

September 12, 1974

To Leninist Trotskyist Faction Coordinators

Dear Comrades,

The enclosed material deals primarily with the international response to the Internationalist Tendency's split from the SWP. We are preparing reports on the faction steering committee meeting in August, and on the September 7-8 United Secretariat meetings. They will be ready shortly. In the meantime we wanted to get out the enclosed items.

Included with this mailing are:

1. A statement by the Political Bureau of the RMF, the Swedish section.
2. A resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the GIM, the German section.
3. A letter to the United Secretariat from the Central Committee of the Liga Socialista, the Mexican sympathizing organization.
4. A motion adopted by the National Executive of the Socialist Action League, New Zealand section.
5. A letter to the United Secretariat from the leadership of the Socialist Workers League, Australian sympathizing organization.
6. A letter to John Benson from Roberto M. of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency in Italy.
7. Correspondence between the IMT supporters in the SWP and the national office of the SWP, including a statement by the IMT supporters concerning the split.
8. A letter from Gus Horowitz to Barry Sheppard commenting on the items in point 7.

Other material enclosed is:

1. The IEC Majority Tendency's reply to the LTF declaration that is attached to the minutes of the World Congress.
2. An exchange of correspondence between the Political Bureau of the Swedish RMF and the LTF comrades in the RMF.
3. A translation from the Aug. 16 issue of Internationalen, weekly paper of the Swedish section, of their introductory note published along with the United Secretariat statement on the PST.

Comradely,

Ed Shaw

Note: National Committee members have already received items 7 and 8, so they have not been included with this mailing.

A SHORT STATEMENT BY THE RMF POLITICAL BUREAU WITH REGARD TO THE ITF'S LATEST PROVOCATION AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL (THE EXPULSION OF THE IT FROM THE SWP)

I. On this statement

This is a brief statement for two reasons. A majority of the Political Bureau of course stands behind it, but not everyone could be reached, and the others have not had the opportunity of a full, common oral discussion. Moreover, at the time of its writing we did not have the comments of the IT on all this. Nonetheless, we thought it important to point up certain aspects of what happened and inform the comrades of the Political Bureau's opinion. We are following this question carefully. We are preparing for a thorough discussion at the coming National Leadership meeting and are working up a resolution to be presented to this meeting.

II. On procedure

All comrades who are at home have probably gotten the International Information Bulletin by now in which the SWP leadership motivates its actions. (Attention: This bulletin should only be loaned to participants.) Some comments on what is taken up and what is not taken up. Firstly, the Political Committee's decision of July 7 is only a formality. The fact that we have such a bulletin in our hands (a bulletin of 146 pages including material dated July 4!) shows that the material was ready long before this. Furthermore, and more importantly, the IT comrades were given no chance for a trial, that is the right to answer and confront their accusers in a party hearing. Finally, we cannot consider it correct that the SWP leadership on their own initiative sent this bulletin all over the world without submitting it to the Secretariat.

III. The Tasks Before the International Control Commission

There is no reason for us to comment on the separate points in the SWP leadership's indictment of the IT before we get more information (including the IT's comments). So we will come back to that point. However, we think that it is proper for the United Secretariat when it deals with this question to order the International Control Commission to investigate the reasons for these expulsions and the procedures used, including the IT's longstanding complaints against the SWP leadership (see, for example, Bill Massey's last letter in the IIB bulletin, which is only the latest in a long series of letters to the SWP leadership and the United Secretariat). Naturally it is possible that the International Control Commission will conclude that the IT committed a breach of discipline so serious as to justify any disciplinary measure. But in this case it would also have to weigh any breach of discipline against the fact that for decades the SWP leadership has built up statutes and introduced an internal party regime (at variance with our conception of democratic centralism) which give it the formal possibility of taking disciplinary actions against any opposition current. Finally, the International Control Commission must also take up the SWP leadership's charge that the

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IMT has engaged in an "international conspiracy" against the IFF. (It is surprising that the SWP leadership itself has not brought this question before the International Control Commission. In view of its attitude to the IT, shouldn't it have worked to get the IMT expelled from the International? Doesn't this indicate what would have happened if the IFF had gotten a majority at the Tenth World Congress?)

IV. The IT's position

We consider that the US should call on the International Control Commission to investigate this whole complex. We think, moreover, that the IT must be given the right during this entire period to present its view to the United Secretariat, the International Control Commission, and the International, that is, that the IT should not be excluded from the International.

V. On the demand for a new world congress

The SWP leadership has raised the demand for a new world congress to discuss some of the aspects of the expulsion (the "secret faction" and similar questions). This must be flatly refused. We don't have any time for a new pre-congress discussion following immediately after the previous one, where certain aspects of the expulsion of the IT would be put in the foreground. This question will be dealt with, but in the bodies elected by the Tenth World Congress and according to the procedure prescribed in the statutes of the International. The objective role of the SWP leadership's demand is to sabotage the functioning of the International as an international political organization.

What has happened brings up for us another side of the matter: the need to begin immediately a deepgoing discussion in the international on the economic and political evolution in the USA and the tasks of revolutionists there. The political resolution of the Tenth Congress includes a reference to such a discussion, which may be the most important one facing the Eleventh World Congress. This is the type of discussion we want to see carried out in the International and not an organizational debate over the figments of the IFF's imagination and its provocations.

Signed for the Political Bureau: Dagmar, Frej, Rooth.

Resolution of the Central Committee of the GIM
for the Preservation of the Unity of the Fourth International
July 28, 1974

The international discussion before the Tenth World Congress was characterized by a number of differences over the balance sheet of our movement since the Ninth World Congress as well as over the orientation for the coming period.

Some of these differences were serious, but they did not negate the common Trotskyist program.

Therefore, by an overwhelming majority, the Tenth World Congress took the position that a split in the Fourth International, which would be unprincipled under these circumstances, could be avoided. This required that cases of organizational conflict that arose in the course of the tendency struggle between the IMT and the ITF would have to be subordinated to the goal of preserving the unity of the International.

In this respect, both sides, IMT and ITF, made concessions and thus made possible the adoption by the World Congress of the "Nine Point Agreement of Measures to Preserve the Unity of the International." This was only possibly by finding a general formula that could be applied equally to both sides, regardless of differences in circumstances between individual cases. This meant that in certain cases the organizational norms and principles of our movement had to be suspended. Nevertheless, the Tenth World Congress took a principled position with this resolution: It placed the avoidance of a politically unprincipled split above all organizational questions.

On the other hand, there was unanimous agreement at the Tenth World Congress that the International could not continue to exist on the basis of violations of organizational norms and principles.

For this reason, the World Congress added a basic principle to the Nine Point Agreement -- that this agreement and its individual points could in no way serve as a precedent, one which could be applied after the World Congress as well. Moreover, this was emphatically underlined by the fact that the hitherto provisional Statutes of the International were unanimously adopted by the World Congress. The explicit purpose of these decisions was to discourage all future potential splitters in the national sections and to restrain them from their course. As far as the past and the present were concerned, the point was to keep splits in the national sections that have already occurred from becoming the grounds for a split in the International. As for the future, the intention was to halt the continuation of the "creeping split" which has been spreading from country to country.

Under these conditions, the de facto split in the Socialist Workers Party is a blow against the decisions and the goals of

the Tenth World Congress. The danger of a split in the Fourth International is posed in the sharpest manner. The organizational achievements of the Tenth World Congress are again called into question. The situation is even more threatening since the two large international tendencies concerned, the IMT and the LTF, have conflicting interpretations of the events in the SWP:

While the SWP leadership (and LTF) hold that the Internationalist Tendency (IT) transformed itself into a separate organization and split from the SWP, the IT (and IMT) hold that the SWP expelled the IT. Each side maintains that the other is responsible for violating the Tenth World Congress Nine Point Agreement.

In this situation, which is extremely threatening for the unity of our movement, the Central Committee of the GIM, German Section of the Fourth International, calls on the leading bodies of the International to exercise their full political authority in order to take measures against the present split dynamic and to help preserve the unity of the International.

In addition, the CC of the GIM calls upon both sides, the SWP majority and the IT, to take no further steps that would deepen the conflict and make it more difficult to overcome the present crisis, but rather to exhaust all opportunities for collaboration with bodies of the Fourth International in order to reach a political and organizational solution.

To this end, the CC of the GIM suggests the following measures to the international bodies:

--that the United Secretariat charge the International Control Commission (ICC) elected at the Tenth World Congress to make an investigation of the events in question in the SWP and on an international plane (in so far as this is relevant) and report the results of this investigation to the leading organs of the Fourth International;

--that the United Secretariat call a plenum of the International Executive Committee at the earliest possible moment (i.e., before the end of 1974) so that this highest body between world congresses can exercise its authority to avert the danger of a split and work for the solution to the present crisis. This plenum will give the SWP the opportunity to submit their demand for a special world congress for a vote;

--that in the meantime the SWP and the IT refrain from public attacks on each other and from publicizing the de facto split.

At the same time, the CC of the GIM calls upon the international leadership, the international tendencies, and the leaderships of the sections and sympathizing groups of the

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Fourth International to exercise their political authority by taking a position for the defense of the unity of the International in order to counter the present split dynamic.

Frankfort, July 28, 1974

Unanimously adopted
(the I/IT CC members
reserving the right to
make an additional state-
ment of their own)

Supplementary Statement on the Resolution
by the GIM Central Committee, by Erik and Siegfried (LIT)

We support the resolution although in our opinion it takes no position on two fundamental points. These points are:

1. the assessment and evaluation of the IT Party's split from the SWP, and
2. the means and methods for combating the present danger of a split.

On point 1. We consider the report of the SWP Control Commission to be so unequivocal that it is impossible to avoid taking a position. Moreover, we consider it essential that every national leadership conscious of its responsibilities condemn the practices of the IT Party, or at least express their disapproval. As soon as these practices are characterized as "normal" or as "the usual thing," the unity of the International will face a far more serious threat, i.e., the splitters will be encouraged in their activities.

On point 2. On the basis of the published materials, we know that there are elements in the IMT that are on a split course. Furthermore, the report on the IT Party's national convention makes it clear that the authority of the IMT leadership is not sufficient to hold the splitters in check, and that the IMT leadership failed to initiate an open struggle against the splitters. Therefore, we consider calling a special world congress to be essential. We are of the opinion that only the authority of the highest body of the Fourth International can force the splitters back into our ranks. The theme of this congress would be primarily finding common measures for preserving the unity of the world Trotskyist movement.

The discussion of these two points developed along conflicting lines. Since no agreement could be reached, they remained unmentioned in the resolutions. This, nevertheless led Comrade Karl to slander us as "the real LIT split faction." Aside from the fact that normally tactical differences in a discussion on combating splitters held in a politically mature and carefully weighed fashion as well as with a certain degree of political maturity can hardly allow hurling such accusations, we signed the resolution after the expunging of several unclear passages -- but only in order to document a unified will to combat the split danger in the Fourth International. The means and methods indicated in the CC resolution are, in our opinion, insufficient.

Erik, Siegfried

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Secretariado Unificado de la Cuarta Internacional.

México, D. F., a 20 de julio de 1974.

Estimados Camaradas:

Nos han causado una gran preocupación los documentos revelados en el Internal Information Bulletin No. 6, 1974. Nos aunamos a la proposición del Comité Político del Socialist Workers Party en que es necesario un Congreso de Emergencia de la Cuarta Internacional.

Comité Central de la Liga Socialista

ccp. Comité Político del S. W. P.

ccp. F. L. T.

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TRANSLATION

To the United Secretariat of the Fourth International

Mexico, D.F., July 20, 1974

Dear Comrades,

We are greatly concerned by the revealing documents contained in Internal Information Bulletin No. 6 in 1974. We agree with the proposal of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party that an emergency congress of the Fourth International is necessary.

Liga Socialista Central
Committee

cc: Political Committee SWP
LTF

MOTION OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
SOCIALIST ACTION LEAGUE CONCERNING THE NEED FOR A
SPECIAL WORLD CONGRESS

The following motion was adopted by the National Executive Committee of the SAL at its meeting of July 24, 1974:

That the National Executive express its concern at the deteriorating situation in the Fourth International as revealed by the split of the Internationalist Tendency from the SWP, and the complicity of the leadership of the International Majority Tendency in the preparations for that split, behind the backs of the leadership of the SWP and the United Secretariat of the Fourth International; and that we add our voice to the call of the SWP Political Committee for an emergency congress of the International, in order to call a halt to the activities of the splitters.

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Sydney, Australia
August 15, 1974

United Secretariat
Brussels

Dear comrades,

At the August 14 meeting of our Political Committee the following motion was unanimously carried:

"The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers League takes note of the grave deterioration of the situation in the Fourth International caused by the decision of the Internationalist Tendency in the SWP to set up and start functioning as a separate party organisation. We add our voice to those calling for a special world congress to attempt to avert the mounting danger of a split in the Fourth International and to reaffirm the Nine Point Agreement of the Tenth World Congress. We urge the United Secretariat to convene such a congress at the earliest possible date."

We would also like to take this opportunity to discuss our dues to the FI. Our records show that we were financial at the rate of Aus\$10 per week until September 2, 1973. At the world congress we discussed with comrade Gisela our situation and suggested that since the FI was not in a position to subsidise the fares for our delegation then we should count our regular dues towards the cost of our international travel. She said that she would put that proposition to the finance committee to last for one year which would make us financial until September 2, 1974. Since we heard no more we assumed that this had been accepted.

Since that period is almost up we would like to propose a similar scheme for the coming period. As you know air travel from Australia to Europe is extremely expensive. It costs our delegate some Aus\$1200 to make the trip. If we are to have any chance of sending even one of our three IEC representatives to the IEC meeting at the end of this year then we will need to divert all our funds for international expenses to this purpose. So we would ask that a similar exemption at the above rate apply for the period through September 2, 1975. This of course will not even cover half the expenses of one delegate but it will help us try to participate in the life of the International.

If we do not hear anything to the contrary we will assume that the above proposal is acceptable.

Comradely,

s/Jim Percy
National Secretary.

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John Benson
New York

August 16, 1974

Dear John,

I just came back to Rome. I found here the IIB on the split. I read carefully the Bulletin and I came to the conclusion that in the question of the IT your party has respected all the procedure, and done maybe more than this providing in time the 145 pages of explanations to all the members of our movement. While congratulating all of you for this respect of the rules of democratic centralism, I don't feel quite in agreement on the political opportunity of taking such a step which represents a grave danger for the unity of our movement: the problem of course is not only of stating whose fault it is, but of finding remedies for the others' faults. I fear that this question will have heavy consequences for the future of our movement.

In the Italian section, for what I hear, has already began a campaign of slander against your party, heavier than usual. The purpose of this campaign of course is also to cover the last measures taken against the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency:

1) The University cell of Turin, composed only of comrades from our tendency has been dissolved, without any official explanation.

2) Comrade Vito, few days after having found a job in a factory of 500 people (DEA, electromechanics) has been expelled on the charge of having criticized in a meeting the electoral policy of the French comrades. The charge is false because the meeting was called in the local headquarters of Turin, with the militants and few sympathizers and the only differences with the reporter, expressed by Vito (who at the moment was suspended) were: a) it is not true that we are going toward the Third World War, b) the 700,000 votes gained in France by Trotskyist candidates are a victory for Trotskyism. The leadership of the branch of Turin, after the meeting, made up a Control Commission (inexisting up to that moment) violating our statute which says that local CC can be elected only in branch Congresses, and after the 15 days required they obtained the expulsion of Vito from the cell to which he belonged before the suspension, refusing to discuss the question in the following branch meetings. This is against article 22 of our statute which states that expulsion measures can be applied only by the local branch assembly or by the National Committee. Anyway, Vito, after 11 years of Trotskyist militancy, a worker and trade union leader, incorrupted by the bureaucracy and back again at the assembly line finds himself out of the Fourth In. for having supported revolutionary marxist positions.

Things will not end up so easily. The deal is completely illegal and comrade Vito is appealing to the Central Committee. But the fact that in all the question were involved people from the Political Bureau and from the Central Comm. does not leave much hope. Of course it is very difficult to mix up the political persecution against Vito, with the split in the United States, but this is what will happen in the cities where there are no

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camarades from our tendency. By the way, the majority of the group of Rome has organized itself in a tendency ("Line of Conduct") and has produced a document of very hard criticism against the National leadership.

I received also the Militant of May 24 with the article by C.Lund on the French elections. Very good. It reflects exactly the positions that we have already taken in the Italian tendency and in some French documents of the camarades of the dissolved CLC.

One thing has shocked all of us. It is the question of the public attack to the PST, completely wrong in the form and in the substance. A criticism was necessary, but not that kind of "Third Period criticism" and not that public attack on a party who is under heavy repression. What is the meaning of this public attack? Is the situation precipitating toward an international split? What's next?

By the end of August we all will be discussing these problems and we will call a national meeting of our tendency for the beginning of September. The 15th the third tendencies will meet in Frankfurt: I'll try my best to be there.

comradely,

Roberto

PS. I haven't yet received any news from the Un.Sec. on the question of Vito.

IEC MAJORITY TENDENCY'S REPLY TO THE STATEMENT
BY THE MINORITY FACTION

We will limit ourselves to a clarification of the facts in regard to allegations made in the declaration by the IEC minority faction which do not, in our view, correspond to the truth.

1. It is false that "according to the reports presented to the mandates commission," a total of 5,277 comrades voted for the positions of the IEC majority and 5,663 voted for the positions of the IEC minority. No report was made to the mandates commission on the votes cast in Argentina. The figures cited in the minority declaration are partly based on a report made to the sub-commission on Argentina which was never submitted to the mandates commission nor verified by it.

We categorically challenge this figure. According to the rules on counting votes drawn up by the United Secretariat, the number of members who had the right to vote was to be frozen in October 1973. After this date, representatives of the IEC majority tendency were able to verify the attendance of PST members at its meetings. Even allowing for normal absences, they arrived at a figure almost one-third lower than the one presented by the PST delegation in the sub-commission on Argentina. If the verified figure is used, even supposing that all members without exception voted for the positions of the minority faction, the votes supposedly obtained by the IEC minority faction are reduced to the proportion of 40 to 60 which we used in our initial statement.

2. Even on the basis of the number of PST members who were more or less verified -- not to speak of the number of members claimed in the sub-commission on Argentina -- the calculation of votes for the minority positions implies that practically all the members participated in the voting that took place in the course of the meetings (which is highly unlikely), and that the minority faction received more than 99 percent of the votes, since with less than one percent of the votes the majority tendency would have had the right to one mandate -- which it obviously did not obtain. Such a surprising (to say the least) "voting result" did not occur in any of the sizeable sections or sympathizing organizations of the International, which says a great deal about the nature of the organization, the discussion, and the vote...

3. Not having candidate members "vote" and take a position on 150 documents after a few months (and in the case of several sections or sympathizing organizations whose majorities supported the IEC minority faction, after a few weeks of membership in the party!) seems to us more democratic than the opposite practice. The difference here is between a purely formal conception of internal democracy and a meaningful conception.

4. It is not true that the youth organizations "generally" would have expressed a view favorable to the IEC minority faction. The youth organizations in Japan and Belgium, as well as the groups of young people in France, to cite only three cases, surely cannot be included in this category; and they are

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hardly among the smallest groups sympathizing with the Fourth International.

5. The statement by the minority faction presents the figures on the vote used to determine the proportions between majority and minority in a peculiar way. The statement correctly notes that the political resolution of the majority tendency received 52.6 percent of the votes, but forgets to add that its own resolution received only 42.9 percent of the votes. The relationship between 52.6 percent and 42.9 percent is clearly a majority-minority one, not at all a "marginal" relationship. But through the excessive weight of the mandates given to the PST, over which there was no control and which were sharply contested -- the minority distorts the real relationship of members jointly verified by the two contending tendencies in the ranks in all the major organizations. That relationship was roughly 60 to 40.

6. Finally, it is not true that the proposals for an organizational agreement submitted to the Tenth World Congress resulted from the "initiative" of the IEC minority faction. These proposals were first discussed in the parity commission preparatory to the congress which was constituted at the proposal of a comrade of the IEC majority tendency, and in working them out the initiative certainly did not come exclusively or principally from the IEC minority faction, to say the least!

Submitted August 8, 1974

RMF POLITICAL BUREAU RESOLUTION ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE
SO-CALLED LENINIST TROTSKYIST FACTION

I.

As a result of differences that developed on a number of questions in the International since the period preceding the Ninth World Congress, two tendencies were formed at the meeting of the International Executive Committee in December 1973 [sic]. One tendency (the IMT) represented the majority in the International Executive Committee; the other, named the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT) represented the minority.

This formation of tendencies in the world movement also had effects in the RMF, first through the constitution of a tendency adhering to the IMT and then of one adhering to the LTT.

In August the LTT transformed itself into the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction. The LTT in the RMF followed this step and also became the LTF.

In the branch meetings where the vote was to be taken for delegates to the RMF's Fifth Congress -- which in turn elected delegates to the World Congress -- the LTF presented the following platform:

- (a) vote for the general line of "Argentina and Bolivia, a Balance Sheet";
- (b) vote against "Bolivia -- Results and perspectives";
- (c) vote against "The political crisis and perspectives for revolutionary struggle in Argentina";
- (d) vote against "On the question of armed struggle in Latin America";
- (e) vote against "The European document";
- (f) Do not vote for the political resolution.

In the period before the Fifth Congress, the LTF consisted, as far as we can tell, of the following comrades: Svedin, Lundmark, Hillstrom, Cliff, Irma, Brolund, Stenfeldt, Rydberg. All were from the Stockholm branch. No change has been reported since that time.

At the end of the precongress period, the IMT was reorganized. Previously it had included only comrades in the leading body. Now it was extended to include rank-and-file comrades who sympathized with the IMT's platform and declared themselves willing to fight for it.

II.

At the Tenth World Congress, the documents proposed by the IMT were adopted by a majority vote, and the world congress also elected a new International Executive Committee and Control Commission. There was an explicit and unanimous agreement that the decision of the congress was authoritative and binding once

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the preparations for the congress had been completed in accordance with the statutes and democratic procedures.

The norm is that tendencies and factions dissolve after world congresses and that the minority (or minorities) in the leadership of the elected bodies do not maintain a separate organization but work loyally with the majority to test its line in practice. In the situation where the LTF is maintaining its faction, refusing to cooperate in a loyal way with the majority, and obstructing the work of the International and its leadership in an organized and planned way, the former members of the IMT had to have the possibility for guaranteeing the work of leading body in an organized way through ongoing consultation.

Furthermore, the Tenth World Congress did not decide a series of questions that were taken up in the pre-congress discussions. These questions therefore remain open. So here also there is a need for a forum for theoretical discussions and an instrument for continued political struggle. This is the reason that the IMT decided to maintain an international tendency including the comrades in the leading bodies who voted for the IMT's platform at the Tenth World Congress and thus demonstrated that they held a common basic conception.

As regards the IMT tendency in the RMF -- the national tendency adhering to the international IMT that was formed in February 1973 -- its members decided to dissolve their tendency. The only members now in the international IMT are comrades on the international leading bodies. These are also included in the steering committee of the IMT. The comrade who works in the Bureau of the International is on the Bureau of the IMT. The decision on the dissolution of the IMT/RMF was delayed so that we could wait and see what was going to happen on the international scale after the world congress from the LTF side and in anticipation of a systematic discussion of the situation in the International. The decision was made at a meeting held in conjunction with the national leadership meeting in June by the comrades who had adhered to the IMT/RMF. The argument for dissolving the tendency was the fact that it was no longer a question of defending and assuring a hearing for a line at the world congress but of the RMF's elected body applying in so far as possible the decisions of the world congress and the Fifth Congress of the RMF. In this situation, there was no longer any compelling reason to maintain the national tendency.

IV. [sic]

IV. As for the LTF in the RMF, it continues to exist. But what is its platform and what is its activity? There is no way to get an idea of this. The comrade included in the national leadership has given no explanations. The only thing that has been offered was an evasive answer from Comrade Svedin to repeated questioning from the Political Bureau. (This is the same comrade who in the debates before the RMF's Fifth Congress declared that naturally the LTF would dissolve itself after the Tenth World Congress.)

On April 24, the Political Bureau sent a letter to the LTF in Sweden in which we made the following demands:

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"We ask you as soon as possible to present a report to the Political Bureau regarding the orientation of your work since the Tenth World Congress. In this report we ask that you include, among other things, the platform you have been working on since the world congress, the broad lines of this work, and your assessment of how this affects the other work of the RMF."

On June 10, we noted briefly that we had not received an answer to this letter. By way of a response, Svedin delivered the following cheery message dated July 12:

"The International Leninist-Trotskyist Faction continues to exist just like the IEC majority tendency. The comrades who joined the LIT/LTF in the summer and fall are now members of the international faction. On the basis of this program, the tendency continues, as before, to have regular meetings."

The final point was our question about the LTF's activity in Sweden in the light of their unusual decision not to dissolve their national faction after the world congress. In view of the LTF's unwillingness to give the details of its work in Sweden, the Political Bureau decided to demand that the LTF/RMF give an immediate answer to the following questions (this answer must either be given in writing before the National Leadership meeting or orally at this meeting):

(i) what is the faction's platform?

(ii) How is it organized, on what levels does it exist, what are its routines, what are its functions, how does one become a member?

(iii) Has there been any change in the membership of the LTF/RMF?

(iv) what work does it carry out, what is the division of labor, and what effects does this have on the comrades' other political activity?

(v) what are its relations with the international faction; does the LTF/RMF participate in an international division of labor, and if so what kind.

We also want the LTF/RMF's position on the following three questions clarified:

(a) A leading member of the LTF/RMF, Svedin, took part in the world congress without a mandate from the RMF's Fifth Congress and without the knowledge of the leading body. Since the world congress, he has devoted more of his time to international contacts and the tasks (whatever they are) that these involve. He continues to sit as an alternate member of the Executive Committee without representing the organization in the International of which he is a member. We now want to ask the LTF/RMF the following questions:

(1) Is Svedin carrying out his international assignment (?) with the consent of the Swedish LTF/RMF?

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(ii) Has this work that Svedin has engaged in, which has involved downgrading the work to build the RMF (!), been decided on by the IITF or does this represent his own personal priorities?

(b) and (c) In the period since the world congress, two events have occurred that have great importance for the future of the International. The first is the Argentine PST's open revision of the revolutionary Marxist position on bourgeois institutions, including bourgeois democracy. The second is the expulsion of the IT from the SWP. For the Political Bureau's part, we have passed an initial resolution on the question of the expulsion of the IT from the SWP which has been published as an addendum to a circular to the branch leaderships. We are preparing a more detailed resolution for the national leadership meeting. As regards the question of the PST, we support the statement of the United Secretariat (published in issue No. 13 of Internationalen). We now want clarity on these two important questions for the International. What is the IITF/RMF's position?

On all these points, we will not be satisfied with the usual evasive answer. We want to take a concrete look at the IITF/RMF's activity at the National Leadership meeting and clarify its political positions on these two important questions.

Stockholm, August
The Political Bureau

ANSWER TO THE POLITICAL BUREAU'S RESOLUTION "ON THE ACTIVITY
OF THE SO-CALLED LENINIST-TROTSKYIST FACTION"

In the Ten-Point Agreement adopted unanimously by the United Secretariat on September 9, 1973, it was decided that the following questions would be included in the agenda of the coming world congress for a vote: 1) the world political resolution; 2) the orientation in Argentina; 3) the orientation in Bolivia; 4) the perspective for Europe; 5) the statutes of the Fourth International.

At the world congress itself the IMT declared unilaterally that the document on armed struggle published in October would also be included on the agenda and voted on in the world congress. Only some of the organizations had elected delegates on the basis of this document. Therefore, it was only under protest that the LTF delegations at the congress accepted this question being taken up as a separate point on the agenda.

The debate on this question showed that the IMT had evolved to the point of beginning to revise the Trotskyist conception of the arming of the working class. The reporter for the IMT, Comrade Roman, explained also that the question of armed struggle as taken up by the draft resolution could not be limited to Latin America. The adoption of this document must be seen against the background of the IMT's conception that the Trotskyist movement had not previously answered the question of armed struggle.

After the congress, the LTF decided in a meeting held to assess the results:

- 1) to try to reduce the factional tensions in the coming period that had built up in the period before the congress,
- 2) to give the majority a chance to test its line,
- 3) but, in view of the character of the resolution on armed struggle, not to dissolve the LTF, and
- 4) it recognized that the unity of the International continued to be threatened by the majority's conception of "armed struggle."

The platform of the LTF (presented in IIDB, 15/1973) remains essentially unchanged. While some points directly related to the world congress are of course no longer relevant, the LTF's world political resolution is now included.

In the Swedish discussion, the LTF had previously expressed its approval of the Nine-Point Agreement and recognized the congress's authority. It has confirmed the correctness of the decision not to dissolve the LTF, and the same comrades remain members. The Swedish LTF, just as the LTF decided in its meeting immediately following the world congress, has agreed that in the postcongress period the majority's line should be carried out and tested.

Since the world congress, consequently, our activity in the IMF has been very limited. Meetings are called to distribute material from the LTF's steering committee on how the Nine-

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Point Agreement is being lived up to as well as on the development of the majority's line and the tendency struggle.

Those charged with convening these meetings and drawing up the agenda are Comrades Cliff and Svedin. Comrade Svedin is the Swedish ITF's representative in the steering committee and the contact person. Besides this, there are no levels or assignment of responsibilities, or financial arrangements in the Swedish ITF. The members of the ITF in Sweden are: Brolund, Cliff, Hillstrom, Irma, Lundmark, Rybegg, Stenfeldt, Svedin in the Stockholm branch. Comrades are admitted into membership in accordance with the procedure laid out in IIDB 15/73, page 12.

The Swedish ITF does not participate in "any international division of labor." The work that the Swedish ITF carries on has no effect on the comrades' other activity in the RMF.

We will answer the Political Bureau's accusations against Comrade Svedin: that "since the world congress he has given more of his time to international contacts and the tasks (whatever these may be) that they involve" and downgraded work to build the organization.

Where have you gotten information that since the world congress Comrade Svedin has devoted more of his time to "international contacts"? Did you just take this accusation on faith? It is true that Comrade Svedin's tasks as the Swedish ITF's representative on the steering committee have involved a number of trips. But this has in no way taken "more" of Comrade Svedin's time.

And on what grounds have you determined that Svedin has downgraded work to build the organization? It is possible that Comrade Svedin's changed personal situation, which involves sharing the responsibility for the care of a child, has meant that he has missed some meetings and paper sales. But the charge about a deliberate downgrading is simply bizarre.

Naturally the Swedish ITF has not decided on any downgrading of any comrade's activity in the RMF. Among the conditions for membership in the ITF, it says: "The discipline of the faction does not take precedence over the discipline of the sections or sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International. Members of the faction must conduct themselves in a completely loyal way toward the sections of the Fourth International or the sympathizing organization, and carry out their activities and financial obligations in an exemplary way."

It cannot be unknown to a number of members in the Political Bureau that in most cases the members of the Swedish ITF are among the most active comrades in the Stockholm branch and in the work of building the organization. Thus, the Political Bureau's accusations seem to be simply an attempt at pure slander. Singling out one comrade in particular does not make things any better.

As regards the "clear political position" the Political Bureau demands from us on the question of the IT split and the US's open attack on the PST, we refer them to the attached state-

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ments. Since because of the vacation period only four comrades could attend the meeting on August 23, we have chosen to sign the statements as individuals.

For the IFF, comradely,

D. Hillstrom

Introduction to United Secretariat Statement on the
PST in the August 16 issue of Internationalen,
the organ of the Swedish section

The declaration of the United Secretariat, which we are publishing below, presents its view of the general line that the Argentine sympathizing organization, the PST -- Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores -- is following today in the class struggle in that country.

The PST is one of the several sympathizing organizations in Argentina, but without doubt the biggest and best rooted in the working class. This fact, as well as the sharpening struggles in Argentina -- the introduction to a decisive confrontation of class against class -- make it doubly important for the International to make clear its position on fundamental questions of strategy and class alliances. It is necessary to clarify for the ranks of the PST but also for the entire Latin American vanguard that the Fourth International is not in accord with a strategic orientation that in the revolutionary struggles there is leading into a blind alley. An opportunist silence on this point would discredit the International in Argentina, in Latin America, and other parts of the world, hindering the construction of a real Argentine section of the International.

Earlier, the criticism of the PST by the leadership of the International -- and most recently by the majority at the Tenth World Congress -- was kept internal with the aim of best contributing to the correction of the PST's line. But the PST's present practice goes beyond anything that could be called a tactical mistake. It touches on a fundamental question of principle, and in such situations internal polemics are not enough.

The fact that the US expresses its view openly in this way -- in opposition to the view of one of its sympathizing organizations -- corresponds to the continual need to examine the political line of the organizations that pledge allegiance to the International. The PST was recognized by the Ninth and Tenth world congresses as a sympathizing organization precisely because of its basic agreement with the program of the Fourth International. On the other hand, the PST was not recognized as a section because of a deepgoing criticism already made of the party's political line and because of its insufficient loyalty to the International.

August 14

The Political Bureau