vereecken, a member of the International Secretariat itself. Thus is proved even to the blind that the I.S. functions today exclusively as the center of a narrow faction and caters to its own factional needs and interests at the expense of the broader interests of the movement for the Fourth International and of the working class as a whole.

Summary. The "French" turn was motivated by a partially concealed and false estimate of the Second International. This made the turn international and "justified" entry into the Second International through the liquidation of the I.C.L. sections in many countries - a principled and disastrous error as proved by subsequent events. It followed inevitably, too, that those who accepted this turn adopted an S.P. orientation, softening their blows against the Second International, and fell into tail-endism and opportunistic errors. Inevitably, too, the independent role of even such parties as the W.P., U.S.A. was gradually liquidated both politically and in the party life and structure, and the membership became demoralized. The road to the Fourth International became blocked with the "gains" of this fatal turn. Leftward moving socialists and Stalinists were driven back to their bureaucracies and bureaucracy itself took factional possession of sections and parties standing for the Fourth International.

Such is the "French" turn. It must receive theoretical and organizational correction immediately before it is forever too late. The story of this struggle and the gains it has made deserves a separate article.

- P. Eiffel.

SPLIT THE SFIO  
CALL FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF A NEW PARTY IN FRANCE

The situation in France is becoming worse. Fascism is making headway even though it was momentarily stopped, and unless decisive steps are taken at once it will be too late to stem the tide of reaction and Fascism. At the present stage the most important and burning problem of the French working class is the organization of a revolutionary Marxian Party, to lead, to direct and to organize the struggle for power. The parties of the Second and Third Internationals are no more capable of carrying out this task in France than their sister parties were in Germany before Hitler took power. Unless a new force, a new party is organized as a polarizing force for the regroupments taking place in France in the layers of the class we will lose our opportunity.

Much time has already been lost, due to the fact that the only independent force in the world after Hitler took power gave up its independent position in France, liquidated its organization and entered the SFIO as the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction. As a faction of the Socialist Party they have already lost ground. A gain in numbers will not make up for a loss of political ground and Marxian principles. A new party is needed - a new party based upon revolutionary Marxism.

This party will have to be organized, and the preparation for the struggle for power will have to be carried out in spite of and against the parties of the Second and Third Internationals.

Therefore, it is essential to obtain a regroupment as rapidly as possible. To this end we think the ICL should call for a split in the SFIO. The International Communist group around Lhullier, which opposed the French turn, and which refused to enter the SFIO and instead demanded the continuation of the independent organization with faction work inside of the SFIO, should, together with the split from the SFIO, call for the organization of a new revolutionary party. The other groups in and out of the Second and Third Internationals should be invited to form a new party based upon a Marxian program.

It should be clear by now that the perspective of reforming the SFIO, of making it an instrument of revolution is hopeless and false. It should be clear by now that the SFIO is a petty-bourgeois vote-getting party and that at best only faction work by an independent organization can be carried on in the SFIO. Even though the split may carry with it several thousand at best this centrist material will yield small fruit, and only if the party has a firm theoretical foundation in Marxism.

Considering events in France and the shift in the French, as well as the international working class, it should be clear by now that the ICL has caused tremendous damage by giving up its independent position in France by the liquidation of its organization into the SFIO and constituting a faction of the Second International. This new turn of the ICL, which has been applied in different forms by groups in all countries where the ICL has sections, has checked and confused the left drift and splits from the centrist parties and in turn has caused a drift of other forces toward centrism and the Second International, instead of toward Marxism, because the ICL gave up its independent position.

If the Bolshevik-Leninist faction in the Socialist Party agrees to a split perspective, instead of the perspective of reforming the SFIO or of making it an instrument of revolution, it should be done within the following political framework: The split must be prepared to take as large a group as possible. The split must prepare to leave a faction in the SFIO. The new party to be organized must also organize a

faction in the CP. The split group must immediately contact the group that refused to enter the SFIO, the Ihullior group, and together with it prepare the groundwork for the unification of all forces possible into a new Marxian Party. Call for other forces in the CP and SP as well as the independent groups to unite upon the basis of Marxism.

But above all, the split policy must be carried through upon the basis of correcting the false new turn of the ICL. The false evaluation of Social Democracy must be rejected, i.e.: that it is possible to reform or to use the parties of the Second International as instruments of revolution. Correct the false position on the question of Organic Unity. And at the same time the correct perspective of building the parties for the Fourth International must be presented: The consolidation and strengthening of the world Marxian groups and parties, and the unification, into a revolutionary Marxian Party, of our groups or sections with left centrist groups and parties who have split or will split from the Second and Third Internationals. This to be coordinated with faction work in the two bankrupt internationals by our independent group or section in each country.

If the split in the SFIO takes place without a correction of the theoretical premise which motivated it and lay below the new false turn of the ICL (the so-called French turn which has been applied to the detriment of the Marxists throughout the world), the split will have no practical value on the road to power, no matter what the momentary gains may be. How many times has Stalinism covered up its false theoretical position by left turns and by criticism of the application of the "correct line"? The outstanding example was the third period left zig-zag. Left Oppositionists throughout the world who confused this turn with a correction of the theoretical base, capitulated. In this respect the split in the SFIO must be accompanied by a correction of the false theoretical premise behind the entry groups and behind the turn which liquidates our sections into the parties of the Second International, which has given the organization SP orientations and has reduced the former Left Opposition of the Comintern into the Left Opposition of the Second International.

There is no doubt that a split in the SFIO and the organization of a new party would include at the very inception many centrist elements, even the majority of the new party, even though the fusion program would be Marxist. Even with a correct program it would not be satisfactory and would play in the hand of the centrists if the "Marxian" program does not include a correction of the false new turn of the ICL endorsed by the Paris Plenum of the ICL.

If a correct step is taken in France it would help stem the tide of disintegration on a world scale. It would help the Marxists everywhere. What road will the Bolshevik-Leninist faction take? Will they continue their false course of reforming the SFIO, of attempting to use it as an instrument of revolution? Will they split but retain the false theoretical premise? Or will they split and correct the false new turn of the ICL? We again present the road to correct the errors and open the way to a Marxian PARTY.

Brussels, March 4, 1935

To the Members of the (International) Plenum:- Comrades:-

The IS informs us in its letter of Feb. 26 that the transfer of the IS to Brussels which was to take place in the fulfillment of the decisions of the last Int'l Plenum is now practically inapplicable, and proposes to us that it be continued in the city where it resides at present. But in order to make it workable in that city the IS proposes to make rather important changes:- instead of comrades Sneevliet Durand (Schwartz), Lescail & Vereecken, comrades Sneevliet, Martin (Ferosci), Durand, Oscar Fischer and Du Bois (Ruth Fischer) are proposed.

Arguing for the impossibility of the transfer to Brussels the IS states "that a break has just occurred between Charleroi and "Brussels" that this break "was nothing unexpected", that it is nothing but a "belated echo of the new orientation", and that one might have hoped "that the experiences of the last months would have convinced the comrades in Brussels too of their false position which made them opponents of this new orientation".

From this letter it would also appear that "the Belgian comrades themselves those in Charleroi as well as those in Brussels, consider the decision to transfer the IS to Belgium as inapplicable."

#### THE BREAK IN THE BELGIUM SECTION.

It is true the Belgium section is threatened with a split but to leave the impression as the letter of the IS does that this break is definite, altho a Nat'l convention is to take place on the 10th of March, means to contribute to the inevitability of a definite break.

In the following we shall relate in brief summary and as objectively as possible the events which have taken place in the Belgian section since the new orientation, and the present situation.

When the position was taken by the US and the French section regarding the entry into the SFIO -a majority of our section pronounced itself against this turn; it has never ceased to advocate its point of view on this question but it has never put an obstacle in the way of this experiment (Fr: experience). Sometime later the question of the entry of our other comrades into the ranks of the Young Socialist Guards was posed. The Charleroi district, which practically controls and edits our paper La Voix Communiste, has precipitated this discussion and has succeeded in obtaining a small majority. We shall leave aside here the question of the deliberate confusion of the vote taking. Altho the majority of the Youth comrades were opposed to this decision the minority both of the adults and the youth (in both cases a big minority) submitted to discipline. The Youth with their center in Brussels have dissolved their organization and have ceased publication of their paper La Voix Des Jeunes. As had been decided by our nat'l assembly at the end of 1934 the Young Leninists who were in favor of this policy, i.e.: the minority of them, entered the Young Socialist Guards while those who had fought vs. this policy, i.e.: the majority, joined the League.

At the time of the discussion on the entry of the French League into the SFIO those comrades in our section who were for this turn declared that this question was not posed for Belgium. When Comrade Cruz's proposal came to send our Youth into the Young Socialist Guards we here thought that this question concerned the Youth exclusively and that the entry into the P.O.B. (Belgian section of the 2nd International) must be regarded a mental aberration. Today the district committee of Charleroi has pronounced itself in favor of entry into the P.O.B. and this question is now before our national convention of March 10th.

THE DISCUSSION OF THE PLAN DE MAN

It would be wrong to believe that the break which has been provoked by the Charleroi district occurred only on the question of the new turn.

Since Christmas, 1933, when De Man had his "Plan for Labor" adopted by the P.O.B. conference, two concepts regarding it were in conflict within our section. The concept of the Charleroi district and the editors of La Voix Communiste consisted in shouting from the houstopps over and over again that the task consisted in putting the Plan for Labor into office thru a general strike, thus distorting the Leninist tactic regarding social democratic governments. The Voix Communiste went to the length of writing "Long live Socialism thru the Plan in Office." Brussels and some members of other districts are on the contrary of the opinion that the task consists of combatting this fake plan.

This discussion which began at the end of 1933, and the new orientation, had induced our national committee at its meeting of Nov. 28, 1934, to initiate a "public discussion on the general orientation of the Belgian social democracy and its left wing, and to end up this discussion by a national convention. This decision La Voix Communiste forgot. Yet the delegates to the NC from Charleroi had declared their agreement with this procedure.

THE ARBITRARY BREAK BY THE CHARLEROI DISTRICT  
AND THE MENACE OF A DEFINITE SPLIT.

When members began to send in their first discussion articles the editorial board of La Voix Communiste, backed by the Charleroi district committee and in spite of the decision of the NC, refused to print them. Following this the Brussels district sent out a document to all members of the Belgian section protesting this arbitrary act and analyzing its causes. It has to be remembered that in the meantime the comrades in Charleroi had reached the position of favoring entry into the P.O.B. In fact it was this new evolution of theirs which made them stifle the discussion. They had to prepare this entry.

The sending of this protest to all members made the leading comrades of the Charleroi district lose their heads. On the pretext that the Brussels district was, so to speak, delinquent with regards to payments for the paper and that it retained a mimeograph machine, the Charleroi district published in the La Voix Communiste of Jan. 27th a note in which it declared that it had made the decision to break politically and organizationally with the Brussels district. Unnecessary to say, the publication of such a decision made the Stalinists rejoice. The Charleroi District made this decision without consulting either the NC or the other districts--Liege, Antwerp, Verviers, Louvain and Ostends. What shows still more the arbitrary and light hearted manner in which the Charleroi district took this arbitrary step is the fact that it did not even take into consideration that one of those excluded (namely the writer of this letter) is a member of the IS and the International Plenum.

WHAT THE IS AND COMRADE CRUX DID IN THIS MATTER.

After the publication in La Voix Communiste of the Charleroi district's decision to break with Brussels, I received a letter from the IS asking me to examine the practical possibilities for the transfer of the IS to Brussels. The I was astonished by this letter I answered (after having explained the situation in the Belgian section) that the Brussels district was prepared in spite of the difficulties resulting from the act of the Charleroi comrades to do

everything in its power to enable the IS to live in Brussels. Following this letter comrade Martin (Ferosci) informed us that the IS proposed the convocation of an international commission composed of comrades from Charleroi and the Brussels district and comrade Crux. Brussels, Liege, Louvain and Ostende accepted this proposal. Charleroi rejected it but at the same time in its minutes announced that a national convention would take place on the 10th of March to examine the situation. In reply to the proposal by the IS they stated that it would be preferable if a member of the IS could come to Brussels for that day. This last named decision in our opinion signifies that it is still possible to avoid a definite break. However, on the 26th of Feb. the IS informed the members of the Plenum that the comrades in Brussels are of the same opinion as those in Charleroi regarding the non-transfer of the IS to Brussels, (which is incorrect), that an "expected" break has occurred in Belgium without, be it understood, making it clear that this break is not yet definite. The IS says nothing more of the policy of Charleroi concerning its position towards the fake plan of De Man and later on writes that this "break is a belated echo of the new orientation to which Brussels continues to be opposed."

On the other hand we cannot believe that the difference of opinion on the question of the turn is sufficient cause for a split. In this respect we can base ourselves upon fact and previous acts of the IS and comrade Crux.

The Dutch section too is opposed to the turn but notwithstanding this fact there is fortunately no question of a split. The efforts by which the IS has undertaken to coopt comrade Neville into the NC of the French League after the split has occurred, and its efforts to bring the Bauer group back into the ICL in our opinion likewise prove that the IS and comrade Crux are not opposed to the living together within the same organization of "entrists" and "non-entrists". A formal proof of this possibility is found in the fact that comrade Crux proposes the cooptation of comrade DuBois (Ruth Fischer), who is against the entry, into the Plenum, adding quite clearly that we could leave to the Stalinists directing bodies of a monolithic character.

The conclusion which ought to be drawn from these facts is that the IS should have condemned the step taken by the Charleroi comrades. But this little phrase about the "belated echo of the new orientation" and "the comrades in Brussels.." etc. etc. rather give the impression that the IS finds this step of the Charleroi comrades quite natural, a step which may lead to a momentary destruction of the forces of the ICL in Belgium.

We can but protest against this and demand that the IS pronounce itself upon the basis of the documents which it has received.

THE TRANSFER OF THE IS

We remain upon our previous position. No definite break has so far occurred in Belgium. Only on the 10th of March will this question be decided. It cannot be a question of taking measures based upon something which is not yet definite, unless the IS is agreed to let the Charleroi comrades enter the P.O.B. (an entry which will probably involve liquidation of Le Voix Communiste) and to exclude us from the ICL.

If such is the intention of the IS it is clear that the transfer of the IS to Brussels is impossible but that in case there is also no more advice to be given on our part.

In any case we pronounce ourselves against any change in the composition of the ISs long as the national convention of the Belgium section has not taken place.

AN APPEAL TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLENUM

This letter and the enclosed documents will give you a brief summary of the situation in the Belgian section. Everyone of us has to meet his responsibility. We have met ours. We maintain that the new orientation is an error. We maintain that it will bring nothing but discredit to the international organization. But we also maintain that "entrists" and non-"entrists" can live together in the same organization while awaiting the outcome, good or bad, of this turn, and this will not take long. We consider that any split over this question is a crime against our organization, against the revolutionary vanguard, against the 4th International which we are out to create.

It is for this reason and in view of the (Fr: entrance) of the IS that we address ourselves to you asking you to meet likewise your responsibility.

With revolutionary greetings,  
G. Vereecken

March 4, 1935.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE - Belgium Section - Brussels District.  
Brussels, March 16th, 1935

To all sections of the ICL: to all members:  
Dear Comrades:

After the French, German and Polish sections the Belgian section has just experienced a split.

As you can see for yourself from the enclosed documents this split is, in the words of the IS, "a belated echo of the new orientation". We immediately add that there will be similar echoes wherever this question will be posed practically before a section of the ICL. Whether this will be in Europe, in America, or anywhere else, the question of actual entry of one of our sections into a party of the 2nd International will lead to a split.

The most important point at our national convention of March 10th was the entry of our section into the P.O.B. - one of the most right-wing and bureaucratic sections of the 2nd International.

While there were other differences of opinion (especially on the policy regarding the Plan de Man) it was on the question of the new turn that the split occurred.

The Charleroi district is for entry without conditions, without right of fraction and without a paper. Its main spokesman, Comrade Lescail, stated at the national convention that even without the decision to enter the P.O.B. it would be necessary to discontinue the publication of La Voix Communiste. The reasons he adduced..... were the fact that the paper has a debt of 3 million (?) francs owing to the printer. This statement met with no reaction from those comrades who are for the entry (the extra effort from every member could result in a quick solution of this financial situation..

The fact that there was no reaction can be explained. Certain comrades write for and distribute the paper of the left socialists: L'Action Socialiste. All their attention is already centered on the work which they intend to do in the ranks of this Socialist Left. It is also necessary to know that since the first break in our ranks which was arbitrarily brought about by the Charleroi district at the end of January the circulation of La Voix has fallen from 2100 to 1200, and this as a consequence of the break but also, and that to a large extent, as a result of the dispersing of our forces into the



ranks of the Young Socialist Guards.....

The attitude of the representative of the IS, comrade Clart of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in the SFIO, was to say the least, strange. The day before the conference he stated that the IS, comrade Crux and he himself were vs. the entry of our comrades into the P.O.B. since this was, as he said, not a contrist party. In his first speech at the national convention he declared that the resolution of the IS was not formally vs. entry into the P.O.B. at the end of the discussion he stated that he took upon himself the responsibility that the IS would be in principle for the entry as he himself was by now. That was super-speed evolution.

.....The atmosphere, poisoned by bureaucratic methods, did not allow of any serious voting. Charleroi flatly refused the idea of a referendum. One has to know that the national convention took place in Gilly, in the Charleroi district and that the greater part of these comrades who are vs. entry into the P.O.B. were not able to get there.

Objectively the division of opinion can be summed up in the following manner:

For the Charleroi position, i.e.: entry into the P.O.B. without conditions, without right of fractions and without a paper: 49 members from Charleroi plus one each from Liege & Verviers, all together 51 members. In principle for entry: 49 members from Charleroi, 12 from Antwerp, 11 from Liege, 1 each from Verviers and Louvain, all together 74 members.

Against entry: 34 members from Brussels, 9 from Ostende, 1 each from Liege and Verviers, all together 45 members.

.....  
The following comrades expressed themselves against the organizational methods of the Charleroi center and of the IS and against the violation of democratic centralism: 34 comrades from Brussels, 9 from Ostende, 11 from Liege and 1 from Verviers. The comrades from Antwerp were not present at the convention but had in a previous letter condemned these methods. If a vote could have been taken on these organizational questions there would have been 81 against them and 51 for.

.....  
It is certain that the IS and comrade Crux will support with all their force those comrades who are for the entry, as they support them already on the opportunist position which they take on the question of the Plan de Man. The comrades who are for the entry will discontinue publication of La Voix Communiste. In spite of the great difficulties ahead of us we shall endeavor to bring it out ourselves. Beginning June 15th it will appear as Spartacus. The isolation in which the comrades of the Charleroi district and of the IS try to keep those who disapprove of this tactical step will be increased still further.

What these comrades are trying to do will in Belgium be an experience of even shorter duration than in France. First of all it is not yet certain (altho the comrades from Charleroi are for entry without conditions, without fraction rights and without paper) that the bureaucrats of the P.O.B. will permit them to come in and disturb their bureaucratic peace. If, on the other hand, they enter, this will be at the price of enormous concessions, and as seen as - in spite of these concessions - they gain, be it only the smallest bit of

influence, it will mean their expulsion. There can be no doubt whatsoever that some worker comrades will be lost during this process. Already today comrade D., actually the most responsible comrade on the editorial staff of La Voix Communiste is lost to the League. These losses will probably be compensated by certain new gains, but the final result will be that the Belgian section of the ICL will be paralyzed during a good long time, and that at a moment when the political processes within the country demand reinforcement of the independent Vanguard.

The comrades in Brussels and those who take their position will endeavor to keep alive in this country the principles of the four congresses of the CI and of the 11 points of the Pre-Conference of the ICL. They will endeavor to keep alive during this period, which is bound to be most difficult for them, the nucleus which will have to serve as an agent for regroupment in the future.

This task of regroupment will be rendered more difficult by the introduction of the organizational methods of the IS into the Belgian section. But we on our part shall do our utmost to purify the tainted atmosphere which will result from this by fighting firmly for our conceptions without letting ourselves be influenced by their methods or imitating them.

We appeal to every section and to every members of the ICL to oppose the policy of the IS to isolate us. We appeal particularly to all those who are against this new orientation to help us morally as well as materially.

For the Brussels District,

G. Varcocken

## NOTES ON THE BOLSHEVIK\*LENINIST FACTION IN THE SFIO

The SFIO Party Day gave signs of compromise. Although it finished basically with the same compromise as usual, still the "lefts" were somewhat more decisive than usual and would have gotten further if the Bolshevik-Leninist faction had carried out different and correct tactics. The SFIO Party Day with its empty phrases, its complete lack of any serious policy in both groups, proved once more what we have always said about the SFIO, what even comrade Trotsky had to say once about the SFIO in order to spur on the Belgians in the ICL drive to have them enter the POB.

The SFIO is a petty bourgeois party, both socially and politically. As a working class party it is meaningless (but not as a petty bourgeois radical voting party). Success in the SFIO means, no matter how great the success may be, means nothing in relation to the possibility and feasibility of conducting working class politics.

Apart from this "trifle" it would be foolish to deny that the Bolshevik-Leninist faction in the SFIO has already achieved considerable success in comparison with their previous position, even if they have won only one-thirty-second of the mandates.

To decide about the perspective of this success, we must first answer a few questions. On what political basis was this success achieved? Not on the basis of a correct policy. Those who voted for the Bolshevik-Leninist position did so only because it was the most left, not because it was the correct policy. With this understanding, this success has the character of the CP success at the polls.

In the best case, whither can this success lead them? To getting out of the party with several thousand followers, of which, with absolute certainty, only two to three hundred will remain at the end of the year. So they will be back where they started as a result of their policies and their organizational cessation.

Whither can this success not lead? To a conquest of actual masses of the SFIO. For the conference made one thing clear, which we have said before. The Bolshevik-Leninist have no political stability. When this faction evaluates its success they forget one detail. The decisive process in the building of the new parties and the new international are at present taking place in the form of the concentration of opponents of civil peace, reaching from Pivert to the anarchists. This process is going forward so slowly because there is no independent organization that can act as a polarizing agent. This is where the Communist League of France could have meant everything. Since the loss of their independence they mean nothing here.

## THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

By Leon Trotsky.

(Note: The following quotation from the "Permanent Revolution" gives comrade Trotsky's fundamental theses on this subject. These theses, inevitably and correctly, are expressed in theoretical and abstract form, but life has already passed beyond this stage. The theory of the permanent revolution and its concretization today revolves around the struggle against war and for the achievement of a successful proletarian revolution on an international scale. The permanent revolution means, therefore, -today, specifically, - the fight against the Second and Third Internationals and their social patriotism, and the struggle to build the Fourth International, including the problem of how to build it. Later articles will discuss this theory practically and concretely, beginning with an article on war.)

1. The theory of the permanent revolution now demands the greatest attention of every Marxist, for the course of the ideological and class struggle has finally and conclusively raised this question from the realm of reminiscences over the old differences of opinion among Russian Marxists and converted it into a question of the character, the inner coherence and the methods of the international revolution in general.

2. With regard to the countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks, democratic and national emancipation, is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses.

3. Not only the agrarian, but also the national question, assigns to the peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population of the backward countries, an important place in the democratic revolution. Without an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry, the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved nor even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realized in no other way than through an intransigent struggle against the influence of the national liberal bourgeoisie.

4. No matter how the first episodic stages of the revolution may be in the individual countries, the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political direction of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist party. This in turn means that the victory of the democratic revolution is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat which bases itself upon the alliance with the peasantry and first solves the problems of the democratic revolution.

5. The old slogan of Bolshevism - "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" expresses precisely the above characterized relationship of the proletariat, the peasantry and the liberal bourgeoisie. This has been confirmed by the experience of October. But the old formula of Lenin does not settle in advance the problem of what the mutual relations between the proletariat and the peasantry inside of the revolutionary bloc will be. In other words, the formula has unknown algebraic quantities which have to make way for precise arithmetical quantities in the process of historical experience. The latter showed, and under circumstances that exclude every other interpretation, that no matter how great the revolutionary role of the peasantry may be, it can nevertheless not be an independent role and even less a leading one. The peasant follows either the worker or the bourgeois. This means that the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" is only conceivable as a dictatorship of the proletariat that leads the peasant masses behind it.

-To be continued.

LETTER FROM J. ANDRADE OF N.E.C.-SPANISH SECTION, ICL.

-Madrid, June 29, 1935.

It appears that certain rumors regarding the situation of our section have reached you. But, undoubtedly, they have reached you thru the IS, that is to say, deformed and falsified, in which methods Trotsky and his epigones have specialized. For your information I shall try to sum up the development of our crisis and our present situation.

A national plenum of our organization met on Sept. 15th last. The general Spanish situation (it was already to be seen that the Socialist Party was headed towards a revolutionary uprising) and the new course of our International organization were up for consideration. The reporter on the latter point was comrade Fersen. The point of view which he expressed can be stated as follows: complete opposition to the "new course", absolute condemnation of the whole IS policy on the matter, and the establishment of an organized group within the ICL embracing all of those opposed to this policy of the IS and to the turn. It can almost be said that these proposals were not even discussed, the National Plenum of our organization approved them unanimously.

(continued on next page).

This position was reflected in two or three notes inserted in our magazine COMMUNISMO and in LA ANTORCHA.

The revolution of Octubre came up and the numerous comrades were in prison, among them Ferson. In jail, he devoted himself to drawing up some of the resolutions which had been approved in our National Plenum, in agreement with the decisions made there. But, comrade Ferson suddenly entered into relations with the Socialists who were imprisoned with him and changed his opinion radically. From prison, he sent a document posing entry into the Socialist Party. This letter was inserted in our internal bulletin and discussed by all of the units. By a large majority the organization declared against it and in favor of independent organization. Our NEC declared itself unanimously against.

Then negotiations were commenced in Barcelona for the fusion of our organization, the Workers and Peasants bloc (Maurin) and the Catalan Proletarian Party. When these negotiations were well underway, our NEC drew up a new resolution summed up as follows: the comrades of Catalonia were to enter the new party created by the fusion; those of the rest of Spain were to enter the Socialist Party. This new proposal was also submitted for discussion in the units.

By an immense majority our Madrid organization decided to declare itself resolutely against entry into the SP. It expressed the opinion that in view of the fact that the new party in Catalonia was going to be established almost on our programmatic basis, it was only correct that the party have a National character and that our units should become its local sections. The majority of our organization accepted this position and even the NEC, adopting this opinion expressed by the majority of the membership, declared itself in favor of the new party for all of Spain.

In view of this decision, five comrades of Madrid, (Ferson, Esteban, Bilbao and Munis and two others) left the organization and have joined the SP. They will be followed, if by anyone, by six or eight more comrades in the provinces; but by no single unit in its majority. It is a small chip off of no great importance. In the internal bulletin, which will be published one of these days and which I shall send you, all of the documents and points of clarification regarding this question will be published.

From what I have said, you will see that it was not a matter of some comrades entering the SP and others entering the Workers' bloc. No; to date only five comrades in Madrid have joined the SP. Our organization as such is fusing with the Workers' bloc and the Catalan Proletarian Party, on the basis of a program containing all the positions of our organization. Excepting that it is not specified in said program that we shall work for the establishment of the Fourth International, but that the new party "will work for the constitution of a new Marxist Revolutionary International." The Workers' bloc was opposed to saying Fourth International, because it considered that this would be placing itself absolutely on all of the positions held by us. But, as you will understand, the formula agreed upon is absolutely the same thing. On the other hand, following the experience of Octubre, Maurin has rectified his points of view completely and it can be said that he is now entirely in agreement with ours. Naturally we shall also send you all of the programmatic documents of the new party.

We have believed and understood that in view of the deep unity sentiment manifested among the Spanish working masses since the Octubre revolution, especially as regards the struggle for amnesty and democratic conquests, this fusion of ours with the Workers' bloc

(which on the other hand has completely changed its positions) would place our organization on a new level which, without giving up principles, can open the way for the formation of a big party. It is in reality similar to the fusion carried out by your organization, which gave rise to the WP. We remain, meanwhile, resolutely opposed to all traffic with the Socialist movement and to the "new course" of our International organization.

What are the perspectives of our new party? (It will be called the Workers Party of Marxist Unification). They are excellent. THE BATTLE, organ of the new party, will commence publication in Barcelona next week. A monthly theoretical magazine edited by comrade Andres Nin will be published shortly, and we also expect to publish papers in Barcelona, Madrid, and without doubt another in Valencia.

We are expecting the authorization of the government for the holding of public meetings. Very likely meetings can be held by next Sunday. A monster meeting for the constitution of a new party will be held in Barcelona; you can get an idea of its importance and probable attendance by knowing that the meeting will be held in the Bull Ring of Barcelona.

There is really a great radicalization to be noted within the Spanish young Socialist organizations. I am sending you a pamphlet published by them. But said radicalization cannot find any other way out than a split. The reformists and centrists of the SP will be able to defeat the leftist tendency and silence it, and then the split will take place. When this time comes the regroupment of the healthy elements of the Socialist youth will take place around the new party.

L.D.'s present attacks against our section (the history of our organization is an endless chain of attacks against our positions, which time has always come to justify as correct) are based on saying that we have committed errors but that the major error of our organization was its not having entered the Spanish SP before the October Revolution. He "forgets" that in October of last year the problem of entering the SP had only been posed for our French section and that at that time it was not even hinted that our organization also should do so.

According to Cruz, we have not played much of a role in the October Revolution. This is a very peculiar form of criticism. In reality, as a National organization and in the political leadership of the movement we have not played a fundamental role. But neither has the Communist Party. The masses nationally were under exclusively Socialist leadership, for a series of reasons which I shall not pause to explain now.

But wherever events took on real importance our comrades have played a great role, especially in Asturias and Catalonia. The secretary of our Trubia unit (in the munitions factory center of Asturias) fell a victim of an army firing squad. Our comrade Loredo Aparicio (who is at present in Belgium and for whom the death penalty is being demanded) was a member of the Oviedo revolutionary committee and Commissar of supplies. Our comrade L.I. held the same post in Sama de Langreo. All of our Asturias comrades participated very actively.

And in Barcelona, you must certainly know that the leadership of the proletarian insurrection was in the hands of the Workers' Alliance. Our comrades there played a leading role in it as even the reactionary Spanish press has pointed out.

JUAN ANBRABE.

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JUAN ANDRADE.



As we go to press we learn of the murderous gangster tactics of the Cannonites against left-wing members of the Workers Party in Philadelphia. This letter gives a partial and factual report of what took place.

Tuesday, Aug. 6, 1935.

Dear Comrade Hugo;

Prepare yourself for a shock, or perhaps you know the Cannonites better than I do.

Goodman and Banks broke into my house today about three o'clock while I was gone. My brother P. Hirsh was the only one home. He was upstairs reading a book and heard some noise. He thought I had returned and didn't bother. He heard walking around and decided to speak to me and instead encountered Goodman and Banks walking downstairs with my personal and party documents.

They were nonplused and ignored questions and when ordered to return stolen material refused. Paul tore them from Goodman's hands. Goodman ordered Banks to attack and he pulled out a hammer and Banks an iron pipe and beat him over the head and body. The entire hallway and stairs were washed with my brother's blood (no exaggeration) his underwear and shirt were soaked thru and dyed crimson with his blood. Eight stitches were necessary to sew up his wounds!

He fought back for a while and when exhausted shouted for help. Immediately they were panic stricken and bolted for the street, the neighbors seeing the gruesome figure of my brother who ran after them, dripping blood, made for Goodman, cornered him and beat him.

Paul was taken to the hospital and later to the Police Station where he was questioned. He gave no information and did not prefer charges.

Bring this murderous action immediately before the eyes of the New York membership and the other branches thruout the country. Force Muste and the Political Committee to make a public statement expelling them from the party and exposing their gangsterism.

We have taken action locally to expose this action.

This murderous attack is not even centered around the Public actions of gangsterism by the Stalinists, but was an attempt of housebreaking, burglary and the ready weapons of hammer and iron pipe show premeditated intention for physical violence. It is only an accident that my brother is not dead. If the iron pipe had hit a little lower he would be dead now.

Comradely yours,

(signed) Meyer Hirsh.

Philadelphia, Pa.