

Presentation to Convention

* Meaning of Barzman letter

1. No challenge to any party member's right to engage in correspondence nationally or internationally.
2. No challenge to any party member's right to discuss political politics or any other subject.
3. What we are concerned about ^{is} [redacted] existence of a secret faction
-- The letter played only an accidental role in disclosing this.

* The [redacted] facts showing that the majority of the United Secretariat have been operating as a secret faction

1. Internal discipline (Barzman letter)
2. Screening of adherents. (Not sufficient to declare [redacted] agreement with platform.)
3. Leadership partially secret. (Leaders International Tendency in U.S. included without notification.)
4. Platform partially secret.
 - a. Secret assessment and decision re PRT at Ninth World Congress *circumstances of "recognitions" debate - Verdad vs. Comintern*
 - b. Secret campaign re Moreno (Domingo letter)
-- meaning of "integrating" *progressive assimilation*
 - c. Secret circulation of letter of six.
 - d. Massey on "integration" of SWP in Fourth.
 - e. Perspective of split (various references in Barzman letter)
5. Degree of danger of split shown by what has already happened in Argentina, ^{Com}Australia, Spain, Mexico, Canada. *red, R.M.G.*

*Have split in new light
developed - how on subject?*

* Purpose of secret [redacted] United Secretariat majority faction

1. To prevent Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency from winning majority at next congress.

-- By using undemocratic means

-- Delay in translating [redacted] (documents for Internal Bulletin, coupled with secret circulation of factional material.

-- Plus [redacted] gang ups as in case of Moreno

* Meaning of this new development

Explain:

Nature of a tendency

- a. Formed to advance one or more points.
 - b. Open declaration of this platform.
 - c. Open adherence. Anyone who agrees can join by simply stating agreement with platform and informing section leaderhips.
 - d. Participation voluntary, i.e., without [redacted] discipline. An ideological formation.
 - e. Tendency depends on internal bulletin and presentations under party auspices to circulate views to membership.
 - f. Confidence in leadership of [redacted] section or international. If tendency views are adopted, confident that leadership will apply them.
- [redacted]

Nature of open faction

- a. Open declaration of platform.
- b. No confidence in leadership. If faction platform adopted, requires majority in composition of ^(incoming) leadership to assure application. Success of faction places former majority in position of minority.

Faction is more than an ideological formation; it involves struggle for leadership.

- c. Application^s for membership subject to approval by faction.
- d. Members subject to faction discipline.
- e. Faction is structured and has elected leadership.
- f. Faction may issue its own ^{with permission of party} internal bulletin during discussion period but this must be made available to all [REDACTED] members of section and the international.

* Attitude of our movement

Open tendencies and open factions are considered normal

- a. Part of functioning of internal democracy.
- b. go over org principles

Secret factions are not in our tradition.

- a. They violate internal democracy
 - secret membership and secret leaders
- b. They block normal functioning of sections and international.
 - secret decisions, secret goals, secret mobilizations, circulation of material not subject to answer
- c. They greatly heighten danger of ^{cf. Petersen refusal on Comiso} differences ending in split.

What we suggest as a counter to this dangerous new development

- 1. That Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency consider converting from a tendency to a faction.

* What this would mean

- 1. Continue what we are doing now to clarify issues
 - a. Writing articles, discussing.
- 2. Coordinate the struggle internationally.
- 3. Centralize it. *including with those who manage*
- 4. Greater pressure on IEC Majority for adequate postponement of world congress.
 - a. Translation of documents.
 - b. Time to discuss them.

~~go directly to split congress~~ *US April 19. U See Statement*

6.5. The alternative is a congress that will not be able to resolve the present crisis of leadership in the Fourth International.

but will gravely deepen it

U.S. - Emergency District

*Marsyas
class & desert
gen. strategy*

Class & Desert

Statement by Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

1. Evidence that majority of United Secretariat have been operating as a secret faction.

- a. Secret ~~decision on nature of PRT at Ninth World Congress and~~ view on nature of PRT at Ninth World Congress and decision to take soft approach. *Red book - party*
- b. Secret circulation of Domingo letter.
 - Meaning of phrase "integrating" Moreno.
 - Secret attack behind back of La Verdad leadership.
- c. Secret circulation of letter of six.
- d. Meaning of charge by Massey ~~xxxxxxx~~ no "integration" of SWP.
- e. Secret perspective of split revealed in Barzman letter.

2. To help counteract this dangerous threat to unity of movement, Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency ~~xxx~~ has converted itself into a faction.

a. Program:

i. Reversal guerrilla orientation (same as before)

plus: *Europe reversal*
Vietnam
China Resolution
Character of Unit?

x. Demand adequate postponement of world congress.

- for translation of documents
- discussion of documents

3. Steering Committee elected at conference held August 1973 consists of who are empowered to act in name of Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

...2

4. Appeal for adherence to Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

a. Applications.

b. Indicate differences, if any.

c. After reply as to acceptance, notify section leadership.

August 1973

①

L-T Meeting

Mon. aft.

Opening

1.) Report by Jack -

outline of situation // draft statement of L-T-F
in addition to ^(secret) Baizman letter we discovered these new things during convention

a) election of faction strg comm - e.g. Massey, Shoefle, Smith

b) pol. resolution of American minority was submitted to secret faction steering committee and approved before being submitted to SWP discussion

- on American perspectives

before even discussion on this in U.Sec

c) decision to publish publicly the European resolution
English, German, French, Italian, Swedish
but not in consultation in U.Sec.

d) written document - SWP DB no. 35

in camera at SWP convention (with Luoto, Peterson present)
written by the reporter

- revises theory of the state

- declaration that PST incompatible with membership in FI

no discussion on this in U.Sec.

add in
connection
with Baizman
letter
point

LT (2)

Massey document - ^(SWP DB)
no. 34

his charges

- I don't want to wage war on duly elected leadership of FI - equates leadership of FI w/ secret faction
- charges SWP failure to "integrate" into FI

nature and limitations of a tendency

long run nature of the struggle in FI

look over past history of FI

∃ "regroupment" in F.I.

LT (3)

Discussion

are factions allowed or not in French & Swiss sections?

Britain - there were long discussions on nature of T
important to stress that faction \rightarrow split

GM Russian CPSU - 1920's secret faction
tendency \rightarrow faction

Lorenzo -

we give tremendous importance in this jump from tendency \rightarrow faction

tendency based on

- 1) go to world congress based on full discussion
 \rightarrow translation, circulation
- 2) reverse g-war L.A. line

now 3 other points
document should reflect

in agreement with the document,
within that framework - should include
- list the incorrect political line of IEC maj.
- Europe //
China
VN

national Q. -

even though we could have internal disagreements
these are factual [secondary]

e.g. China, VN (all agree on pol. rev.)

majority adopts positions & methods alien to Trotskyism

- should take up the differences in method

Lorenzo there should be a special section on this — along lines outlined by Wrock

we should note: IEC majority is incapable of implementing, and we offer ourselves as an alternative leadership

— political differences // ^{permanent} secret faction // ^{alternative leadership is necessary}

presenting ourselves as ^{an} alternative leadership is another way of explaining need for a faction

we should make it clear that we don't want to split FI

- add pt. 7.) — political diff
 — method 4-C.
 8.) structure of faction
 9.) call for the faction

develop 2nd more

perspectives ahead for FI

let us suppose the best — 2nd congress is held and documents are translated

- Q of PST //
- Q of dem. cent. // Kiriine / Frank
- if they have a majority with their line, can we accept it — NO

can we win a majority? NO

outside of FI there are groupings we can talk to and attempt to win over: e.g. lute Durveir in Brazil

Riddell

∃ consensus in USA/LSO leaders here on transformation LTT → LTF

- indications of planned splits in Canada
 Fringe of secret faction

defensive measure of forming faction // should be clearly brought out

Peter Campo

of the 7 languages with 200+ members of FI, 6 do not have even the priority documents

necessity of doing what Lorenzo said on political questions — but not necessary today — need time ~~for~~ for idea of FI to think out these questions

note — last USec mtg — difference over interpretation of the results of the IEC poll

Joettassen

on just a couple of points

- historical examples - careful not to use CPSU // subject to misinterpretation

- their tradition in Europe of method of functioning
 - secret factions etc.

- point out that faction formation is normal

on Lorenzo's pts.

question is how to reach people with whom we disagree

LT 6

Jim Percy -

future role of faction ↔ present objectives
interrelation

given stage of political differences, we would have had to form a faction - despite Bayman letter and other scandals

pt. 4 - political points go further
to add more requires time

Q: in some countries the supporters of LTF will not form a faction - what will the relation be with LTF?

Uruguay

in complete agreement with decision LTT → LTF & the proposed outline

The formation of the LTF transcends the 1st congress
- a dem. 1st cong. is the immediate goal
- program of LTF must be one we can resort around

Santiago LTT declar. went far politically

Q. - how to win rank-and-file to our position

- it is necessary for us to make the clearest possible analysis of TEC maj. line on everything in order to lay a basis for the clarification of the class of that leadership

*

the faction must help strengthen supporting groups

- e.g. Mexicans made a mistake

Uruguay - in big strikes, we were by ourselves, the tendency was not there

~~John Steele~~
John Steele

unevenness of experience in world movement
 a large re-orientation must take place in Canada
 after experience of what happened at SWP convention

had tours of Canada by FI leaders - Taig, Ernest, Alan
 Canadian leaders built them up as leaders

just beginning to deal with question of method

the document we need is one that draws the balance
 sheet of the 9th world congress and after

Alan Harris

one of our problems is to try to slow down the
 pace of developments

meaning of the fact that I.T. pol. resolution was discussed
 and approved in the MMF faction - when there had not
 been any previous differences expressed over the American question

the responsibility for preventing a split rests with IEC majority
 - they decide when world congress, etc.

we should make it clear that faction formation is a defensive measure
 on our part

on dem. centralist F.I. -

we should point out that IEC majority ~~stands~~
 stands in the way of ~~the~~ building a dem centralist F.I.

LT (8)

Ahmed

strg. comm. - 1 from each gp.

10:00

Tuesday 11.17

Alberto -

let us review

- what is significance that at 9th w.c. on not revealing Red Book
- " 9-war L.A.
- " nothing said about building demost party in Uruguay + Chile
- " FRA Bolivia
- Mexicans majority say they haven't read docs.
- IMG supports unconditionally provisional IRA
- Spain - last yr - Ligue Communiste w/ support of IEC maj. speeds up split + immediately supports one side
- problem of revisions in the postwar advances in Trotskyism
VN, China // nationalism
- now 3 new strategy on Europe, say nothing on L.A.
- beginning to capitulate on new mass Vanguard

new politics of IEC majority

method of secret faction has been going on for a while

politics is to point out the significance

the IEC maj. current^(is) going in the direction of liquidating
Trotskyism

LT(9)

Alberta

oo necessary to show class character of this current - P.B.
e.g. Livio at SWP convention

personal prestige // didn't respect ranks

post WWII - great rev. upsurge - but deformations - Now it is
tending more to Leninist norms - ~~Such a~~ Leninist
party is more + more necessary

method of T.P. more + more necessary

IEC maj. won't touch new radicals Trotskyist principles

maj is a PB current

we must show that LTF is a proletarian faction // prol. program
we haven't developed all aspects of program, but we
are discussing - class, UN, women, youth

- but this must be crystallized in our declaration
we can't just take up LTF in context of organizational
problems

we must say - LTF because majority is liquidating
T program

- we ^(then) can't have a dialogue; make blocs

we know that I by unevenness in FI

- are we going to draw back on our program, or are
we going to present program for the most
advanced elements of FI

- we must have developed program, clear principles

LT (10)

Connie-

uneven development in FI & in LTF itself

continuity of leadership - Argentina, W. America

but in Europe, for last 20 yrs, teachers have been MIMF

Must explain
difficulty in explaining what causes the incorrect line
o^o need time to explain

this is not a secondary question, but the key question

Joe's document

M-A

organizational norms -

differences // European

e.g. Lurio's charge that SWP n.e. election
was Stalinist method

∃ tendency for a tendency → faction → split
unless clear understanding, level-headedness

problems - e.g. NY we didn't want to slip over
into a selective circulation of documents

e.g. SWP letter to USec on letter of the six

Pierre Frank contribution publication in bulletin
prior to L

at pre-IEC (1972) period - we noticed various
indications of breakdown in relations

- no mail

- organization of IEC without consulting
elected members of bureau

political later -

LT ①①

Gus - secret faction - reverse of looseness // pol. org.

Art Young -
next U.S. mtg.

need to center our ^{of fight} focus on main question at present stage - ^{depr. wild} ^{comp.}

is there enough evidence to characterize IEC maj. as a BB current
not yet

Fred -

our object is to slow things down - but it is likely that things
are ~~now~~ speeding up

engine = new left vanguard // secondary leaders of French
- they are leading - not mmf

it takes time to show how the liquidationist current is
not loyal to FI // we are
1) to educate on principle

Lorenzo

what are the differences amongst ourselves

we have decided to form a faction

Why - here are differences - Peter C. Hansen, outline itself
indicate that faction formed because the ^{IEC} majority
of organizational errors

draft 2.C. - gives reasons for formation of faction
all organizational

But we should point out because \exists very important political
differences -
 \exists political methods, not just organizational

LT (12)

Lorenzo it is not only that

- their organizational methods are wrong
- g-war tactic to strategy
- orientation to vanguard
- extension of L.A. method → Europe

we have discussed these before - they should be ^{summarized} ~~discussed~~
into document

we are not just ^(opening) discussion // has been 5 years

if we don't make such a ^{summary} ~~document~~, we will take a
step backward

we should say there are class differences - formulate in
careful way

our faction can propose a "united front" [bloc] on

- dem world congress
 - no expulsions
 - not apply Kivrine-Frank document
 - no manipulation of numbers of FI section
- but should be based on politics

We don't need a 20-year history. Just take from 1969 forward
This should be directed to cadres within FI, not outside

Document of Joe is insufficient in last part where he talks
of method

LT (13)

Mona -

on internal situation in Ligue Communiste and how it affects

all we had so far were two very general, abstract reports by Vergeat, Riél, — no discussion

some cds don't know of tendency formation — to explain a faction will be very difficult — as well as the political differences which the cds haven't had the chance to follow

French cds were always told in cadre schools that a tendency was permissible but a faction was not. This idea is very well anchored in their minds. It will make the explanation of why a faction was formed much more difficult.

∃ special problems now w/ dissolution of L.C.

Barry

we're mixing up two discussions

- what further political stands to take over and above LTT declaration of Santiago
- why form a faction

the political points of Santiago — are profound. Are themselves sufficient for a faction

the outline presents reasons why LTT → LTF — explains what has transpired

Ahmed

- possibility for 1st time of bldg FI gps in Mideast
 - politics of IEC majority (of adaptationism) is ~~becom~~ becoming a hindrance to building ~~these~~ gps in MEast
- [adaptation to Zionist pressure
a Palestinian here discussed w/ Euro on this

LT (14)

Almeida

problem — these new eds coming around don't know
Maitan so well as Alberto does
Need time — to get our ideas out — ^{fight - docs transl.} o.o postpone w.c
The program we have is quite adequate for our
needs at present time

Maia

on the program of faction ^{presented}
supports general position ~~stated~~ by Lorenzo

∃ differences on why we are forming faction & tactics
in the sections

we (Kerg) came prepared to fight LTT → LTF
without even knowing of existence of ^{the} secret faction.

because it was necessary to present ourselves as an
alternative leadership

↳ proved — L.A., int'l scale, historically

It is precisely the characterization of that leadership
that necessitates us to present ourselves as an alternative

L.A. line, Europe line of IECMA was reason enough
→ has led to liquidation of sections in Bolivia, Spain, and
beginnings elsewhere in Europe

^{IEC} secret faction is only a consequence of method of
the majority — & has been going on 20 yrs. —

at base of this is a petty bourgeois tendency
— concepts totally outside of working class —

~~through this open door~~
through this open door all alien class pressures
come — adaptation to ^{those} popular at the time, — Stalinism
ultra-leftism etc.

Maria

The current of ultra-leftism in Europe goes hand in hand with a rightward adaptation to Stalinism — as reflected in line towards union de la gauche

~~the~~ fighting against the organizational methods must include on politics —

organizational points can't be substituted for the political

the differences of over June 21 & Union de la Gauche have given expression to differences latent in Jebrac bulletin

have opened a debate in French section — but what is lacking is a global presentation method

to the ultra-left errors the only answers are centrist. There is need for a Trotskyist global analysis

Difference — content of the declaration and tactic of explaining

Anders (Sweden)

in Sweden — MMF tendency was formed 7 mos. ago at a very early stage — e.g. before M-A document majority of political bureau joined MMF

→ incorrect method of functioning & split attitude

— Bayman letter was no surprise

- Roussel's book will be published in Sweden — as 1st book

- 1954 IS resolution on Stalinism was published

- removal of LTT supporter from editorial bd on grounds of non-agreement with layers to whom paper should be directed

- factional method of operating is not new to MMF-era

LT (16)

Anders

European document widely accepted now all over Europe

Brian

need to separate question of decision to form a faction
vs. program of the faction

we are pledged without ^(condition or) qualification to
replace the present leadership
don't we require a complete political program

we should say that not only has majority
leadership shown incapacity to organize a dem.
wld congress but is throwing away ^{the Trotskyist} theoretical
conquests of postwar years

Jack - summary

what is our goal? - to win to Trotskyist political
program

in this sense we defer organizational ^{questions} ~~to~~ ^{to}
political questions -

but organizational question is political

going from tendency \leftrightarrow Faction is a tactical question
not so for formation of a tendency - requires political

in a completely healthy Leninist organization, we
wouldn't ever need factions - the fight is
over winning minds of the comrades -
The differences would be resolved. Events would
prove. - a minority could convince the
majority - e.g. East Europe discussion in SWP

~~Jack~~

If fundamental questions were involved, then requirement is not faction, but split

∃ intermediate forms

in Britain — the Tendency has many aspects of a faction. — politically principled, but the IMC leadership made it impossible to function as a simple ideological tendency — so many aspects of a faction — but not a power fight

T outlined: steering committee, organization, but no power fight

— a tendency requires political ~~basis~~ ^{basis} — but ~~given~~ given this, the decision to form a tendency is tactical.

At 9th Wld Congress — Joe, Jack, Lorenzo, Moreno discussed — the basis for a tendency existed (^{or a} faction) China, youth, Latin America. The decision not to do so, was tactical

IEC — [like Comintern/Germany] — refused to recognize the disaster — instead rationalizing it
Santiago — we agreed to form a tendency for tactical reasons, given political basis

now — key is what has transpired to require us to convert from tendency to faction

when we say we have lost confidence in them as a leadership — we don't mean so much that if we win a majority they won't carry it out, as that they don't have the leadership capacity to organize. The process of discussion

note: secret faction, open faction, public faction are not ~~the~~ 3 varieties of the same thing, but completely different

LT (18)

Political

Joe Hansen report

1947-48 — E. Europe discussion in SWP
— not even tendencies were declared — not felt necessary

— moderation of the discussion was important

— debate 1939-40 with PB opposition was speedy in SWP, but not in FI — not until after WWII — practical problems of circulation of documents

in a Leninist party the organization question is political

change LTT → LTF is basically a change in form some political evolution —

- 1) reaffirm part L.T.T. line
- 2) need to add some more political

Our predictions —

- 1) — line on L.A. couldn't be confined to L.A.
- 2) — disasters in Bolivia, Argentina

} short
term
tested

to predict them as a R.B. opposition would not be subject to verification soon

we are only at beginning of drafting a program.

Need a balance sheet of FI since 1938 especially since 1969

LT (19)

Joe Hansen

re-affirming - Balance Sheet document (IEC document)

~~document~~ contains beyond L.A. politically
+ Joe's new document / a lot of political points

relation of ultra-leftism & rightism

rightist deviations have been evidenced in

France - Union de la Gauche

Chile - Allende-populism?

but main trend = adaptation to ultra leftism

[pressure of radicalizing students (Guevara-ism)
June 21 action

What is the relation - u-l / rightist deviations? There is
an underlying identity = adaptation to any current that
is surging forward

During period of entryism ^{50%} ~~and~~ generic, there was adaptation
to Stalinists & Social Democrats: Cost = loss of many cadres

history of adaptation - lack of firm adherence to
principles - bending to external pressures of ~~the~~ a p.s. variety
correct way = seek common areas of action with
these other tendencies (FI) while maintaining firmness
in principle

→ Q of methodology in relation to alien currents is posed.
~~the~~ methodology in party building

Questions of method are also coming out naturally

Joe's document vs Germain

LT (20)

George Novack

Amibal & Alberto have posed the problem of — at what point in the discussion should we go over from political issues to sociological characterization

within LTT I differing views on —

we have pedagogical problem —

suggests "inductive" tactic — multiply experience of MMF errors

will require proof of PB character of MMF leadership —

plus once said, what else needs to be said
how to operate as a faction without becoming
factionalistic

→ logical question: why stay together in same international

we still must absorb lessons of recent developments

— e.g. — MMF endorsement of IT political resolution — plus recent knowledge that Mandel has been talking along these lines for 2 years — and Mandel is rather retarded on this without ever telling us their views

previously ~~the~~ MMF — Pablo had never projected alternative line for USA to SWP line — this is the first time in history of FI

— importance — SWP in FI

American revolution in world context

~~Wed aft~~
Wed aft : Political, cont'd

Lorenzo

agree w/ Jack that tendency formation was principled
 and that decision to form is a tactical/organizational one

there have been 3 ^{different} reasons given for faction formation
 Peter - even if no Bayman letter ...
 Jack - no democratic intl congress
 Joe - Bayman letter

this is secondary — the Q. is one of the totality

we have prepared documents along our own lines — not
 Novack's "inductive method" — but dialectical
 concept of the totality
 concept of the dynamic

document should be

① — brief intro. ^(only an) / outline

- ~~but~~ Santiago mtg — decision to form a tendency
- today — taking into account all problems raised having reached intolerable limits we have decided to form a faction

1) existence of ^{secret} ~~secret~~ faction
 pt 1 — A — 1 + 2

2) political errors —

I a) L.A.

b) Europe — extension

a) June 21 France } confirm
 b) Spain — }

LT (22)

~~Lozano~~

c) VN -

progressive adaptation to "new mass vanguard"

II - Mandel document

go against methodological, principled, programmatic
& T.P.

entry in sui generis
new mass vanguard
continental line

~~3)~~ youth -

rational movements

- Ireland
- Palestine
- Black, Chicano, P.R - USA

3.) secret faction uncovers this methodology -
on political as well as organizational

a) 1953 example - adaptation to leadership of masses
Stal: S-D

b) today - adaptation to "new mass vanguard"

c) conclusion -

this leads to the destruction of the
raison d'être of Trotskyist parties

4) Danger of Split
(pt 1-3 of out)

refusal postpone

translation

threat of expulsion

Khuzina - France

centralism / not democracy
recognition of "phantom" organizations - Argentina, Columbia

LT (23)

~~Moreno~~

5) those who are responsible —
present majority leadership

not due to accident, but profound class reasons

6) for an alternative leadership of FI

in first instance to guarantee a dem. world cong.

7) program & perspectives

A. To stop by all means a split in FI

(3-A-1,2)

recognition of all sympathizing groups
no phantom groups

B. reaffirmation of LTT program

rejection of Euzenodoc.

rejection of Steim-Watten UN resolution

rejection of "new mass vanguard" line

C. reaffirmation of L-T method of constructing parties

D. " of TP

E. putting forward alternative leadership

F.

G. - approval of documents written by LTF

Arg. Bol. - Balance Sheet

M-A-W

Hansen - method

Moreno -

LT (24)

Luengo

8.

Call to all eds of F.I. to join LTF
support its program & perspectives

discipline - not transcending section discipline
internal discussion in LTF

Jack

1) on pedagogical tendency - fraction
Luengo says ok

2) mistake to combine pol/org or
method & class analysis at present
stage

key - we ~~we~~ need to open discussion on issues
with people ~~who~~ who ~~disagree~~ disagree with us on the issues

the pts. on general method & class analysis are more
appropriate for a balance sheet - at a later ~~stage~~
stage in F.I.

3) this is not time to open up a fight on
the Kivine - Frank letter

4) don't anticipate recognition of ~~phantom~~ phantom organizations
stay on concrete, not hypothetical
— PST in Argentina

5) on goals of LTF — See implementation of
April USec statement

Jack

6.) mistake to designate class basis

- precludes common factor if that is the basis
- skips a stage of the debate
- becomes an obstacle to winning

we play into the hands of those who through inexperience or miseducation - see this as just an epithet and closes minds -

it adds nothing to the debate over issues - merely explains source of division

~~add -~~

Keep in mind - everything we do is a model. This is how we will lead the FI. We will be true to those with whom we agree & with those with whom we disagree. Pedagogical. way to handle differences -

add - theory of state
American question

LT (26)

George Tyson -

importance to convince sides of FI whom we hope to win over that we ~~are~~ are not functioning on the basis that there will be a split -

John Steele

on discussion in Canada - RCT
characterization as a faction - undeclared faction
but we did not characterize them
as disloyal

stemmed out of the course of the discussion

But what if the discussion had begun
with characterization of RCT - as RB, disloyal
secret faction - ~~it~~ would have \Rightarrow split
at the convention

onus of split would have been on us - now
it is on them

Phil Courneyer

on sociological characterization of MMF

What do we need as LTF at present time?
show underlying political ~~and~~ consistency of
MMF political ~~and~~ errors

Q. of timing is not only what we should say
now as faction but also what we are ready to
conclude as a faction

LT (27)

Phil

P.B. characterization is ~~the~~ preparation for split

Peter Carnepp

on class character question

Barry

on structure of the document —
programmatic section first — OK
vs Luro line of argument

Q — when time comes for characterization —
how do we say —

Q: are John Ross, Mandel, and Jebrac all
reflecting the same pressures?

Arthur —

Luro said Ernst didn't have a "psychological block" against
a split — he had a political block — Luro was right

[E.M. realizes LTT as orthodox anchor ~~is~~ an wild elements
of ZEC Maj]

basis of ZEC maj is becoming more and more
reduced to anti-LTT — remove ~~a~~ LTT, and
all the devils kept down will come out

one of the reasons MMT want a quick world congress
is to hold the lid on possible blow-up of IMG

how did we win people in Britain? — on the
issues — one at a time

LT (28)

Arthur -

can create fissures, divisions in IMF

Ross/Bennington do not like ^(line that is) VCP + Stalinist

Jim Percy -

last world congress - wasn't even known about in Australia -

characterization is wrong at present stage

for moving section on program up front

include under immediate aims - we will form a bloc with anyone on postponement of w.c. democratic world congress

we must do everything possible to slow down anything that accelerates to a split

Alberto

I think we are getting close to a solution

all we are asking is that this faction be politically armed. That we go out of here with a political program - so we can talk as an alternative pol. leadership based on political program.

on bloc with others - we must be clear on where we stand politically & where differences with others in such blocs lie

Alberto

our characterization of MMF as moving away from Trotskyism

full program necessary for educating those coming over towards us

// present MMF is beginning to ~~yield~~ yield to non-Trotskyist pressures

// we have the elements of a future characterization in our documents

we believe it is necessary to make a class characterization but majority of LTF ~~does not~~ does not think so, so we are prepared to yield on this point

~~agrees on~~ including pedagogical explanation of ~~the~~ what tendency and faction are (pt. 2)

Gary Porter

gap: theory and practice // methodology question // open up discussion

timing: ^(e.g.) on stating existence of a secret faction —

Maria

on Europe

Ligue C. call for Union de la Gauche has not been mentioned — class collaborationist bloc

pre-9th World Congress — adaptation to Stal. // S-D / same method
post " — " to U-L

agrees w/ Joe that adaptation to ultra-leftism has ~~been~~ ^{been} main problem. — but there should be more emphasis on growing adaptation to Stalinism

LT (30)

María

~~the~~ In Spain, En Marcha, at same time that they have launched campaign on minority violence — has been combined with a growing opportunism in wkra. commissions — softening of their battle against ties with the fascist unions — abandoned slogans such as the wkra elected to such have full power; dissolution of repressive police ~~forces~~ forces — same as the CP of Spain has abandoned — this can only be explained as a result of feeling by En Marcha that within wkra. commissions they must coexist with the Stalinists, while outside — minority violence

En Marcha similar to L.C. on Union de la Gauche — in relation to Catalonian council (assembly)

Thursday A.M.

LT (31)

Ernesto (Uruguay)

tendency decision for profound political reasons

new faction -

but we do not leave behind the political points
of tendency -

oo need

1) latest events

2) what does this tool (faction) mean

- political, method

- alternative leadership - this is new

Why? because the present leadership has been
mistaken for 20 years

- uses mistaken methods

Why - because of profound class reasons
we are coming to agreement on this

~~it is not~~

Our differences are over what we say in the
platform, not over what basis for LTF is

Should we make the document modest or long term
- 1st would be more weighted to organizational
prefers latter

~~majority~~ stating here difficulties in work on class characterization
oo ok - we will withdraw this proposal

LT (32)

Lorenzo

why Lorenzo presented his structure
it was an attempt to get a synthesis - of their position + original ^(rather)

a didactic objective was behind Lorenzo's proposal

the discussion revealed a confluence of views, not
a divergence

Joe's document included all of Lorenzo's points

- political
- method
- organizational
- alternative leadership

We are agreed, for tactical reasons ^(only), not for
principles, to remove class characterization from
the document — it is implicit in the documents

When you say MMT leadership

- wrong politically completely
- wrong method
- wrong organizational
- ~~not~~ not worthy of leadership

Conclusion:
P.B.
leadership

on adding Joe's document — it is not known to
many signers of LTT

Moreno - } also would be ^{very} useful
M.A.W. - }

But ~~this~~ is extremely tactical question

Souyo

in regard to problem about characterization -
 in PST, we always make a class characterization
 (not always at beginning)

example of a woman
 sent to Rosario from B.A.
 returned because of child

of syndicalist deviations - we say so openly

it is not pejorative

(we tell you)
 pragmatic, evolutionist methods in LTT

you should tell us your criticisms of us

this forms a part of how we educate ~~our~~ cadres

M-A

on general thrust of Amibal's presentation

- tended to shift declaration away from defensive
- on program - not many differences
 part of problem - just an outline
 - need more on Europe

would be a mistake to include M-A document on Europe
 - it was an initial attempt. Events in the
 last period have lent further confirmation,
 we need contributions from Europe

Mideast - 3 doc. by us

LT (34)

W-A on alternative leadership - feel uncomfortable

Guo -

Anders
unevenness in discussion
VN

How LT tendency developed in Sweden
Europe document - came out
seemed good at first -
then looked at critically

Swedish majority has produced a document
on political perspectives for Sweden - just an
echo of the Europe doc. ||| says ~~you can~~
never build a mass T party.

Ed -

How great are the opportunities to win over
cadres of FI

perhaps there is a difference ~~over~~ ~~estimating~~
estimating the prospects that underlies the difference
over tactics.

PST comrades apply subtle tactics to unmask
Peron among Argentine workers - same with regard to MMF

Class characterization method carried out in most
simplified way by PRT (Combatiente)

Ed -
Cochranites - proletarian

Frank
necessity of educative approach

Novack
we have consolidated our position - platform - and are
in an excellent position to conduct military operations

political questions are usually thrashed out on an
intermediate ~~at~~ level between sociological substructure
or theoretical heights — and these extremes
(philosophy)

LT (36)

~~Joettansen~~

SUMMARY

1st ~~≡~~ a few comments on our own discussion

thorough assessment; relaxed discussion

freedom of the discussion — some debate & differences
shows — \exists homogeneity, but not monolithic

can't include everything in the statement
— it's only a first approximation — plus \exists time
deadline: U. Sec. mtg

can't include everything

e.g. Ligue C. en Union de la Gauche

note: IB coming out with SW/PC letter to LC

Q. of degree of adaptation to the right —
how much stress to give to this

on Anibal, Alberto, & Ernesto remarks

much sounded fine — can be further developed
in the statement — but somewhat too ambitious

on Joe H. document. — This was promised
at Santiago — proposes to take risk of
adopting it here even though recent, and just ~~in~~
in English // Canadians checked over the
sections on Canada — Lorenzo has looked it over
etc.

structure of the outline: The task that
faces us at this moment in FI = one of
explanation, — natural flow

LT (37)

Joe H.

if we put section on program first, it might imply that it was we who were responsible for the new situation

- begin with an indictment - concrete facts
- raises danger of a split
- = Method of presentation to attract attention

1969 // We raise danger sign - logic of the error could affect program, if persisted in

our stress was on the issues // postponed the formation of tendency or faction

anomaly: IMG - attitude and practices of British leadership. - the tendency was formed to defend themselves against majority abuse of power - necessitating an international fact-finding commission. This led to some members of Tendency considering it a faction.

In Joe's view, looking back, it was not a faction. It lacked planks for

- 1) overturn leadership
- 2) discipline
- 3) screening adherents

It was organized around need for self defense

It was a model in not letting itself get provoked into splitting or forcing a split

Situation recently has eased. But now T will face new difficulties

We can hold up the T of IMG as an example to show LTF not going to split. - How ~~to~~ to conduct ourselves.

LT (38)

Joe Hansen deepening differences on political level
~~extension~~ extension L.A. → Europe

political - adaptation to Stalinism

methodology - widening gap = theory & practice

program : revision on where states
touch on nature of the state

We have noted these things
parallel w/ deepening political, we have noted
on the organizational -

— lack of translations

— slowness in initiating discussion in ranks
difficulty ^{is} now increased because
of ~~the~~ dissolution of Ligue c. —

These are infringements of democracy

purpose of secret faction — to block a free
and open discussion, which would permit the
minority to win a majority through argumentation

necessitates LTT → LTF

we do ~~not~~ not subordinate program to
organization
we support a correct orientation through a
correct orientation

I.T. - charges SWP succumbing to
petty bourgeois pressures - Black + Chicano
nationalism, feminism, students
+ a big apparatus

Joe Hansen

PRT ^(c) charge of P.B. vs. Verdad
 characterizing every opposition as petty bourgeois
 echoed by Gramsci & co. — P.B. oscillations
 of Moreno —

How do we respond — we say it diverts
 from the issues

Class characterization doesn't settle question
 — who can transmit pressures of skilled strata —
 social democracy

On Lorenzo's 2 ~~pts~~ pts on method
 totality
 dynamic

totality — P.B. // dynamic — ~~how it~~
 conducted itself

∩ Some problems with this — every totality has ~~some~~
 contradictions

— difference leaders & ranks
 & among leaders
 including proletarian sectors

Our method of presentation — must be fashioned
 to our objectives. — Novack's "inductive" method

At a certain point we ^{may} have to demonstrate that
 method of MMF is not dialectical; we have been
 preparing the groundwork for this Novack Hansen
 documents

LT (40)

Joe Hansen

MMF — E gap // theory and practice

M-A pts 5 & 6

strg comm. —

USec. (1 Britain, 1 Can, 5 US)

1 from each section or gp

2 Spain, Canada

5 Argentina

3 USA

Aust, NZ, Brit, Brazil, Chile

China, Denmark, India, Peru, Iran

N. Z., Sweden, Uruguay, Venez

not from France or Mexico

this strg comm. would designate an executive body

strg comm can act in name of faction —

e.g. adopt documents

make statements

Jack

Sum-up

b) Agree to convert LTT → LTF

goals —

on political questions alone, we would have preferred not to have to form faction

faced with an incompetent leadership

LT (41)

Jack

we would take leadership, but include present MMF as a minority component

we expect a much more structured and delegated gathering

pace of events may be fast. — unless things are changed rapidly we face a split congress of FI

on program —

stress our greatest strength — our continuity going back to founding documents of FI & predecessors

∃ large documentary record — IB's

class composition question — not certain PB like Schachtman is accurate. — perhaps some analogy with some currents in Bolsheviks is more accurate

basis on which we are together in LTF — on open basis of political positions expressed — e.g. it wasn't a mistake to build up MMF previously

basis for "deviations" of PST — ~~not~~ not class character, but isolation from FI — cross-fertilization

strg committee = provisional until we can have a delegated gathering // decision

LT (42)

Brian

wouldn't it be a good idea to draft up a statement outlining the pre-conditions for a democratic world congress

to what degree will LTF regulate activity of component parts - e.g. in sections, USec members

Jack

section ops - make their own tactics - but for decisions with big implications, consultation & advisable

USec. members will have to conduct themselves as USec members - will send out reports

Sorenzo

gives full support to Jack's proposal

will present his draft to stry comm. if it is useful

Draft Outline

STATEMENT BY LENINIST-TROTSKYIST FACTION

1. The new situation in the Fourth International

A. Evidence that the majority of United Secretariat have been operating as a secret faction.

1. The facts revealed in Barzman letter.
 - a. Evidence of split perspective.
2. Series of previous indications of existence of secret faction.
 - a. Information withheld from delegates at Ninth World Congress as to views of PRT leadership.
 - b. Secret decision to take "soft approach" to PRT leadership.
 - c. The Domingo letter
 - (iii) --Secret attack on leadership of sympathizing section of Fourth International.
 - (ii) --Implications of phrase "progressive assimilation" of La Verdad Tendency.
 - (i) --Attack intended to block recognition of PST. as section of Fourth International
 - d. The secret letter to PRT leadership signed by six majority members of United Secretariat.
--Its secret circulation.
 - e. Meaning of Massey's charge concerning alleged lack of "integration" of SWP into Fourth International.

SWP DB #134

3. The danger of split.
 - a. Objective logic of development of differences.
 - b. The addition of subjective inclinations in that direction.
--Argentina, Peru, Australia, Mexico, Spain, Canada.

organizational desire to non-entirely... split

2. Leadership of world Trotskyist movement must do everything possible to counteract tendency toward split.

- A. Why we did not call for formation of minority tendency in first stage of discussion.
 1. Internal bulletin, plus oral discussion sufficient in expectation that majority leadership would accede to lesson of events.
- B. Why we called for formation of tendency last December.
 1. Refusal of IEC Majority to recognize lesson of events in Argentina and Bolivia.
 - a. Purpose and limitations of tendency.
- C. Why we decided to convert tendency into faction.
 1. Existence of secret faction.
 - a. Evils of secret factions.
 - b. Nature of open factions.
 1. Why statutes of Fourth International provide for their formation.
 2. To battle for majority in leadership.
 3. Not a public faction.

purpose of secret factions to prevent let from winning majority to their ideas

3. Immediate goal of Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

A. Increase pressure for postponement of congress.

1. Need to provide time for translation of documents.
2. Need to provide time for discussion of documents.
3. In short, to struggle more effectively for implementation of April 1973 agreement on what is required to assure democratic and authoritative world congress.

*force dissolution
of secret faction.
— bring it out
into the open.*

4. Program of Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

A. Reaffirmation of program of Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency.

1. Reversal of guerrilla orientation, etc.

B. Opposition to deepening of "turn" made at Ninth World Congress.

1. "Minority violence" orientation for Europe.
 - a. June 21 action.

C. Support of Leninist Trotskyist method of party building.

1. Development of orientation, tactics, and party tasks.

D. Support of general line of "The Underlying Differences in Method," by Joseph Hansen.

5. Structure of Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

- A. An elected international steering committee
 - 1. Give names
 - 2. Empowered to act in name of Leninist-Trotskyist Faction
 - a. Discipline in faction
 - b. Faction discipline does not transcend discipline of sections
 - 1. Members of faction must conduct themselves in completely loyal way in sections, maintaining activities and financial obligations in an exemplary way.

6. Appeal for adherence to Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

- A. How to apply for membership
 - 1. Send letter indicating agreement with program and goals.
 - a. Specify differences, if any.
- B. International Steering Committee will decide on applications.
- C. If application is accepted, notify leadership of section of this fact.

The New Situation in the Fourth International

A Statement by the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

The Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency was formed as part of an effort to stem and eventually overcome the current crisis in the Fourth International. To this end a seven-point platform, adopted at the founding conference of the tendency in Santiago, Chile, March 5-8, 1973, was proposed to the members of the world Trotskyist movement. (See "Declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency," *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 3, March 1973.)

New facts and developments in the past few months have shown that the crisis in the Fourth International is much graver than we estimated last March. Among other things, evidence has come to light that the IEC Majority Tendency has operated as a secret faction. Moreover, the faction includes a wing that is consciously pursuing a split course and that is driving toward holding an inadequately prepared world congress.

Against this threat to the unity of the Fourth International, the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency decided at a conference held August 13-16 in Toronto that it must convert itself from a tendency into a faction, thereby making it possible to meet the deteriorating situation in a disciplined way. In the discussion at the conference, the following reasons for this decision were advanced:

The Course of the IEC Majority Tendency

The letter written by Comrade John Barzman from Europe to other supporters of the IEC Majority Tendency in the Socialist Workers Party (see appendix) includes facts proving that the IEC Majority Tendency has been operating as a faction without declaring itself as such. Comrade Barzman reports, for instance, that at a meeting of the Steering Committee in Brussels in May, which he attended, it was decided that the supporters of the IEC Majority Tendency in the SWP would be granted three representatives on that body provided that they were "ready to accept discipline." (Emphasis in original.)

The decision to include these representatives, committed to acting under discipline, was kept secret from the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, the United Secretariat, and the membership of the Fourth International as a whole. In fact the very existence of a "Steering Committee" was never announced to the ranks of the Fourth International and its composition still remains secret.

It is to be noted that the Steering Committee of the IEC Majority Tendency decided to take this action and to "look with favor upon the formation of our tendency" in the Socialist Workers Party only after a report by Comrade Barzman. To become a member of the IEC Majority Tendency it was not sufficient for Comrade Barzman and those of his view to declare ideological agree-

ment with the platform of the tendency. The final decision remained with the Steering Committee and it was contingent on acceptance of discipline. These requisites for membership—a top leadership decision and agreement to accept discipline—are among the distinguishing marks of a faction.

The same practice was followed in weighing the application of Alan Jones, a central leader of the IMG and co-opted participant in United Secretariat meetings.

It was likewise followed in the case of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, a minority grouping in the Canadian section of the Fourth International, for membership in the IEC Majority Tendency.

As is clear from Comrade Barzman's letter, some of the leaders of the IEC Majority Tendency have developed such hostility toward those critical of the line adopted at the last world congress that they are prepared to split the Fourth International. Others are hesitant.

The lines of division in the IEC Majority Tendency on this question are indicated by Comrade Barzman: "Then a talk with Vergeat, who explained the unwillingness of Ernest, Pierre and Livio to be responsible or see another split of the International, because it would feed once again all the anti-Trotskyist gossip." "The French (Vergeat, Krivine, Stern) Pat Jordan, Ken Lewis want to start attacking SWP on its own ground. They want us to provide ammunition. Mandel realizes the SWP is not internationalist and would split over such interference, and he has a psychological block against a new split." "The French comrades strongly believe in full-scale offensive against SWP and have no illusions on the results of it."

Differences of varying depth exist within the IEC Majority Tendency. Those pressing for a split tend to disregard them, as Comrade Barzman reports: "Verla seemed to favor comrades going ahead to criticize Maitan without waiting for an official statement from the international majority. Krivine seemed to understand the possible risks of such a procedure. . . . Vergeat sees the international majority as the real place for discussion, the real international, is therefore not that concerned about homogeneity."

Vergeat, it appears, not only has no psychological block against a split; psychologically he has already carried out a split so that he views the secret faction of which he is a leader as the "real international" no matter what the differences between its components may be. This attitude indicates readiness to bury differences of a principled nature and to head toward an unprincipled split.

The facts disclosed by Comrade Barzman enable us to better appreciate the factionalism manifested in a series of recent actions undertaken by the IEC Majority Tendency.

In the IMG, for instance, their followers split into a

number of warring tendencies. The leaders of the IEC Majority Tendency decided to try to use the authority of the United Secretariat to intervene in this situation on the eve of a congress of the IMG. In a letter to members of his particular grouping in the IMG dated February 20, Comrade Peter Peterson disclosed that "a theses on the tasks of the IMG in the present crisis is to be elaborated by comrade Walter. *These will be on our line.* . . . The theses will also specifically criticise the line of the EuriFusion Conference Perspective Document [a document written by Alan Jones and Clarissa Howard], and the latter's political and theoretical positions will be blamed for the failure of the IMG to adequately relate to class struggle in Britain."

In accordance with this decision the leaders of the IEC Majority Tendency wrote a document that manifestly supported one of the groups against the others, brought this into the United Secretariat without advance notice, and demanded an emergency vote.

A minority of the United Secretariat opposed the procedure as improper and argued against throwing the influence of the United Secretariat behind one of the groups, since under the circumstances it would represent an abuse of authority. These arguments proved unavailing against the prior decision of the IEC Majority Tendency to intervene in the British section in this manner.

Again in the case of Spain, the IEC Majority Tendency utilized its majority in the United Secretariat to favor the En Marcha faction in the Spanish section, which was intent on carrying through a split. This support has continued since the split, going so far as public backing of the group in the pages of *Quatrième Internationale*, the official organ of the International Executive Committee (May-August 1973).

A recent case was the organization of a tour of Australia for Tariq Ali in July-August of this year in which the Socialist Workers League, the sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, was not consulted. The tour was conducted under sponsorship of the Communist League, whose walkout from the Socialist Workers League last year was condemned by the United Secretariat as an unprincipled split. The organization of a tour for Tariq Ali in such a crudely factional way was intended, of course, to help shore up the Communist League, which has been tending to disintegrate, and to give it assistance in its public struggle against the sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Australia. The net effect, however, was to worsen relations between the two groups, injuring the Australian Trotskyist movement as a whole.

The factionalism evident in Tariq Ali's tour in Australia fits in with the perspective of an international split. The immediate objective of the tour was to strengthen the partisans of the IEC Majority Tendency in preparation for that outcome, otherwise the tour, which might well have been of considerable value, would have been organized in a normal way in consultation with the Socialist Workers League.

The attitude of the IEC Majority Tendency toward the Canadian section falls into the same pattern. The walkouts that began with the departure of Michel Mill (whose political positions are praised in the platform of the IEC Majority Tendency) have been soft-pedaled. Inordinate interest has been displayed in a small formation, the

Revolutionary Marxist Group, that has declared verbal support to the Fourth International but that has been maneuvering to win splitoffs from the section. The IEC Majority Tendency has put pressure on the Canadian section to fuse with this group regardless of the judgment of the leadership of the section as to the probable outcome of such a step. The factional interests of the IEC Majority Tendency, it appears, lie outside the Canadian section.

Another fact of considerable gravity, showing how the IEC Majority Tendency has operated, was the decision of its Steering Committee, revealed by Barzman, to "collaborate" in the production of documents to be submitted in the name of the "Internationalist Tendency" in the internal discussion in the Socialist Workers Party.

The Internationalist Tendency stands against positions held by the Socialist Workers Party that have met with approval in the past from the majority members of the United Secretariat. For example, the SWP analyses of the liberation movement of the Blacks and Chicanos were endorsed in the platform of the IEC Majority Tendency, "In Defence of Leninism: In Defence of the Fourth International." To collaborate with the Internationalist Tendency in writing its documents signifies that the majority members of the United Secretariat have switched positions on these questions. Of course, the majority members of the United Secretariat have a right to change their minds. The correct procedure, however, would be to make known to the United Secretariat and to the leadership of the SWP their shift in view as well as their decision to collaborate with their new cothinkers in the SWP, stating their reasons for this about-face. Instead, acting the way an irresponsible faction acts, they bypassed both the United Secretariat and the leadership of the SWP, reaching agreement in secret on these points with the Internationalist Tendency. This greatly exacerbated relations when it became known, arousing grave doubts in the SWP as to the objectives of the IEC Majority Tendency and of the Internationalist Tendency.

As a consequence of the secret agreement on collaboration, Comrades Peterson and Maitan, who were present as the United Secretariat representatives of the IEC Majority Tendency, approved the minority report on Latin America made by Comrade Richard Mitten of Chicago at the August convention of the SWP.

For his report, Comrade Mitten read from his article "In Defense of the International Majority's Perspectives for Latin America," which was published in the *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 35, July 1973. The article includes a far-reaching revision of the analysis adopted by the Fourth International on the overturns of capitalism going from Cuba clear back to Eastern Europe, including in passing the workers and peasants government that existed in Algeria from 1962 to 1965. (The pertinent points can be found on pages 2-3 and pages 8-9.)

In the same report, Comrade Mitten attacked the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), the sympathizing section of the Fourth International in Argentina, as "reformist." He declared that the politics of the PST makes it "incompatible with membership in the Fourth International." (Page 16 in his article. Emphasis in the original.)

To make such a declaration is equivalent to demanding expulsion of the Argentine sympathizing section, echoing the demand made by the PRT (Combatiente), which recently walked out of the Fourth International. It is clear that psychologically Comrade Mitten has already expelled the PST. That both Comrade Peterson and Comrade Maitan explicitly supported the report on Latin America made by Comrade Mitten for their tendency at the SWP convention is an ominous indication that the IEC Majority Tendency has made a secret decision to recommend to the forthcoming world congress that the PST be excluded from the Fourth International. This would fit in with a course aimed at splitting the international.

Another grave fact should be noted. The United Secretariat has not discussed whether the internal debate in the Fourth International should be made public. Yet the European Tasks and Perspectives draft resolution has been issued to the public in various languages, including English, German, Swedish, and Italian. Who made the decision to do this? When? At what gathering? Plainly it was decided in secret by the IEC Majority Tendency. The move was a dangerous one. It established a precedent for the publication of internal documents by any group in the Fourth International. The logic of this is establishment of public factions in the Fourth International.

How Far Back Does It Go?

How long has the secret faction been in existence? As in the case of most such formations, this is difficult to determine from outside the grouping. In the secret letter sent out by Comrade Maitan under the pseudonym of "Domingo," attacking the sympathizing section of the Fourth International in Argentina, the author explains that at the time of the 1963 Reunification Congress the leading members of the former International Secretariat held the perspective of "progressive assimilation" of the Argentine component of the International Committee.

"The question arises," Comrade Maitan wrote, "why we have not discussed the problems of the Argentine section in the past. By hindsight we can conclude that we should have stimulated a discussion and complete clarification long before now. We note, however, that it was difficult for us to intervene in the period immediately following the entry of the Argentinian organization into the International in the aftermath of the reunification and that we relied on a process of progressive assimilation." ("International Information," Discussion on Latin America (1968-1972), *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, p. 169.)

The implication is that a similar attitude was held toward the International Committee as a whole. In contrast, the International Committee majority, which carried out the reunification in opposition to a minority led by Healy and Lambert, viewed the reunification as a genuine fusion between two public factions, both of which were part of the Fourth International. It did not view the reunification as the "integration" or "assimilation" of one group into the other. It followed that one of the prime tasks was to dissolve the former factions. The leaders of the International Committee who participated in the reunification in 1963 held that it would have been un-

principled to maintain the former lines of cleavage. In fact to have maintained the factions would have put in question the good faith of the two sides and the principled nature of the reunification. Therefore the leaders of the International Committee followed a policy of doing everything possible to break up the old formations and to reach genuine political homogeneity through a process of common action and discussion.

This view, as indicated by the Domingo letter, was not shared by the leaders of the International Secretariat. In secret they held the perspective of "progressive assimilation" of the other side. This meant in practice maintaining their former faction, or at least its core, without declaring its existence.

In view of the disclosure in Comrade Maitan's "Domingo" letter, we can now better appreciate the secret decision made by the majority at the Ninth World Congress with regard to recognizing the PRT (Combatiente) as the official section of the Fourth International in Argentina. Among themselves they recognized that the PRT was not a Trotskyist organization; but they hoped that by taking the "soft approach" of eulogizing the guerrillaism of the PRT with which they were in agreement while remaining silent about its anti-Trotskyist politics they would be able to progressively assimilate the group. At the same time, by utilizing tactics of an opposite kind, they hoped to progressively cut down the PST and push it out of the Fourth International.

As we can see in retrospect, in the crucial question of relations with the Argentine section of the Fourth International, the majority leaders acted in the manner of a secret faction, not informing the delegates at the Ninth World Congress of their real views and calculations. This unprincipled way of proceeding helped pave the way for the subsequent disaster of the political and organizational disintegration of the official section of the Fourth International and the needless sacrifice of the lives of dedicated revolutionists. The outcome should serve as a severe object lesson on the evils of disregarding the norms of democracy in making crucial decisions.

On the more important questions that have arisen since 1969, they have continued to operate in the same way. We have cited the Domingo letter as one verifiable instance. Another was the "Letter to the PRT (Combatiente)" sent last October by six members of the United Secretariat. (See *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. X, No. 7, June 1973.) Neither the United Secretariat nor the International Executive Committee, which met shortly thereafter, was informed of this action. Meanwhile, the letter, as in the case of the Domingo missive, was given selective distribution to the rank and file in Latin America.

The "Letter to the PRT (Combatiente)," it should be pointed out, in contrast to previous extravagant buildups and praise of the PRT's guerrilla exploits contains accurate criticisms of some of the policies and views of the PRT (but not of their carrying on guerrilla war as prescribed by the majority line of the Ninth World Congress).

The belatedness of the criticisms is explainable by the fact that the authors of the letter had stubbornly maintained their "soft approach" until very late in the day. When they grasped that the PRT was leaving the Fourth

International, they faced the embarrassing problem of explaining the blow to the ranks of the Fourth International. The "Letter to the PRT (Combatiente)" was a hastily improvised face-saving operation. The ostensible reason for the letter was that it represented an effort to convince the PRT. However the decision to engage in this action was made behind the back of the United Secretariat and without informing the International Executive Committee at its plenary session in December where the Latin American question, Argentina included, was on the agenda. The secret faction was very short-sighted. It put its own immediate interests ahead of those of the world Trotskyist movement as a whole. Otherwise they would have done what was indicated—put the question of the PRT and what to do about its course on the agenda of the United Secretariat for joint consultation and decision.

Bit by bit the real views of the leaders of the IEC Majority Tendency appear to be coming to light. Their unavowed policy toward the La Verdad group following the 1963 reunification, as Comrade Maitan has revealed, was one of "progressive assimilation." Comrade Bill Massey, who was secretly co-opted onto the Steering Committee of the IEC Majority Tendency last May, recently disclosed the real attitude of the secret faction to the Socialist Workers Party. "The SWP," he said, "after ten years of reunification has failed the test to integrate itself into the world movement. . . ." ("The Barnes-Kerry School of Scandals, A Brief Reply to a Last Minute Horror Story," *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 34, July 1973, p. 3.)

The SWP failed to "integrate itself"! Was that what the reunification was about? The formula of self-integration is but a variant of the "progressive assimilation" revealed in the Domingo letter as the real attitude of the former leaders of the International Secretariat toward the La Verdad group in Argentina. Bill Massey's disclosure indicates that they held the same attitude toward the Socialist Workers Party, a founding section of the International Left Opposition and of the Fourth International. It is further confirmation that their real attitude toward all the members of the International Committee who participated in the reunification was one of "progressive assimilation."

If this is the case, as is increasingly indicated, it would explain much about their course that has been difficult to fathom, such as their unilateral decision to demand votes on the tactic of entryism *sui generis*, practiced for seventeen years under their guidance.

Mounting Danger of a Split

As the situation now stands, it is evident that the danger of a split is very real. This has been pointed out by cadres on both sides.

The differences have been widening and deepening. The political issues in dispute range from what attitude to adopt toward the Labour Party in Britain and the Union de la Gauche in France to assessment of the nature of the Vietnamese Communist Party. The national question, ranging from Palestine to Quebec and the Black and Chicano movements in the U.S., has become involved. Tactical differences, which were sharp over the guerrilla orientation, became acute with the projection by the IEC

Majority Tendency of a line of "minority violence" in Europe, its adoption in practice in France and Spain, and its espousal by the IMG in relation to Ireland.

Comrade Mitten's report on Latin America at the August convention of the SWP brought into the debate a programmatic question as serious as the nature of the state.

While the minority at the 1969 World Congress characterized the guerrilla-war orientation as a concession to ultraleftism, the IEC Majority Tendency has characterized the politics of the PST as a whole as "reformist." The American members of the IEC Majority Tendency have not hesitated to say the same for the SWP. They have begun using the label "petty-bourgeois" as an epithet in characterizing the politics of the SWP. It is possible that the class roots of the positions of the two sides should be examined, but it should be done with scientific exactitude and not as an exercise in name-calling.

Some of the adherents of the IEC Majority Tendency (in Canada and Venezuela), losing all restraint, have characterized the politics of the LSA/LSO and the SWP as a "cancer." This frenzied factionalism is a subjective reflection of the political differences, which have deepened until they now involve questions of program.

There is an objective logic to this that cannot escape anyone concerned about maintaining the unity of the international. Of greatest importance in this connection are the political and tactical differences since they bear directly on day-to-day practice. Different estimates of methodological or sociological questions ought not to be nearly so explosive.

Forces of a centrifugal nature have become manifest in the form of splits in various areas. As early as 1968 the Argentine section split into the Combatiente and La Verdad groups. A split occurred in Peru in 1969. Last year there were splits in Australia, in Mexico, and in Spain. The split in Spain was particularly grievous, inflicting a serious setback to one of the most promising Trotskyist organizations in Europe. This year the Canadian section has been affected by walkouts of supporters of the IEC Majority Tendency.

Blame in these cases falls on the leaderships of the groups that split or on their backers who were either unable to restrain them or who gave them bad advice. Nevertheless, in general, the splits reflect the deepening differences in the Fourth International. It would be wisest to consider them as warning signs of what can occur on a more dramatic scale.

Decisive Action Required to Prevent a Split

In the first stage of the discussion following the Ninth World Congress, we who opposed the guerrilla orientation did not consider it necessary to organize an international tendency. We had confidence that the concrete experience of the class struggle would confirm the correctness of our position, that this would be recognized by the majority leaders, and that the error would be rectified at the next world congress.

The immediate problem, as we saw it, was to overcome one of the major defects of the Ninth World Congress—the inadequate preparatory discussion. It will be recalled that the documents became available at such a late date that many of the delegates had not read, still less discussed, them in their sections in advance of the congress.

They were not in position to grasp the implications of the "turn" toward guerrilla war. Thus the first job was to elucidate the conflicting views expressed at the congress. Concomitant with this, as time passed we noted the verification of events. As we then estimated the situation, we did not need to do more than utilize the *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*.

This estimate was altered when it became evident that the majority leaders refused to recognize the lesson of events in Argentina and Bolivia. In addition there were alarming indications that under guise of applying centralism they were considering attempting to settle the dispute over orientation by mechanical organizational measures at the next congress. There were growing indications, too, that the next congress might not be a democratic one—the delay in translating documents, particularly into French, was scandalous. Concomitantly, in various sections the internal discussion has yet to be initiated in a serious way.

In light of the attitude of the majority, it was clear that a struggle would be required to gain time for the translation of documents and a fair presentation to the ranks of the Fourth International of the case for changing the erroneous orientation, otherwise a democratic and authoritative world congress could not be assured. Consequently a call was issued for the formation of a tendency. This was implemented last March with the formation of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency.

Special attention is called to the fact that the name Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency accurately reflected the reality—only a tendency was formed. Any member of the Fourth International in good standing was free to join by simply declaring agreement with its platform and informing the leadership of the section of his or her decision. No group discipline was called for. The purpose of the tendency was to gain an adequate hearing for the points listed in its platform. No struggle to change the composition of the leadership of the Fourth International was projected.

It is true that confidence in the majority leadership had waned because of its resistance to recognizing the lesson of the events in Argentina and Bolivia, but it was felt generally by members of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency that the dialectics of the internal discussion could still convince the majority leaders of the need for a correction in orientation.

We have now decided to convert the tendency into a faction. The reason is the incontrovertible evidence that has come to light showing that the majority is operating as an undeclared faction. Applicants for membership in the IEC Majority Tendency are inspected as to their political credentials. They are obliged to accept discipline. Worst of all, the faction has concealed its true nature. Its obvious purpose is to use secret and undemocratic means to block the guerrilla, or "minority violence," orientation from being overturned at the next congress. To do that requires preventing a democratic discussion among the rank and file.

The statutes of the Fourth International provide for the formation of tendencies and factions. But this is on the basis of functioning openly. A *secret* tendency or faction is an unmitigated evil in a Bolshevik organization.

Operating behind the back of both the regularly elected leadership and the rank and file, it violates the most elementary norm of democratic centralism; that is, free and open access to information on the views, intentions, and actions of groupings within the organization. It lines up comrades without a hearing of opposing views. It invites the formation of counter secret factions. It fosters unprincipled blocs, power caucuses, and clique politics of the worst kind.

A secret faction disrupts the normal process of determining political orientations and of selecting the leadership. The atmosphere becomes charged with suspicion. Hypocrisy comes to the fore. Cynicism is cultivated. Principles are discounted in favor of personal ties. The possibility of unprincipled splits—or equally unprincipled unifications—becomes greatly increased.

The statutes of the Fourth International provide for the formation of open, declared tendencies and factions precisely in order to avoid the evils of secret tendencies and factions. We have heard that some comrades, who should know better, believe that the purpose of a faction is to prepare for a split. *That was not why the right to form factions was included in the statutes of the Fourth International.* Circumstances can arise in which the formation of a faction constitutes the best, if not the only, means to avoid a split.

In our opinion, this is the situation now faced by the Fourth International. The primary objective of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction is to try to contain the centrifugal forces that have been gathering headway and to overcome them through a democratic discussion and decision to bring the Fourth International back on the course charted by Leon Trotsky.

To forestall any confusion or misinterpretation on the point, we want to make clear that the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction is not a *public* faction. It does not project carrying its struggle to the public. It is an *internal* faction, formed in accordance with the statutes of the Fourth International.

We also want to make clear that we appreciate the individual abilities and collective contributions of the leaders of the IEC Majority Tendency despite the erroneousness of their present orientation. They have made valuable contributions in the past and we consider them capable of making new ones. If we win a majority at the next world congress, as we hope to do, we want that majority to be reflected in the composition of the incoming leadership so as to assure a change in orientation; but we are against excluding or demoting anyone. To the contrary, we will do our utmost to construct a strong center that includes them as integral components.

Need for Exceptional Measures

In our opinion, it is imperative to take exceptional measures to guarantee a democratic and authoritative world congress as outlined in the unanimous agreement passed by the United Secretariat last April.

The main requisite is to provide time for the translation of documents and their discussion in French, Spanish, and German in accordance with the responsibilities of the United Secretariat. In the case of French the situation

has been scandalous, as we noted above. Now a new complication has occurred. The French section has come under heavy attack from the class enemy and this makes it very difficult for the French comrades to catch up. Nevertheless, the fact remains that these tasks have not been accomplished. More time, it is clear, is required. Consequently, we again urge in the strongest way possible that the comrades of the IEC Majority Tendency postpone the next world congress until these basic requirements have been met. There is no other way to organize a democratic and authoritative world congress as outlined in the April statement of the United Secretariat.

We would also urge the comrades of the IEC Majority Tendency to regularize their situation by declaring their faction and making known its platform and the names of its leaders.

Agreement by the IEC Majority Tendency to postpone the congress and to form an open faction would help enormously, in our opinion, to relax the atmosphere and assure the unity of the Fourth International.

In connection with this, we announce our readiness to form a bloc with anyone, including members of the IEC Majority Tendency, on the single plank of doing everything possible to prevent a split. We propose specifically uniting in support of the United Secretariat's April declaration defining the requisites for a democratic and authoritative congress.

Platform of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

First of all we reaffirm the declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency which included the following platform:

1. For approval of the general line of the document "Argentina and Bolivia—the Balance Sheet."

2. For reversal of the Latin American guerrilla-war orientation adopted at the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress).

3. For reversal of the projections of this turn in various fields as it became extended both geographically and programmatically following the congress.

4. For resumption by the leading bodies of the Fourth International of the method outlined in the Transitional Program to solve the problems we face in bidding for leadership of the proletariat in the class struggle.

5. For reaffirming the basic program, tradition, and practices of the Fourth International as they stood up to the time of the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress), that is, specifically, of commitment to the Leninist strategy of building a combat party. The more revolutionary the situation, the more decisive becomes the role of such a party.

6. For democratic organization of the coming world congress. In addition to representation, this means specifically the translation and distribution of the documents in at least French, Spanish, German, and English well in advance of the congress so that the membership of the Fourth International can have adequate time to study, debate, and decide on them.

7. Against any moves that endanger the authority of the coming congress and the unity of the Fourth Inter-

national such as undemocratic selection of delegates, curtailment of discussion, or failure to issue, translate, and distribute resolutions and other documents on schedule.

On the above platform, we would now apply greater stress to point No. 3, that is, opposition to the extension of the guerrilla-war orientation. In the modified form of "minority violence," this orientation has been projected by the IEC Majority Tendency for Europe (and for other areas as well, to judge from some of the statements made by new adherents to this line in Canada and the United States).

It is also our opinion that the question of the Leninist method of party building, specified in point No. 5, is becoming more and more central in the debate.

To the above points, we now add three more:

8. For a change in the composition of the leadership of the Fourth International to assure a majority pledged to correct the guerrilla-war orientation and its derivatives such as "minority violence."

9. For observance of democratic centralism in the Fourth International as provided by the statutes.

10. For the general line of "The Underlying Differences in Method," by Joseph Hansen.

Structure of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

1. The Leninist-Trotskyist Faction has an elected International Steering Committee consisting of the following:

Argentina: Arturo, Capa, Fierre, Lorenzo, Marcela, Mario

Australia: Jamie Doughney, Jim Percy

Brazil: Antenor

Britain: Alan Harris, Tony Roberts

Canada: Alain Beiner, Al Cappe, John Riddell, Art Young

Chile: Juan Perez

China: Pent Shu-tse

Denmark: Torben Hansen

Germany: Dieter

India: see statement by Central Secretariat of Communist League of India

Iran: Ahmad Heydari

New Zealand: Tony

Peru: Hugo Blanco, Tuco

Spain: Alberto, Arturo

Sweden: Anders Svedin

United States: Jack Barnes, Peter Camejo, Joseph Hansen, Gus Horowitz, Benny Johnson, Andrew Pulley, Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard, Mary-Alice Waters

Uruguay: Juan

Venezuela: Miguel

2. The International Steering Committee is empowered to act in the name of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

3. Members are required to observe faction discipline within the framework of the 10-point platform listed above.

4. Faction discipline does not transcend the discipline of sections or sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International.

5. Members of the faction must conduct themselves in a completely loyal way in sections of the Fourth International or sympathizing organizations, maintaining their activities and financial obligations in an exemplary way.

How to Join the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

1. Send a letter to the International Steering Committee indicating agreement with the program and goals of the faction. All communications should be addressed to C. Adams, 305 E. 21st St., New York, N.Y. 10010.

2. Specify differences, if any.

3. The International Steering Committee will decide on applications, notifying applicants whether they have been accepted or rejected.

4. If your application is accepted, you are required to notify the leadership of the section or sympathizing organization of this fact.

August 17, 1973

Statement by the Central Secretariat of the Communist League of India

The Central Secretariat of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, has been aware that two of its members, Comrades Mohan Gan and Kailas Chandra, have been associated with the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency within the FI, with which the Central Secretariat has been in general agreement. We note that the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency has decided to convert itself into a faction within the statutes of the FI with the aim of better organizing its fight for its political views with the object of preserving the unity and integrity of the International. While we endorse the general line of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction statement entitled "The New Situation in the Fourth International," the two members of the Central Secretariat have decided to defer a decision on their accepting a place on the steering committee of the faction till the forthcoming plenum of the Central Committee when the entire question of differences within the International leadership will be

considered and a decision taken.

The Central Secretariat welcomes the declaration adopted unanimously on Sept. 19, 1973, by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International reiterating the need to discuss the present differences within the FI without undermining the overall organizational unity and integrity of the FI. We appeal to all national sections of the FI to conduct their internal discussions on their political differences in the spirit of the USFI declaration and desist from taking any steps that would create mutual bitterness and hostility. We strongly believe that every possible step should be taken to ensure that a split in the FI is averted since any organizational rupture would have disastrous effects on the international Trotskyist movement.

Sept. 27, 1973

APPENDIX: The Barzman Letter

(Reprinted from *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 27, July 1973.)

Paris, May 15, 1973

Dear Comrades,

I'm sending this letter just in case I don't get a chance to write again or phone in a while. I am due to leave for Brussels tomorrow morning for the meeting of the steering committee of the international majority tendency. I am supposed to present a report on the American Tendency but things are rather vague. After that, I am supposed to take a tour of Sweden, Denmark, Germany and maybe England, with Walter Davis, to agitate against the SWP, and acquaint myself with the situation in these countries. Then back to France for a few days before returning on May [?].

I stayed the first night at Alain Krivine's, who briefly told me that they were in the process of forcing Livio to put his name on a very self-critical document on Latin America. Livio was resisting, taking it very personally (. . .)! Alain encouraged me to emphasize the damage done in the U.S. by Livio; unfortunately I will have to improvise, as our tendency has not really discussed in what way our criticisms differ from those of Jo Hansen and those of we heard from Krivine.

Then a talk with Vergeat, who explained the unwillingness of Ernest, Pierre and Livio to be responsible or see another split of the International, because it would feed once again all the anti-Trotskyist gossip. He wanted me to meet with a Basque comrade of the E. T. A. to discuss the national question.

Then I had a meeting with Verla, she is heading up women's work in France. The Ligue is in the leadership of the M. L. A. C. (Movement for Free Abortion and Contraception) a movement open to men and women and calling for free abortion on demand. She explained that thanks to their success in this field they were now ready to take on the SWP, with a comparison with the Ligue's experience:

- attack the revision of the Marxist opposition to feminism
- attack the "inter-class" approach of the SWP
- stress working-class issues but no centrist socialist women's groups.

Both Vergeat and Verla were sympathetic to a reevaluation of the SWP's position on Black nationalism. They favor stressing the class issues in this respect.

On the differences within the I. T., Verla seemed to favor comrades going ahead to criticize Maitan without waiting for an official statement from the international majority. Krivine seemed to understand the possible risks of such a procedure. They seem to consider the I. T. as a bonus from heaven that they did not work to create. Vergeat sees the international majority as the real place for discussion, the real international, is therefore not that concerned about homogeneity. Vergeat wanted to arrange careful preparation for an international majority team to come to the U. S. A.

I then had a long talk with a young Chinese comrade from Hong Kong who is the leader of the youth movement there, a member of the section, and a supporter of the international majority. As the Maoists are totally uninterested in fighting British colonialism, they have hegemony over the movement. There may be a similar development among Chinese students in the U.S. He was recruited by Wang, the person Chen Pi-lan attacks in her article, and believes that he can transform the section and align with the majority, given time. He doesn't characterize Maoism as Stalinist, but says China became a workers' state in 1949, and that political revolution was immediately necessary.

Right now, I am wasting time. I should prepare a report on U.S.A. and a clear list of criticisms on Latin America. I think I will focus on the following points:

- the incorrectness of banking on a "breakthrough" in one country
- the over-estimation of the strength of the sections in Bolivia and Argentina and the need for political clarification in the ranks
- that while various tactics of armed struggle are perfectly consistent with Trotskyism, to put them all together (self-defense of the party, expropriations for the party, self-defense of mass movement, guerrilla bands) and to add that they can create a crisis, is an illusion.

Thursday May 17, 1973, midnight

Two days of international majority steering committee meetings and the U.S. are not even yet fully discussed.

On Latin America:

4 documents will be written—

1) a re-reading of the IX W. C. resolution which is considered ambiguous, and which failed to warn against militarist deviation. The issue is seen as: should the party set up a *military wing* completely subordinate to the political work of the party in the masses, to initiate and participate in armed struggle when conditions call for it? SWP says no. Int'l majority says yes! Then specific actions must be reviewed country by country, according to needs of class struggle and abilities of section.

2) a perspectives document for Argentina as the current one is considered inadequate, as it fails to explain the dynamic of how the PRT actions became dominated by the need to make more military actions, and so on. PRT is almost out of F. I. Five tendencies adding up to about 150 people are seeking the franchise. Possibility of getting a tendency in the P. S. T. Will criticize Moreno's economism in unions, and electoral opportunism. Will project no support to Campora, but possible defense against army.

3) a balance sheet of Cuba—critical but not political revol. Dorticos invited to Argentina.

4) perspectives for Chile. The whole international majority is down on Livio, who seems to be brooding, but there are many organizational details I don't know about L.A. sections. Mexicans are split. Everybody sees need to emphasize transitional program and method of party-building but Mandel and Frank are hesitating on taking on the SWP leadership in its own country.

Pierre Frank is writing an answer to Mary-Alice on the European question and this naturally leads to a debate over method. Frank & Mandel did not want to add another one, more general, announcing Novack (they have illusions about him). The French (Vergeant, Krivine, Stern) Pat Jordan, Ken Lewis want to start attacking SWP on its own ground. They want us to provide the ammunition. Mandel realizes the SWP is not internationalist and would split over such interference, and he has a psychological block against a new split.

There is a possible "third force" developing in some European sections, especially Germany, of comrades who reject the L.A. line. Ross is applying for int'l majority, has been hesitating, but will be let in. India is in a mess.

So far we were promised a team made of X, a French woman comrade in charge of int'l work and the abortion campaign, has been to YSA Minneapolis convention, very orthodox, will attack feminism, sisterhood, minimalism and failure to stress issues relevant to working-class women; Y you know him, and Z. They all have agreed to consult with us first. We must raise about \$1,200 for the trips and organize a tour of branches for mid July.

The following was resolved for U. S. A.:

1) The I.M. will accept *three signers* from our tendency in U. S. A., provided should be ready to accept *discipline*.

2) They look with favor upon the formation of our tendency—will collaborate with us on writing document, defend our democratic rights, and probably, if we make an adequate showing, will use it for world congress and a world document.

P. F. was upset by no representation of P. O. on N. C. At the U. Sec. meeting, Barnes promised a special "conference" (?) for mid-November, which would follow an oral discussion. and send delegates to world congress on the basis of *membership votes for resolutions*.

The French comrades strongly believe in full-scale offensive against SWP and have no illusions on the results of it. Mandel pins his hopes on a working-class radicalization in U. S. A., which would change SWP. Vergeant pointed out, even if a crisis in the SWP did develop then, they could not spontaneously develop an analysis; the American tendency must be supported and built. Swedish, Canadians, British agree. Livio, Swiss and German are in the middle.

Right now Mandel is reading our outline and half-draft. We are scheduled to discuss it tomorrow. This may bring some good ideas but I expect pretty heavy discussion.

The following were the suggestions after I read our tendency declaration: Pat J. said to take out the call to "all revolutionaries" as it implies we are calling on people outside the SWP. Ernest said to remove all references to SWP ties to F. I. as this would lead to the impression that SWP was violating Voorhis Act, and as majority would attack us for security risk. He said we had too much emphasis on armed struggle, should reduce that, and stress transitional program. He thought our *style* was too violent on the organizational questions, but recognized that was the American way of doing things. He said he preferred the irony of Massey letter to Sheppard. I have made the corrections and am sending you the copy. We should leave all the names that agree with the call.

I was told, but am unable to check, that the addendum to declaration of 19 I. E. C. members only includes the *Bolivian* balance sheet, and not Argentina, or just the *general* line of Argentina. If there are comrades who do not agree with *Germain* document's formulations, then they have a serious problem as they are probably *Kautskyites*. We cannot continue to entertain our *vague* criticisms that the document was vague, or had a guerrilla warfare line (which in fact it did not on the whole) and that this is a cover-up, but must *express exactly* what we disagree with. I was very embarrassed at the absence of any elaboration of our criticisms by ourselves. But I think most comrades will agree with *Germain*, and with the need for a military wing of the party (in the Comintern tradition) (and not just a defense guard against ultra-lefts) which is as much as we need to say.

I am due to go to Switzerland and IMG. The European comrades desperately need ammunition against the SWP. IMG situation seems wild, but Ross is being handled basically correctly as far as I can see. It would be good if you discussed with Canadian comrades. We have to put together a credible counter-political line and develop a stable internationally-oriented leadership. This is the first priority and will enable us to face any eventuality.

Vietnam, so far, is not part of tendency declaration, but there is increasing desire by Sterne to launch offensive on

—that treaty was modest advance and left *dual power*.
—that solidarity with NLF is key task, and SWP fails to do it.

—that NLF-DRV are fighting for a socialist revolution, &

—that NLF-DRV are not Stalinists. He has a document under his own name coming out.

Comradely,
JB