

C O P Y

Los Angeles, California
August 25, 1964

Dear Farrell:

When forwarding the statement on The Conflict in the Fourth International and the Position of the SWP on the China Question, on behalf of Comrade Liang and myself, on July 11, I said in the covering letter, that it was submitted for consideration by the Political Committee and for the attention of members of the National Committee.

We both assumed that, in accordance with normal party procedure and normal democratic practice, the statement would be made a part of the PC minutes and thus become available in the full text to NC members.

The summary version by Dobbs, contained in the PC minutes of August 14, we cannot accept as an adequate or accurate account of, nor as a replacement for our statement.

We must therefore insist that our statement be made available in full to all NC members, alternates and advisory members. This is not demanding any measure of an extraordinary character; it simply proposes adherence to normal party procedure. Naturally we assume that the democratic right of presenting our ideas to the whole party leadership remains in effect, not to be violated or abrogated.

Comradely yours,

s/ Arne

Political Committee Motion on Swabeck Document, "On Khrushchev's Downfall."

Motion by Secretariat:

A document entitled "On Khrushchev's Downfall" has been submitted to the Political Committee by Comrade Swabeck under date of December 10, 1964. The summary portion contains the following statements:

"Moreover, the Chinese have reasserted and re-established the principles of socialist internationalism...For the revolutionary policy pursued by the Chinese this whole development represents a great victory. The Chinese can be expected to utilize their advantage in stepping up the fight for a Marxist-Leninist policy. The world-wide revolutionary reorientation, regeneration and regroupment, already initiated by them, will gain further stimulus, growth and development from this victory. Trotskyists cannot afford to stand aside from the revolutionary regroupment and remain mere critical commentators."

This document falls in the same category as the Swabeck-Liang statement dealt with in the PC minutes of August 14, 1964 and September 11, 1964. It constitutes an attempt to reopen discussion of Comrade Swabeck's position on the Chinese question which was rejected by the last party convention. The motions adopted by the PC on the above-mentioned dates therefore apply with full force and effect to his document "On Khrushchev's Downfall."

The forthcoming preconvention discussion will be the appropriate occasion for Comrade Swabeck to reintroduce his position on the Chinese question for party consideration.

Adopted by the Political Committee
December 18, 1964

Political Committee Motion on Swabek Document, "The Conflict in the Fourth International and the Position of the SWP on the China Question."

Motion by Secretariat:

The statement by Swabek-Liang presents nothing new on the Chinese question. In substance it does nothing more than rehash old arguments for what amounts to unconditional support of the Mao regime, corresponding revision of basic Trotskyist principles and a fusion approach to Progressive Labor -- a position that was decisively rejected by the last party convention. On that politically fraudulent basis they request that the PC reopen internal party discussion on all the basic questions involved.

Their request is doubly unjustified, and even irresponsible, because it is made at a time when the party is involved in the major ballot and propaganda activities of the presidential campaign. The PC rejects the request of Swabek and Liang for the reopening of internal party discussion.

Adopted by the Political Committee
August 14, 1964

Political Committee Motion on Swabeck Letter of August 25, 1964

Motion by Secretariat:

Despite Swabeck's assertion to the contrary in his letter of Aug. 25, it is not "normal party procedure" to demand as a "democratic right" that the Swabeck-Liang statement on the Chinese question be made part of the PC minutes and thus be distributed in the full text to the NC. Their statement presents nothing new on the Chinese question. In substance it does nothing more than rehash old arguments for what amounts to unconditional support of the Mao regime, corresponding revision of basic Trotskyist principles and a fusion approach to Progressive Labor -- a position that was decisively rejected by the last party convention.

When a convention decision has been made on a disputed issue, as in the case of the Chinese question, normal party procedure requires that the appropriate official body determine when and how the question can be brought up for reconsideration. Between plenums of the NC normal party procedure requires that the PC decide such matters. By Swabeck's criteria, however, any NC member could act unilaterally to reopen NC consideration of a convention decision at any time he chose, and he could in effect turn the PC minutes into a discussion bulletin for that purpose.

Such a practice would not only make a mockery of normal party procedure in the regulation of internal party discussion. Arguments reopened unilaterally by a minority could not go unanswered. The NC and PC would become so bogged down in perpetual discussion of disputed issues that these official bodies would be unable to fulfill their duties in carrying out convention decisions. A case in point is the irresponsible manner in which Swabeck and Liang have sought to reopen consideration of the Chinese question at a moment when the whole party is, or should be, devoting primary attention to the presidential campaign in accordance with the directives of the last party convention.

The PC therefore rejects the demand that the Swabeck-Liang statement be incorporated in the PC minutes and distributed in the full text to the NC. Swabeck's letter of Aug. 25 is hereby referred to the next plenum of the NC which will be scheduled as soon as practicable after the presidential campaign.

Adopted by Political Committee
September 11, 1964