

53
RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF W.P.U.S.A. June 1935
PLENUM OF N.C. BY CANNON AND SHACHTMAN

(First eight sections adopted with West amendments. Details of votes in Plenum minutes.)

1. The cardinal test of all revolutionary Marxists in the present epoch is the position they take toward the problem of the Fourth International and the consistent work they carry on to advance the movement for its actual formation. The ignoble collapse of the Second and Third Internationals, the catastrophic advance of Fascism, the imminence of a new imperialist world war and the preparation of the old Internationals for a new social patriotic betrayal, the need of a revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union left in the lurch by the international social democracy and undermined by the treacherous policy of Stalinism - all these factors combine to raise the question of the Fourth International as the first and most important task of the world vanguard.
2. The determining factor in the political activity of every national party or group in the present epoch is its attitude toward proletarian internationalism. Without a firm internationalist program and an active international policy, a consistent revolutionary activity is impossible. Our Declaration of Principles is not a fulfillment of our international obligations, but only a statement of them. The decisions of our Pittsburgh Plenum are not the consummation of these obligations; they are the second important step in that direction. It is now necessary to take the next step. This next step, moreover, must be taken with the full consciousness of the party membership as a whole. To do this, the party must unequivocally reject every tendency to derail the party from the internationalist orientation of the Declaration of Principles, or to treat it flippantly or deprecatingly - as was the case, for example, in the articles of L. F. Budenz in the "Modern Monthly." The Political Committee has rightly rejected and dissociated itself from the position of Budenz. The party must no less firmly reject a passive attitude toward the question of the Fourth International, which could express itself in hesitancy or reluctance to take steps for which the conditions are matured and which are dictated by the needs of the movement. Revolutionary internationalism means primarily: active and systematic collaboration between the internationalists of all countries.
3. It is not our task at present to "proclaim" the Fourth International, but to take those measures at every given moment which can best advance the movement for the Fourth International and lead to its earliest formation. The Pittsburgh Plenum took such a step in accepting in principle the proposal that the Workers Party, the United Dutch Party (R.S.A.P.) and the International Communist League cooperate in the preparation of the basic documents for a world program and the possible issuance of an international bulletin. We now have before us the proposal to issue an open letter for the Fourth International in the name of these three organizations and to set up a provisional contact committee between those parties and groups which stand upon the position of the Fourth International. The Provisional Committee is to be entrusted with the issuance of an Information Bulletin and the working out of the programmatic documents of the Fourth International. The Plenum hereby accepts this proposal as the next step in the active work of our party for the Fourth International and instructs the Political Committee to carry it into effect.
4. The initiation of this action by the three named organizations - International Communist League, R.S.A.P. and Workers Party - proceeds logically from the fact that at the present time they constitute the three most important organizations which have not only declared in principle for the Fourth International but have proved in practice that they are ready to work actively for it on every possible occasion. The I.C.L. has carried on a consistent activity along this line for the past year and a half. The United Dutch Party has declared for the Fourth International at its founding convention, and we note with great satisfaction that comrades Schmidt and Sneevliet, the representatives of this party at the Paris Conference, in February, conducted a vigorous fight in harmony with the spirit of their party program on this question. Similarly, the Workers Party has from its inception shown its readiness to collaborate with all the forces genuinely working for the Fourth International. A combination of these organizations in joint activity on the international field is an unpostponable necessity.
5. The Plenum deems it unwise to delay the issuance of the OPEN LETTER of these three organizations until the parties and groups affiliated with the London-Amsterdam Bureau have been approached for their signatures. This would simply be a futile gesture which would only entail a costly loss of time and even sow illusions as to the position of these parties which has been sufficiently established in practice. The London-Amsterdam Bureau, which has been

inexistence for more than a year and a half, has met from time to time only to record the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals and to reject the proposals for a new International which flows logically from such a position. In the light of its history, the London-Amsterdam Bureau cannot be considered as a force for the Fourth International, but rather as an obstacle to its development, a temporary shelter for Centrist leaders who need a protection from their own Left wing in an international association which commits them and obligates them to nothing. That there is a movement inside the organizations affiliated with the London-Amsterdam Bureau for the Fourth International is indubitable. But what is needed is not diplomatic maneuvers with the leaders who seek to muffle and demoralize this movement but an action which will help to bring it into the open and clarify it. The proposed OPEN LETTER can serve precisely this purpose at the present time: to demonstrate in action that important revolutionary groupings are actually working for the Fourth International, to give the sentiments in the ranks of all parties and organizations a point of crystallization, and to confront the leaders who have declared in words for the Fourth International with direct proposals for concrete action.

6. The collaboration of different organizations, parties and groups, in the preparatory work for the formation of the Fourth International is conceivable only on the basis of a common program and a consistent daily practice in harmony with it. Such a collaboration is in no sense a form of the united front, and the rules of the united front do not apply. The united front is a form of practical cooperation between organizations having different programs to carry out specific actions. The PROVISIONAL CONTACT COMMITTEE for the Fourth International, on the other hand, is to be understood as a form of political collaboration between organizations having the same basic principles to advance the movement for a new world party. Therefore, the decisive criterion for the selection of allies in this task is the program and the practice of the organizations and groups under consideration.

7. There is no reason to delay the issuance of the OPEN LETTER until it has been approved by the various small groups which speak in general for a new International. In most cases, our movement has little or nothing in common with the various little groups and sects which have only a clique or artificial basis of existence. We proceed from the point of view that the forces of the Fourth International must begin with what they have, and what we have is well known. The Workers Party, the R.S.A.P. and the I.C.L., as the three most important organizations now unambiguously committed to the Fourth International and actually working for it, have the obligation to take the initial steps. The proposal for the OPEN LETTER clearly provides that other organizations shall be invited to add their signatures and collaborate in further work. This would give especially such organizations as the S.A.P. of Germany and the International Youth Bureau at Stockholm an opportunity to define their position more clearly, without meanwhile delaying any action on the part of those who are ready to proceed forthwith.

8. The decision of the Pittsburgh Plenum to collaborate with the R.S.A.P. and the I.C.L. - a decision made possible and necessary by the fact that all three organizations stand on a common principled basis and pursue the same aims - logically establishes a relationship to these organizations as allies in the most responsible task of this epoch: the common struggle for the Fourth International. For each organization this means an obligation, while retaining its own autonomy, to cooperate loyally with the others on every field. By this collaboration, the Workers Party thereby declares its confidence in the revolutionary integrity of these two organizations and its belief that their principle aims are identical with our own.

9. The entry of some sections of the I.C.L. into socialist parties of Europe, in order to work within them for the advancement of the Fourth International, is, in our opinion, a tactical question concerning which differences of opinion are permissible. Neither theoretical consideration, nor historic precedents, warrant the contention that the entry of a revolutionary Marxian group into a reformist or Centrist organization is in itself a betrayal of principle. What is decisive in such cases where the revolutionary Marxists are unable at the moment to form an independent party of their own, is the nature of the work carried on within the Centrist or reformist parties, the program on the basis of which it is carried out, and the goal toward which it strives. The work of the Bolshevik-Leninist group in the French Socialist Party (SFIO) over a period of seven months gives no ground for condemning them as "capitulators." On the contrary, their political activity inside the SFIO, as reflected in their organ, "La Verite," has been permeated with the spirit of revolutionary Marxism and the intransigent

(over)

struggle for the Fourth International and its ideas. This is shown with special emphasis in their programmatic manifesto "Whither France?" (New Internationalist, May 1935) and their program-resolution for the national convention of the SFI (New Militant, June 1, 1935).

10. The characterization of the I.C.L. as "capitulators" and "betrayers of the Fourth International" (Zack, Oehler, Stamm, Basky, Eiffel) is impermissible calumny of an ally of the Workers Party on the international field which must be condemned by the party. The Workers Party considers its collaboration with the I.C.L. and R.S.A.P. as having an unambiguous political and organizational significance. It is incompatible with such a relationship for the Workers Party to tolerate hostile, malicious and slanderous attacks upon its allies. By the same token, if the R.S.A.P. or the I.C.L. were to tolerate in their ranks similar attacks upon the Workers Party, we would have the right to object to them as a violation of the relationship between the organizations. We could not continue a collaboration with the I.C.L. if, for example, it were to tolerate as its American section such a group as that of Weisbord which declares that the Workers Party is composed of "betrayers" and devotes itself to the commission of "crimes" against the working class. Similarly, our collaboration with the I.C.L. would become a mockery, an inconsistency, a fraud and hypocrisy if we were to tolerate in our ranks the conception that the I.C.L. is composed of or led by "capitulators," "liquidators," "betrayers," "Mensheviks," "Centrists," "assistants of social-patriots", etc., or that the policy of the I.C.L. has departed in principle from revolutionary Marxism and has led to a "capitulation" to social democracy.

11. If our party really held such a point of view it would be a betrayal of the interests of the Fourth International even to seek the collaboration of the I.C.L. in its founding. Elementary political honesty, on the contrary, would demand the launching of a struggle against the "capitulators" and "centrists" of the I.C.L. and a training of our membership and sympathizing circles in that spirit - as we do in the case of the Second and Third Internationals. Our party does not hold such a view. Elementary political honesty therefore dictates that we carry on a struggle inside our party against such slanderous propaganda and its authors.

12. In line with our general course, it is incumbent upon the Spartacus Youth League to strengthen those elements inside the International Youth Bureau that are ready to work for the Fourth International not only in words but in deeds. Up until now the influence of the Scandinavian and S.A.P. representatives inside this Bureau has not been consistently exerted toward this end. It is an untenable situation when the representative of this Bureau, which is committed to the Fourth International, allows himself to speak against it as he did at the Paris Conference in February. Such conduct not only violates the formal position of the Bureau on this question but does not reflect the actual relationship of forces within it. The Spartacus Youth League can therefore continue to remain in the Bureau only on the condition that the latter straightforwardly supports the movement for the Fourth International and has this tendency reflected in the activities and leadership of the Bureau.

#

RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BY MUSTE

The Declaration of Principles of the W.P. contains the following statements as to the tasks of the Party on the national and international field. "The Workers Party of the U.S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian Revolution of 1917 (the "October Revolution"). The Workers Party conceives as its duty the realistic application of these principles to the present historical situation. Since its primary task is the defeat of the enemy at home - the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States - the Workers Party will seek, first and foremost, to demonstrate to the working class of the U.S. and its allies that the application of the principles of revolutionary Marxism is the sole means for the fulfillment of their historical needs and interests".

"The workers' revolution by its very nature is international in character. Beginning in one or more countries it must be extended progressively to others until it embraces the entire world and establishes socialism as a world system. The revolutionary party must therefore be an international party with sections in every country. We are therefore committed to the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world and their union in a New International. The needs of the working class movement in earlier periods of capitalist development led to the formation of the First and later the Second International, and demanded the establishment of the Third International when the Second betrayed the working class in the war and post-war crisis. Today the existing Second and Third Internationals are bankrupt. The problem of international organization cannot be met by an amalgamation of the Second and Third Internationals or by an International based on a mixture of the bankrupt policies of the two. A new, i.e., a Fourth, International, based on the theoretic and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin, representing the historic continuity of the international revolutionary movement, and applying these basic principles to the historical realities of the present stage of capitalist decline, must be built. The W.P. is prepared to establish fraternal relations with all groups, organizations and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own and to cooperate with them in the elaboration of a complete world program and the speediest possible establishment of the New International."

The cardinal test of all revolutionary Marxists in the present epoch is the position they take toward the problem of the Fourth International and the consistent work they carry on to advance the movement for its actual formation. The ignoble collapse of the Second and Third Internationals, the catastrophic advance of Fascism, the imminence of a new imperialist world war and the preparation of the old Internationals for a new social patriotic betrayal, the need of a revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union left in the lurch by the international socialdemocracy and undermined by the treacherous policy of Stalinism - all these factors combine to make the question of the Fourth International of the utmost urgency and importance for the world vanguard.

One of the crucial factors in the political activity of every national party or group in the present epoch is its attitude toward proletarian internationalism. Without a firm internationalist program and an active internationalist policy, a consistent revolutionary activity is impossible. Our Declaration of Principles is not a fulfillment of our international obligations, but only a statement of them. The decisions of our Pittsburgh Plenum are not the consummation of these obligations; they are the second important step in that direction. It is now necessary to take the next step. This next step, moreover, must be taken with the full consciousness of the party membership as a whole. To do this, the party must unequivocally reject every tendency to derail the party from the internationalist orientation of the Declaration of Principles, or to treat it flippantly or deprecatingly - as was the case, for example, in the articles of L. F. Budenz in the "Modern Monthly." The Political Committee has rightly rejected and dissociated itself from the position of Budenz. The party must no less firmly reject a passive attitude toward the question of the Fourth International, which could express itself in hesitancy or reluctance to take steps for which the conditions are matured and which are dictated by the needs of the movement. Revolutionary internationalism means primarily: active and systematic collaboration between the internationalists of all countries.

It is not our task at present to "proclaim" the Fourth International, but to take those measures at every given moment which can best advance the movement for the Fourth International and lead to its earliest formation. The Pittsburgh Plenum took such a step in accepting in principle the proposal that the Workers Party, the United Dutch Party (R.S.A.P.) and the International Communist League cooperate in taking the lead in bringing various parties

and groups together for the preparation of the basic documents for a world program and the possible issuance of an international bulletin. We now have before us the proposal to issue an Open Letter for the Fourth International in the name of these ~~parties~~ three organizations and to set up a PROVISIONAL CONTACT COMMITTEE between those parties and groups which stand upon the position of the Fourth International. The Provisional Committee is to be entrusted with the issuance of an Information Bulletin and the working out of the programmatic documents of the Fourth International.

We propose: 1. That the signatures of the I.C.L., the R.S.A.P., the S.A.P. (Germany), the W. P. of Canada, the Chilean, Cuban and Russian groups and of the Stockholm-Oslo Youth Bureau be sought, with that of the W.P.U.S. of course, and that in ----- weeks from the time the draft of the letter is sent to the parties and groups here named which have not yet received it, those who have in that period signed it shall set up along with the I.C.L., R.S.A.P. and W.P.U.S. the Provisional Contact Committee proposed in the Open Letter.

2. That in the meantime, in order to obviate any unnecessary delay, correspondence on the matters referred to in the resolutions of the Pittsburgh Plenum (programmatic statement on international questions, etc.) and in the present letter from the I.S. of the I.C.L. continue among the I.C.L., R.S.A.P. and W.P.U.S.

3. That following the carrying out of the procedure indicated under (1) above, the Open Letter be then sent to the parties, organizations, etc. described in paragraph 2 of the postscript to the I.S. draft of the Open Letter.

4. That each organization signing the Open Letter be asked to designate --- representatives to serve on the proposed Provisional Contact Committee.

5. That the draft submitted by the I.S. of the I.C.L. be accepted in principle as the basis for the final draft with the following amendments:

1. Change address to which Letter is to be sent to correspond with paragraph 2 of Postscript.

2. Rearrange the points so as to eliminate repetitions, make a more compact document, emphasize concretely the war situation and what it reveals of the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals, etc.

3. Omit the last sentence in the third paragraph on page 2, reading "Nowhere in the world, etc. -"

4. Insert in paragraph 3 on page 4 dealing with various ways in which Marxist organizations may work: "The aim must be at the earliest possible moment to step forth as an independent organization as was made possible in the notable cases of the fusion creating the R.S.A.P. in Holland and the W.P. in the U.S."

5. Amend paragraph 5 on page 4 dealing with the Socialist U.S. of Europe, to include or be followed by reference to U.S. and general situation on American continents.

6. Insert a phrase in the last paragraph on page 5 to indicate that the slogan, Arming the workers is not intended for use in general mass propaganda in the U. S., for example, today.

7. Change the first sentence of paragraph 1 on p. 5 to read: "Since the concept of the Fourth International was first proclaimed." Change next to last sentence in same paragraph to read: "If it is correlated and unified on a world scale, immediately in a provisional way and at the earliest possible moment by the actual establishment of the Fourth International."

3. In the postscript omit paragraph 1 referring to enclosure of "Declaration of Four."

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT ON "FRENCH TURN" AND W.P.U.S.

On the question of the entry of some sections of the I.C.L. into socialist parties of Europe (so-called "French turn") in order to work within them for advancement of the Fourth International, wide differences of opinion exist in the W.P. Differences of opinion on the question are permissible. We understand, however, that the so-called "French line" is in no sense binding upon the WPUSA and collaboration with the ICL and its sections in the efforts to build the Fourth In-

Resolution on International Relations by Myster -3-

ternational is not to be taken to imply approval of this line by the WPUSA. For itself, the WP rejects the perspective of entering a reformist or centrist party. While it retains its autonomy, collaboration of the WP with the ICL in the effort to build the Fourth International constitutes an expression of confidence in the revolutionary integrity of this organization and of the belief that its principal aims are identical with our own. On any other basis it would be a betrayal of the interests of the Fourth International to seek the collaboration of the ICL in its founding.

- - - - -

MOTIONS BY WEST ON INTERNATIONAL QUESTION

Motion to amend Cannon-Shachtman Resolution as follows:

(The sections marked M and non-M have to do with the Open Letter on the Fourth International. Those marked M are "mandatory", i.e., the W.P. signature of the Open Letter and collaboration in the practical steps proposed in it depends on acceptance of these amendments by the I.C.L. Sections marked non-M are non-mandatory, i.e. simply suggestions to the I.C.L.)

(M) 1. That the Open letter after signature by the ICL, RSAP and WPUS, but before publication, be sent to the SAP, with a request for its signature and active cooperation in the proposed steps, but that a specific time limit of not more than onemonth be set after the sending of the letter to the SAP (the SAP having^{been} informed accordingly) and that if no reply or an unfavorable reply is received from the SAP, the Letter be nevertheless published at the end of the specific time over the signatures of the three initiating organizations.

(M) 2. That the provisional center for activities working toward the 4th International - e.g. the headquarters of the Provisional Contact Committee, address given on publication, etc. be Amsterdam.

3. That paragraph #9 of the C-S resolution be deleted.

4. That #6 of the C-S resolution be deleted.

5. Add to end of 1st paragraph on page 5 the following: "...and the Workers Party is not at present obligated to take a position on the correctness of this tactic.

6. That an editorial committee of 3 be appointed to consider non-mandatory changes in the Open Letter to be suggested to the RSAP and the ICL, but which will not be presented as necessary conditions to W.P. adherence. This Committee shall complete its work within a maximum of one week from the date of the closing of the Plenum.

(m) 7. That a section on the Franco-Soviet Pact shall be included in the Open Letter.

(M) 8. At bottom of page 1 of Open Letter, after paragraph on Great Britain, insert paragraph on U.S.A.

(Non-M) 9. On page 4 of Open Letter in middle of paragraph 3 insert after "... in the trade unions, the following as beginning the next sentence: "Such functioning of the Marxists as factions in the old parties is, of course, a transitional step on the road to autonomous parties of the Fourth International; and at all times and on whatever arena, etc."

(Non-M) 10. In Open Letter p. 5 change first lines to read: "During the year and a half that has elapsed since the first public proclamation for the 4th International, the struggle for its principles and ideas was not suspended for a single day; the number of parties and organizations committed to the 4th International has grown - - - etc."

- - - -

Supplementary Statement Appended to Resolution on International Relations, June 1935 Plenum - by Satir, Weber, Glotzer.

1- We are in complete accord with the views expressed in the Cannon Resolution on International Relations. Therefore the appending of this supplementary statement is in no sense to be construed as dissenting or disagreeing with any part of that resolution. Only in view of the fact that there has never been held an organized discussion in the WP on the "French turn" do we take this occasion to state clearly for the record our attitude on the tactic and experience of our French comrades of the ICL. Any misunderstanding of the course followed in France, any false interpretation as to its meaning can only lead to misapplication of the tactic and harm to the movement for the Fourth International.

2- The road taken by the Bolshevik-Leninists in France for the building of their party of the Fourth International can only be understood against the entire background of the defeats suffered by the world proletariat under the misleadership of the Stalinist and the necessities of the specific conditions in France. The German defeat was the culmination of the process whereby the poison of Stalinism had completely transformed the once revolutionary Third International into its opposite, a reactionary force, betraying the proletariat and forming the greatest obstacle on its road to power. As the result of the lack of a revolutionary vanguard party ready to organize the revolution and lead the proletariat to victory, the bourgeoisie and not the workers won the victory in one country after the other where the maturing of the social and political crisis placed the proletarian revolution on the order of the day. The ruling class maintained its decaying system by imposing the brutal yoke of fascist dictatorship on the neck of the masses. Fascism, by its destruction of the organization of the working class, dealt heavy blows to the world revolution.

3- The workers can overthrow capitalism only with the aid and through the instrumentality of the independent revolutionary party, basing itself on the principles of Marxism, and having deep roots in the oppressed masses. With the decay of the Second and Third International, and with the spread of fascism, it became necessary to reconstitute the international Marxist Party and to build the Fourth International. Only small propaganda groups were left in the various countries to take up this task of once again carefully and painfully building up the vanguard party against the reactionary opposition of both the Second and Third Internationals. Ordinarily a long process of struggle must intervene for the reconstitution of such a party. Only those who have participated in the work of building a revolutionary party can appreciate the difficult road to be travelled to reunite under the banner of Marxism the advanced workers. Our WP provides us already in its comparatively short existence with experience on this score.

4- The small vanguards prepared to build the Fourth International cannot exist as mere sects. They must become active and guiding forces in the main stream of the class struggle. Only in this manner can the new party be born. Should decisive events affecting the fate of the working class for years to come occur in any country with our forces taking no part in them, the task of building the Fourth International would suffer a severe setback and we would rightly be relegated to leading the existence of a sterile sect. This is precisely the situation that threatened our tiny brother section in France. The day came when the maturing of the crisis of capitalism in France set the workers in motion to the left. There began clearly to take place that cleavage between the classes, the ultimate result of which under the guidance of a Marxist Party could lead to the creation of dual power and the armed struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The French working class had learned the fearful lessons of fascist victory from the German and Austrian defeats and showed readiness to take militant action to prevent the recurrence of fascist victory in France. This mood of the masses

reflected itself in the two dominant parties, the SFIO and the CP by splits, changes in policy and the weakening of the hold on the rank and file by bureaucracies. The greatest sign of the pressure of the masses was the fact that these two bureaucracies were forced to enter into the United Front against fascism. But neither centrist leadership had any serious intention of waging a real struggle against the ruling class. The danger existed that our forces would be excluded from the United Front and would be unable to influence the more advanced workers for the adoption of a policy of militant struggle, for the adoption of the program of the Fourth International as translated in terms of the French situation. This would have meant the certain defeat of the French proletariat in the fight against fascism. The small propaganda group of Bolshevik-Leninists were thus faced with the utter necessity of breaking into the United Front so as to bring their views to the attention of the workers, so as to create a regroupment of forces in the shortest possible time. But entry into the United Front, in view of the clearest indications that both bureaucracies were preparing to exclude the Trotskyists, became possibly only by joining as a fraction one or the other of the two parties constituting the United Front. Since it was out of the question to join the CP, since the SFIO presented itself as a mass party with large currents rapidly moving to the left, with right and left centrist fractions organized separately with their own press, since it would be possible to enter the SFIO with a clear-cut declaration of aims and the maintenance of their paper, the Verite, the Bolshevik-Leninists found themselves compelled to enter this party.

5- The results of this "French turn" have already completely verified the correctness of the step. The discussions in the two parties and in the ranks of the working class to-day take place about the correctness of the militant policies proposed by the advocates of the Fourth International to solve the problems of the workers, as against the betraying policies pursued by the misleaders of the two main parties of the working class. Our platform calling for the creation of the workers' militia, for the arming of the proletariat in France, for the taking of power by the United Front and the immediate forceful creation of the Commune, for the destruction by the working class of the fascist organizations, for the regroupment of the class-conscious revolutionary workers in a new party of the Fourth International, is gaining ground as indicated by the vote of 800 for the resolution presented at the meeting of the Federation of the Seine, and by the gain in membership of the vanguard fraction. The clear-cut struggle waged for the program of the Fourth International is the best refutation of those secterians who opposed the turn as a capitulation to the Second International, or as an attempt at reforming the Second International.

6- The "French turn" is one road, taken under all the compulsions of the objective and subjective circumstances making it mandatory, for creating a party of the Fourth International in the course of the class struggle. This road is part of the tactics flowing from the turn to the masses for the creation of the independent revolutionary Marxist Party. But it is in no sense the only road and therefore not an international turn. Those who would transplant mechanically this turn to other countries, where more time is offered us and where the same compulsions do not exist, give a false interpretation to the French turn and show that they consider it an opportunist maneuver entered into merely to split away a fragment from an enemy party. We reject this conception. The French turn does not endorse opportunism, even temporarily. It is far from endorsing the view that just because there exists in any given case the chance to win away a left section of a reformist or centrist party by entering that party, that we should enter that reformist or centrist party. This would make of the French turn an opportunist caricature. It is an interpretation that fails to take into account all the circumstances surrounding the French turn and looks only at the organizational step divorced from its dialectic integuments. Those who ignore the concrete factors of the specific relation of forces, the immediate threat of fascism, the objective economic situation, the mood of the masses, the

establishing of the United Front because of these factors, the inadequate and unorganized nature of the forces of the Fourth Int., do not grasp the real essence of the French turn. We do not make a sharp turn of this type by our own free choice.

7- We look upon the WP as in itself a true application in America of the French turn; that is, in its real essence of the choice of the best method available under given conditions for reuniting the real revolutionists under the banner of the New International. The fusion of our forces was itself the most striking propagation of our ideas, that act that symbolized that the days of splits among the revolutionaries and defeats of the working class were drawing to a close and a new dawn was in sight. We do not propose lightly to yield this tremendous achievement and the ground gained by any false application of the French turn. We pursue here the same aim, towards the same goal as our French comrades, but not necessarily along exactly the same road. Our tactics, fitted to the accomplishment of our larger strategy, must evolve in accordance with the development here in America. Neither sectarianism nor opportunism but revolutionary politics! No missing of opportunities to gather new forces under our banner, but only by the methods, in the long run, of Marxism.

8- We accept the principle that revolutionary politics demands the complete organizational independence of the Marxist Party. To proceed from this premise to the conclusion that even where the revolutionary party does not exist, as in France, the small propaganda group shall act in the same fashion as a constituted party, is to fall into sectarian organizational fetishism. We objected to this same kind of attitude when it was expressed on the problem, raised not by ourselves in the first instance, but by the Stalinists and the SFIO, of organic unity. We considered the sentiment of the masses for unity, under the threat of fascism, as progressive and indicative of a mood for struggle. We understood that the workers who took an uncritical attitude that unity would prove a panacea in and of itself, were under an illusion. Nevertheless we considered it false to put ourselves in the position of opposing as reactionary this mood for unity. On the contrary, it was necessary to dispel the illusion of the masses by filling the idea of unity with our own revolutionary content, to propagate through organic unity also the full and complete program of the Fourth International. This was in our opinion the best way to combat the moves on the part of the bureaucracies of the SFIO and the CP, for a reactionary kind of organic unity based on a non-Marxist program of centrism.

We are completely in accord with the views on organic unity expressed in the article "Whither France" in the May issue of the New International. By and large, these are the views we expressed in the past. The discussion in France on organic unity could not help but involve the discussion of program and the building of a new party. We had every reason therefore for offering our program for the new party to bring about the regroupment of all the revolutionary elements scattered among all the other parties and groups. But just as we understood the "French turn" to apply under the concreteness of the French situation, so our views on organic unity applied also only in France to the two centrist parties there. By what stupidity of false logic and lack of understanding of what was actually taking place not on any world-wide scale but in France, our position on organic unity was made to appear as some mythical stand internationally, we cannot enter into here. We never held the view that the mechanical joining together internationally or even in one country, of the Second and the Third Internationals could produce the Fourth International. It goes without saying that we could not possibly draw the conclusion from our understanding of organic unity that it was necessary for us to join the SP in America. We leave to others the explanation of their queer logic. Our own position was and is clear.

9- It has been our attempt in this statement to indicate that the French turn was completely in accord with the principles of the Fourth International; that in no sense can this turn be considered as an abandonment of these principles; that in no sense, as proved by the Bolshevik course pursued by the ICL fraction in the SFIO, can

the turn becalled opportunist; that the turn was not an international turn. The WP and the RSAP constituted as independent parties of the Fourth International are themselves the refutation of the view that the French turn was international, that the same road had to be travelled everywhere in the building of the Fourth International. The integration of the present revolutionary forces internationally requires that we reach the clearest understanding of the French turn, as otherwise we will hinder and not advance the creation of the Fourth International.

JUNEY 1935 PLENUM MCTION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF
Spartacus Youth League (Carried)

1- The Plenum condemns the action of the representative of the International Youth Bureau at the Paris Conference in February in speaking against the Fourth International and the adopted line of the Bureau; and urges the Spartacus Youth League to continue steps to correct the untenable situation in which such an action is possible.

2- The Plenum proposes to the Spartacus Youth League that it continue steps to strengthen the forces on the International Youth Bureau which are ready to work actively both in word and in deed for the Fourth International; and specifically in this connection to press within the Bureau, for the immediate addition to the Secretariat of the Bureau of a representative of the RSAP Youth.

3- The Plenum proposes to the Spartacus Youth League that it vigorously press the International Youth Bureau to the expansion and broadening of its contacts and wherever possible the drawing in of new forces --e.g. the Spanish Socialist Youth; and to exert steady pressure upon the centrist leaders of groups in the Bureau in the unequivocal direction of the Fourth International.

4- The Plenum considers that the measures outline in the motion listed above will prove a most significant test of the possibilities of the International Youth Bureau and that the results obtained by the pressing of this matter by the S Y L will aid decisively in determining the future line of the S Y L and the W P with respect to the International Youth Bureau.

STATEMENT ON THE INTERNAL PARTY SITUATION, JUNE 1935 PLENUM
By Cannon, Sam Gordon, Lewit, Ramuglia, Sargentman,
Swabeck, West, Alternate, Clarke. SYC, Garrett,
Visconti.

A STATEMENT TO THE PLENUM OF THE N.C.

The proposals presented to us by Comrade Muste, after agreement with the Oehler and Weber groups, represents politically untenable answers to the problem of the internal situation in our party and, if maintained, could only constitute the platform of an unprincipled combination directed against those in the party who have pursued the most consistent revolutionary-internationalist line in the past. These proposals are entirely unacceptable to us.

1. The proposal is made that the Plenum shall aim to "consolidate all individuals and groups in the party on the basis of the Declaration of Principles". We reject this conception because it is not even remotely based upon the political realities in the party. It takes no account of the six months' experience of the party during which political-principled differences have developed which cannot be bridged by any such meaningless formula. The party - any revolutionary party - can only be consolidated on the basis of a principled political line and the loyal collaboration of all the forces who accept this line and are prepared to carry it out. The facts show that the National Committee as such has no clearly defined political line at the present time on key questions. We proposed that all the resolutions be presented to the membership for the fullest and freest discussion with the object of ~~determining~~ determining the opinion of the party and of crystallizing the necessary political line. We proposed, meanwhile, an agreement for practical collaboration between the undersigned and comrade Muste and his group for carrying on the work and responsibilities of the leadership of the party. It was possible and correct to propose such an agreement because it did not violate any of the principled positions of the groups concerned and because it merely represented a continuation of that practical collaboration which brought the party into existence and carried it through its past six months in the struggle against the disruptive and sectarian tendency and activities of the Oehler group, between which and ourselves there is a difference in principle which cannot be ignored, which cannot be glossed over by a general formula about general collaboration as has been shown in the past six months.

is made

2. The proposal for the "establishment" of a democratic regime within the party. The party has always had a democratic regime, which has been carried out and safeguarded jointly by the undersigned and the Muste group who constituted the leading majority and are therefore jointly responsible for the character and correctness of this regime. The proposal to "establish" a democratic regime now is an underhanded capitulation to the slanders of the Oehler caucus who construe "democracy" as anarchic factionalism.

3. The proposal is made that "there be no discrimination in the assignment of party positions" and the constitution of party committees "on the basis of political differences". There has never been any such discrimination in the utilization of party forces, and the formal assertion of this "directive" now can have meaning only as an indirect self-repudiation of the practices followed in the past.

4. The proposal is made that "the press be made accessible to various points of view". It has always been accessible to all party members within the limits set out by party policy. Once more, this assertion has no meaning except as an implied acceptance of the Oehler slander against the Political Committee's direction of the party press.

5. The proposal is made that "all pending disciplinary actions" arising out of the party controversy "be dismissed". This repres-

STATEMENT ON THE INTERNAL PARTY SITUATION BY GANNON.

ents a complete capitulation to the factional campaign of black-
many of the Oehler group and a reputation of the common struggle
properly carried on by the political committee against it. To
allow the persistent and systematic disrupters of party discipline
to escape without any punishment and censure, and by induction
to repudiate or censure the political committee and the other party
units which took steps to enforce elementary party discipline,
would only mean to sow chaos in the party and S.V.L. and to under-
mine the very conception of a revolutionary organization. We re-
fuse to be parties to such an irresponsible decision.

3. The proposal is made that "henceforth" all members and groups
shall abide by party discipline. What party member can be asked
to take such a proposal seriously in the light of the six
months' experience, during which the Oehler group carried on a
systematic campaign of disruption and violation of discipline only
to be confronted at the end of it with... a fact vindication by
the Plenum. The violators of discipline are known. We propose
that the Pittsburgh decision against them be reinforced by another
censure and a warning. That is the only way to preserve the party
from disruption.

4. The proposal is made that the committee to direct the pract-
ical work in the S.P. be composed of comrades Maste, Stamm xxxxx Reber,
& Cannon. The very fact that such a proposal can be made shows a
lack of regard for political realities and the relation of forces
in the party and an irresponsibly irresponsible approach to the prob-
lem. All other considerations aside, the proposal to entrust such
a difficult and responsible task to comrade Stamm who has proved
his lack of loyalty and discretion in this respect, means to des-
troy the possibility of such a committee performing any useful work
whatever. The proposal that our tendency shall be outwitted three
to one in this committee means to deprive us of any real particip-
ation in its activities. We can only interpret this as an act of
hostility directed at us and our tendency.

8. Our practical proposals on the internal situation are embodied
in a series of motions which we are presenting to the Plenum, and
which we are prepared to defend in the party as the only basis for
a principled Bolshevik solution of the party crisis which would
make possible the maximum collaboration of all the constructive and
loyal forces in the party, and provide for a correct method of re-
solving the political disputes as well. We reiterate here what we
have asserted all during the Plenum and before it, and which we
will establish before the party: between us and the Oehler group
there is a fundamental difference of principle in respect to our
international position, and the basic problems confronting the party.
On a national scale. In the end, one line or the other must prevail.
We have said in the Plenum and we will demonstrate before the party
that the Oehler faction is only an American section of an international-
all clique of sectarian disrupters whose platform is "anti-Trotskyism"
and whose methods correspond thereto. It represents a reactionary
tendency and is an obstacle to the revolutionary development of the
party and the Youth League. Our aim is to conduct an uncompromising
political struggle against this tendency in the party in order to
liquidate it as a political menace, to crystallize the opinion of
the party on a correct political line and of consolidating the party
on the basis of this line. We do not propose the expulsion of this
group or any of its adherents because of their opinions. We do, how-
ever, propose that collaboration with this group within our party be
established essentially on the basis of the acceptance of the party
line and the unconditional observance of party discipline in carrying
it out.

9. For the above reasons, we declare that any attempt to make a
combination with the Oehler faction would not and could not be a
step towards the consolidation of the party, but on the contrary
could only represent an unprincipled faction combination against us

STATEMENT ON THE INTERNAL PARTY SITUATION, BY CANNON CONT'D.

and the tendency we stand for. We are firmly convinced that this could not work for the advancement of the interests of the party and the S.Y.L. but exclusively to their detriment.

STATEMENT ON THE INTERNAL PARTY SITUATION, JUNE 1935 PLENUM

By Satir & Glotzer.

1. The present situation reached in the plenum is one bordering on a split. The developments are such that the unity of the Workers Party is threatened with destruction. To avoid a split at this time is the primary task of the plenum.
2. The greatest tragedy that could now befall the American revolutionary movement would be the disruption of the process of unification initiated by the formation of the Workers Party. This would not only be a tremendous setback to the American movement for years to come, but would also constitute a staggering blow to the organization of the 4th International by creating demoralization in the ~~xxxxxxx~~ ranks of our brother organization in all countries.
3. The positions taken by the Cannon and Oehler groups in this Plenum demonstrate that they are both pursuing a course that can only lead to an immediate split in the Party. The speech of Comrade Cannon indicates to us his desire for such a split, and the statement introduced by the Cannon group is a further confirmation of this. Likewise, the speeches and threats of the Oehler group also drive unmistakably to a split.
4. A split at this juncture would cause great harm to the Party because the political issues in dispute have not reached a definite conclusion, because the membership has not and could not possibly at this time have pronounced itself on these questions. We are convinced that upon the conclusion of ideological clarification with the resultant isolation of the position of the sectarians, the Oehler group will suffer such a defeat that persistence on their course must no longer harm the Party.

Organization measures preceding a sharp ideological struggle would represent, on the other hand, a defeat for the Party, endangering its very existence. Our desire to prevent a split at this juncture is in no sense intended to attempt the folly of reconciling two absolutely contradictory points of view, but only for the purpose of carrying on that necessary discussion that will result in the complete vindication of the Bolshevik Leninist position against the sectarians, isolating them, reducing their present abnormally large support to an absolute minimum, and delivering a decisive defeat in such a way that they cannot really support on the basis of the cry of persecution because no real political discussions have been held in the Party.

Flowing from their principled opposition to the French turn, their sectarian approach to the problems of building the revolutionary party in the United States, the Oehler group has been guilty of flagrant violations of Party discipline, flooding the Party with all sorts of factional documents and alarmist rumors that have sowed a certain degree of demoralization in the ranks. We reject the whole course pursued by this group. The approach of the Cannon group which proceeds to solve political problems first with the yardstick of organizational measures has led to an intensification of the present abnormal situation in the Party. It is precisely because of the present abnormal situation in the Party, because the Party is threatened with a split, that we feel it necessary to oppose any organizational step designed to intensify this condition.

STATEMENT ON THE INTERNAL PARTY SITUATION CONT'D BY SATIR & GLOTZER.

5. We repeat, it is necessary to prevent a split in the Party at this time. It is necessary to organize a discussion on all political questions facing the party; it is necessary to direct a blow against the political position of the sectarians. Only following such a course and dependent upon the attitude of the Oehler faction to the decisions of the membership can ~~any~~ organizational measures be considered. Our affirmative vote on the resolution calling for discipline in the Party, demonstrates our position on this question and guides our attitude.

6. The attitude of the Cannon group on our position only proves the contention of this statement. The charges of an "unprincipled bloc", "combinationism", is a malicious slander. Our discussions with Comrade Muste, seeking a peaceful settlement of the present split situation, had no other aim than to arrive at an understanding of how to save the Party from a split. This is no different from what the Cannon group attempted to do when they sought to work out a common course with the Muste group, with whom they likewise are in fundamental disagreement on the International question and the S.P. question. In general this accusation is merely one of those venomous expressions of such politics which seeks to impute to others those crimes of which the Cannon group is itself guilty.

If there is no rejection of the practices and courses pursued by the Oehler and Cannon groups on the internal situation the idea of keeping the Party together will become futile.

STATEMENT ON THE INTERNAL PARTY SITUATION, JUNE 1935 PLENUM

By Muste,

McKinney, Johnson, Selander, K. Lore and alternate F. King
in reply to statement on same subject by Cannon-Shachtman, etc.

.

I. The Plenum is dealing at present with the internal situation in the party. Discussion of this organizational question was placed on the agenda to follow discussion of political questions. These political questions are not now before us for discussion. The attempt of the Cannon-Shachtman faction to make it appear that the Plenum is now confronted with the issue e.g. of "Trotskyism" v.s. "anti-Trotskyism" is another illustration of the utterly unprincipled way in which these leading comrades constantly twist issues seeking by creating such confusion to win support now for a political position and again for some concealed organizational object.

II. At the Pittsburg Plenum a characteristically vague and contradictory resolution on the Oehler-Stamm faction was introduced by Comrade Cannon. A number of Plenum members, not being acquainted with the past history of the C.L.A. and with Comrade Cannon's organizational methods, voted for this resolution in ignorance of its full implications. Duplicity in Comrade Cannon's procedure insofar as the former A.W.P. comrades were concerned was, in our estimation, involved in this action. The Pittsburg Plenum decision laid the basis, not for the solution of either political or organizational questions, but for turmoil, confusion and distrust in the party.

III. Comrade Cannon in our estimation deliberately planned to precipitate the organizational situation in anticipation of the present Plenum and planned furthermore ~~kk~~ at this plenum to secure the expulsion of the so-called left wing from the party. This constituted a split policy. Furthermore, it prevented the objective discussion of political issues, which the P.C. decided was essential for the life of the party. It laid the basis for an attempt to bludgeon comrades at this Plenum into voting for Comrade Cannon's political resolutions on the grounds that failure to do so would constitute support of disruptionists and party enemies". Comrade Cannon entered upon this disruptive course without consultation with or approval of the secretariat or P.C. or the former A.W.P. comrades on the P.C.

IV. No solution of political questions is possible nor healthy party activity of any kind, so long as these stupid, factional, brutal, individualistic and unprincipled methods are used by party leaders. Nevertheless Comrade Cannon and his faction now propose a re-affirmation of the Pittsburg resolution as the solution for the internal party situation.

V. The statement of the Cannon-Shachtman faction leaders on the party situation now under consideration by the Plenum is either a deliberate and monstrous misrepresentation of our position or else in misrepresenting our position - as it does - furnishes a shocking illustration of an unconscious factional bias and obsession. In either case, we have fresh proof of the absolute impossibility of solving the problems of the party as long as the organizational methods of this faction prevail in the party. We will conduct a relentless fight against these methods, and we are confident that in this we have the full support of the party.

VI. The conception of Comrades Cannon and Shachtman ~~that~~ the W.P. was built on the basis of a merger of the former A.W.P. and the Cannon-Schachtman faction of the C.L.A. is utterly erroneous, exhibits again an incurably factional approach, and objectively, if not also subjectively, is merely an attempt to line up the former A.W.P. comrades with the Cannon-Shachtman faction rather than with the party - an attempt which so far as most of the former A.W.P. comrades are concerned has failed as miserably as it deserves to do. We repudiate this conception. To use Comrade Cannon's own expression, we have ~~re-~~tarded and do regard ourselves as "citizens of the party" not of his faction. We have acted and shall act on the basis of this conception toward all other elements, groups and members in the party.

MUSTE STATEMENT INTERNAL PARTY SITUATION CONTINUED.

VII. Furthermore we condemn the present Cannon-Shactman statement as a splitting statement, an attempt to liquidate the entire W.P. into the Cannon-Shactman faction. As such we condemn it. As an attempt to intimidate us we treat it with mingled contempt and derision which it deserves.

VIII. We shall provide evidence of our assertions in the discussion to follow. We propose also a number of resolutions which, together with this statement, provide the basis on which a truly democratic regime in the party can be built, a discussion of the political questions before the party can be conducted, and the work of the party effectively carried forward. We seek the consolidation of the party on the basis of the Declaration of Principles and with the inclusion of all groups and elements now in the party.

MOTIONS ON INTERNAL PARTY SITUATION, JUNE 1935 PLENUM
By Muste.

1. The Plenum decides to issue an inner Party Discussion Bulletin giving access to all points of view, and to initiate an inner party membership discussion under direction of P.C. (Carried).
 2. The Plenum reaffirms the position of no discrimination in the assignment of party work on the basis of political differences within the party. (Carried with amendment "as the policy pursued by the P.C. heretofore").
 3. The Plenum reaffirms the position of constituting important committees on similar non-discriminatory basis. (Carried with same amendment as in motion #2).
 4. The Plenum reaffirms the position of accessibility of party press to all comrades regardless of political differences within the party. (Carried).
 5. The Plenum decides that pending disciplinary actions connected with recent controversies in the party be dismissed. All members and groups in the party are to accept the full obligations of party discipline, P.C. being instructed to put an end to all laxity in the organization and to carry out discipline for all. (Carried).
 6. The Plenum decides that the Zack, Williamson appeals are to be heard in accordance with regular party procedure. (Carried).
-

CANNON-SHACHTMAN RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION ETC.

June 1935 Plenum.

Resolution on Party Discipline.

During the past six months of the existence of the Party the National Committee and the Political Committee have proceeded with extreme moderation in the enforcement of the provisions of the Party Constitution regarding the disciplinary obligations of the Party members. This course was dictated by the necessity of cementing the fusion and of giving every member ample opportunity of assimilation into the Party in a normal process.

Numerous individuals, mistaking the meaning of this policy, have grossly exceeded all disciplinary bounds, inside and outside the Party, to the detriment, and in some cases to the discredit of the Party. This necessitates a decision that the Political Committee and all Party units shall henceforth enforce Party discipline rigidly and summarily and put an end to all laxity in this regard.

All Party members are unconditionally subject to the control and direction of the Party in all their external activities. Party fractions everywhere must carry out the policy and instructions of the Party in every case. Party members may write for non-party publications only by permission and under the supervision and control of the Party.

The Political Committee and all Party units must enforce the directions without any discrimination.

(Motion as a whole defeated, but paragraphs 3 and 4 later carried as independent motion)

Resolution on Work in the Socialist Party.

In view of the failure of any resolution on the question of the Socialist Party to carry at the Plenum of the National Committee, the Political Committee is instructed to work out a purely practical and concrete program of action for the coming period for the work of building up a Left Wing under our influence in the Socialist Party and in the YPSL.

It shall be understood that for the next period there is to be no policy of withdrawal of Left wingers from the Socialist Party or the YPSL save for exceptional and isolated cases.

The direction of our work in the Socialist Party and in the YPSL shall be conducted in the most responsible and confidential manner and shall be directed by a sub-committee of two, composed of comrades Muste and Cannon, which shall be responsible to the Political Com. Negotiations with Socialist Party and YPSL contacts shall be conducted under the direction and with the permission of this special sub-committee.

With the approval of the Political Committee, the special sub-com. shall be empowered to draw in a representative of the W P L for special consideration of the problem of the YPSL.

All local work in this field conducted by the W P and the W P L shall be subject to the control and direction of the sub-committee.

CARRIED.

Resolution on a Public Statement of the Party on its Attitude to the Socialist Party.

That the Political Committee be instructed to draw up a statement and publish it in the name of the Plenum denying the statements and rumors spread by Party enemies to the effect that the Workers Party intends to enter the S P. The statement is to stress the fact that the W P was founded as an independent Party in opposition to the SP and the C P and continues as such. The statement is also to declare that not a single member or leader of the W P has made any proposal that the W P enter the S P and that all statements and rumors to the contrary are false.

cut off in original M.2. April 2013

(Defeated as a separate motion but Muste substitute which includes this paragraph, Carried.)

Resolution on the Conduct of Comrades Basky, Oehler and Stamm.

The Plenum of the National Committee calls the attention of the Party to the fact that the resolution ^{adopted} at Pittsburgh Plenum against the factional activity of comrades Oehler and Stamm has been completely disregarded by those comrades, as well as by comrade Basky. In the intervening period, they have been guilty of repeated and systematic violations of elementary Party discipline, as well as of the discipline and confidence of the POLITICAL COMMITTEE. This conduct has seriously disrupted the internal life of the Party, hampered its external activities and has played into the hands of the enemies of the Party.

The Plenum is therefore compelled to reaffirm the Pittsburgh decision to administer a severe censure to comrades Oehler, Basky and Stamm for their repeated and open violations of discipline and to warn them that a continuation of this course will oblige the Party to take decisive disciplinary measures against them. (Defeated)

Resolution on the Party Discussion.

In view of the wide differences of opinion in the National Comm. on the most important questions, particularly the ~~want~~ question of International Relations and Party tactics in regard to the S P and the C P the Plenum decides to open a party discussion.

This discussion is to be organized and regulated by the P C which is instructed to publish an internal bulletin and to provide for membership discussion meetings.

The different resolutions are to be published in the Internal Bull. Representatives of all points of view are to be given full opportunity to publish their views in the Internal Bulletin and to present them at discussion meetings.

All comrades are obliged to observe discipline during the discussion and to comply with all regulations and decisions of the P C (Carried)

JUNE 1935 PLENUM STATEMENT ON S.P.

Resolution by Muste

The Plenum instructs the P C to draw up a statement which is to summarize the sections of the Declaration of Principles on:

- a) SP-CP
- b) 2nd-3rd Internationals
- c) The WP as the Revolutionary Marxist Party in the US and basis for revolutionary unity.
- d) Organizational and political independence of Party

The P C is instructed to draw up a statement and publish it in the name of the plenum denying the statements and rumors spread by Party enemies to the effect that the WP intends to enter the SP. The statement is to stress the fact that the WP was founded as an independent Party in opposition to the SP and CP and continues as such. The statement is also to declare that not a single member or leader of the WP has made any proposals that the WP enter SP and that all statements and rumors to the contrary are false. (Carried)