

## Statement by Joseph Hansen on reasons for postponing congress

1. A democratic congress requires making the documents available to the membership well in advance so that the discussion can be properly organized. This applies not only to the main initial documents voted on by the leading bodies, but also to the contributions that are made in response to them. The unfortunate fact is that we continue to be faced with inordinate delays in the preparation of documents and above all in translating them.

It is true that considerable technical difficulties stand in the way of speedy translation and circulation of the documents. These difficulties, however, are not insuperable; and we have been promised that every effort will be made to overcome, particularly in the case of translations into French. However, the same promise has been made repeatedly in the past three years. The promise has not been kept. In light of the record it is doubtful that it can be kept now, whatever the intentions of those who do the promising. The deadline is too near.

In all likelihood, we will face a repetition of the situation that occurred at the last world congress in which many delegates arrives without having had an opportunity to read in advance, still less discuss, the documents on which they had to vote. If that situation is repeated, the coming congress would not be a democratic one, in my opinion.

To postpone the congress for several months would help avoid such a situation. It would increase the possibility of setting up a better functioning technical apparatus so as to assure translation and circulation of the documents in time.

2. It may be felt that the present apparatus can catch up with the accumulation. The comrades should be reminded of the fact that the documents of the PRT (Combatiente) are only first now being made available in English. To translate them into French and German and to circulate them in Spanish, as scheduled, is a big job. Moreover, it must be anticipated that there will be an increase in the submission of new documents in the months immediately ahead. The positions of the PRT (Combatiente) alone are bound to provoke intense discussion once the comrades have had an opportunity to study them.

On top of this, the new documents presented at this IEC meeting are certain to engender replies and counterreplies, as is normal in a democratic discussion, further increasing the translation load.

3. We must take into consideration still another problem; that is the fact that two tendencies have been forming internationally. This is a consequence of the deepening of the differences that appeared at the last world congress. Such a development, as everyone knows, is a normal part of the internal life of our movement. Nevertheless, every experienced comrade is aware of the fact that such a development involves certain



dangers. We should note the recent splits that have taken place in some areas -- Canada, Australia, more recently in Mexico, and now Spain. These constitute a warning sign.

To speed up the pace of the discussion, as will certainly happen in face of an imminent deadline, can add to the danger, particularly if no way is found to break the bottleneck on translating and circulating the documents.

It is in the obvious interest of both tendencies to seek to establish better control of the situation so as to be able to more effectively counter ill-considered actions or flare-ups that would foster a mood favoring a split.

It is all the more necessary to do this in view of the fact that the differences have already become public knowledge to a certain degree, and further spillovers into the public, exacerbating the situation, can hardly be avoided whether through carelessness or through accident. We have already had some examples of this. If better control can be established, this danger can be reduced. But time is required for that.

We need more time to permit the movement to become adjusted to the existence of tendencies, and to find ways of working together with the least possible friction despite this complication in the life of the International. If we had more time at our disposal it would be easier to do this while at the same time conducting a model discussion that would permit a resolution of the differences in accordance with the objective test of events and without a split that might be precipitated out of a subjective reaction. This is exceedingly important, as I see it.

4. All these reasons for postponement would seem to call for subordinating such secondary considerations as the fact that the congress has already been postponed beyond the normal time or that it is technically awkward to organize a congress later in the year when the weather is colder and when it is more inconvenient for delegates to get off the job in Europe.

5. The decision, of course, is up to the comrades of the majority. I hope they will weigh the matter carefully and decide that it is worth providing more time to help counter the possibilities of a split and to help ensure that the coming congress will be a democratic one and thus one with authority in the eyes of the world movement.

-- December 6, 1972



February 5, 1973

Dear Comrade Tampoe,

It was unfortunate that circumstances were such that you could not attend the recent meeting of the International Executive Committee. Your absence as well as that of the comrades from India meant that the recent experiences of our movement in your part of the world and the opinions of the IEC members there could not be brought into the deliberations in the way they should have been.

The most important points on the agenda were, in my opinion, Argentina and Bolivia. A resolution on each was submitted by Comrade Maitan, who was the reporter on both points. While the general line of these resolutions was adopted, the documents were to be edited before being submitted to the membership. As yet they have not been published in the International Internal Discussion Bulletin, so you will have to reserve judgment on them until they become available. In substance they deepened the turn taken at the last world congress and approved the guerrilla course followed in Bolivia and Argentina.

The counter document was "Argentina and Bolivia -- the Balance Sheet," the reporters being Comrade Lorenzo for Bolivia and Comrade Moreno for Argentina. It was published in the latest issue of the International Internal Discussion Bulletin. I hope that you received a copy and that you have had a chance to study it. As one of the authors, I would like to say a few words about it.

The document attempts to assess how the turn taken by the majority at the last world congress was applied in Latin America and what happened as a result. (We asked for a vote on the two parts of the document that dealt specifically with the lessons to be drawn from the experiences our movement went through in Argentina and Bolivia.) In addition the document sought to summarize the differences over Latin America that emerged at the last congress; and, finally, it sought to weigh the consequences to the Fourth International in view of the persistence with which the guerrilla orientation is still being maintained. As we saw it, there was no choice but to recognize that our movement now faces a considerable crisis.

How did such a situation come about? I think that it could have been avoided even in face of several years of a wrong orientation were it not for a leadership problem. In a living movement errors -- even relatively bad ones -- are bound to occur, as we all know. They can be countered without crises if the leaders are experienced enough to keep them to a minimum and know how to avoid the type of errors for which a small movement must pay an inordinate price. In the present case our movement had the added advantage of a highly responsible attitude on the part of those in the minority at the last world congress, who were willing to await the test of events, and to help with all their ability to ease the difficulties of readjustment when the results were in.

Besides a loyal minority, however, another condition is essential. Sufficient insight and objectivity are required to recognize the lessons of events. When leaders, for whatever reasons, either fail in this, or cannot bring themselves to acknowledge that an



orientation was in error, then a crisis is bound to result, and it can be severe and even dangerous.

These were the considerations that led us at the end of the document to call for formation of a tendency, the better to argue within the International for returning to a correct orientation, and to help assure the best possible resolution of the crisis now confronting our movement.

In following up on this call, it appears to me that the broadest possible consultation on a leadership level is not only desirable but quite essential. Among those who have felt dismay at what happened to the Argentine and Bolivian sections, we need to exchange frank opinions based on independent judgments.

It would be best, of course, if we could discuss the question personally, but since this is not possible, perhaps you would be willing to write me, giving your opinion on the facts brought out in the balance sheet on Argentina and Bolivia. Specifically, I would like to know your view on what these facts mean for the Fourth International, and what you consider to be the best way to go about correcting the situation.

Quite likely you have already heard that at the December plenum, an invitation was issued to the comrades who voted for the resolution on tasks and perspectives in Europe to get together to consider organizing a counter tendency. After this meeting, a statement was issued (which for some reason has not yet been submitted to the International Internal Discussion Bulletin) calling for the formation of a tendency on a platform that included among other things (1) reaffirmation of the guerrilla orientation, (2) support of the perspectives and tasks laid down for party building in the resolution on Europe; (3) greater centralization of the International.

In this call, the point was made that the division over the European resolution showed that deeper questions than the differences over Latin America were at the bottom of the dispute. To me, this was a welcome admission. General questions involving method in party building, how to win mass leadership, how to orient correctly in explosive situations or under severe repression are involved. It helps explain why the differences over orientation in Latin America have been paralleled and extended by differences over orientation in order areas. At the last world congress, in opposing the new line favoring guerrilla war as a strategy, we voiced our apprehension that if the orientation were adopted it could not be confined to one continent, that it would inevitably spill over into other areas and help foster ultraleft tendencies. The prediction, unfortunately, was borne out; the consequences of that orientation became visible in many ways in areas other than Latin America.

The importance of the test of events in Latin America cannot be overstressed. That test becomes all the more pertinent as a gauge of the implications and seriousness of the other differences. The living experience of two sections of the Fourth International have provided us with almost a laboratory test of how the turn



adopted at the last world congress can adversely affect our movement on all continents, including Europe.

The recognition that fundamental questions underlie the dispute over orientation in Latin America is to be welcomed in another respect. Both sides now see the gravity of the differences. This makes it all the more imperative that we have the freest and broadest discussion possible in preparation for the next world congress. By "broadest" I mean doing our utmost to overcome language barriers, so that all the members in every section, no matter what their language, can read the documents, follow the debate, offer their own opinions for the consideration of the International, and thereby genuinely participate in determining the outcome at the congress. You know how heavily the Ceylonese section had to pay for lapses in this respect in the past. This remains a bitter lesson that should periodically be recalled to the Fourth International as a whole. I am sure you will agree on that.

This problem has arisen again in a rather acute way because of the fact that except for the English language a number of important documents and contributions are far behind schedule in being translated. To help solve this, and also to give the sections a reasonable time to absorb the documents and respond to them, I suggested that it would be wise to postpone the congress a little longer. However, my arguments were rejected. (I'm enclosing a copy of a statement I made on this at the plenum.)

In closing I should like to repeat that the five authors of "Argentina and Bolivia -- the Balance Sheet" felt that in the period between now and the next congress, the tendency we have called for could help facilitate the discussion, help assure that it be genuinely democratic, and thereby help assure that the next world congress gains real authority.

It would be of great assistance at this stage to know your opinion, even if it is only tentative, of the issues in dispute -- particularly as they have been tested in Argentina and Bolivia -- and what course you think can best help the International to overcome the current crisis.

Comradely yours,

Joseph Hansen

P.S. I am taking the liberty of sending copies of this letter to some other leading comrades as well as to the United Secretariat.



The attached is a copy of a letter from Joe Hansen to Comrade Bala Tampoe. It outlines some of our thinking about the IEC plenum and the current stage of the discussion in the International. We'd be interested in any further thoughts you have on the questions raised.

Mary-Alice



Gus

February 5, 1973

List of those who are to receive copies of Joe H. letter to Bala

1. All IEC members not present ~~ex~~ (except Santucho and Roca; and Sasaki and Felipe who are unreachable)

Bruno (Joe)  
Christos (Joe)  
Vitale (Ed)  
Eastillo (Ed)  
Willy (control comm.) (Joe)

2. IEC members present but not declared

Karl (M-A)  
Montes (Ed S.)  
Sakai (Barry)

3. Special Cover letters

Spain (Peter)  
Britain: Alan & Connie (Gus)  
India: Magan & Kolpe (Gus)  
Australia: Jim P. (Gus)  
New Zealand: (Gus)  
Canada: John (Gus)  
China: Peng & PiLan (M-A)  
Iran: (Gus)  
Argentina: Moreno (M-A)  
Peru: Blanco (Ed)

4. Others

Israel: Mikado & Bober (Gus)  
Lebanon: Jaber (Gus)  
Pakistan: (Connie: will receive material from Gus)  
Ireland: Brendan & Rory & Ann (Gerry: will receive material via Joe)  
Cyprus: (Joe)  
Greece: Psar. + ... (M-A)  
Sweden: maj. + min. (M-A)  
Denmark: Torben & Praven &.... (M-A)  
Luxemburg: (Gus)  
Switzerland: Pia (Joe)  
Holland: Theo & Pieter (Gus)

5. Other Latin America

Venezuela: Danny (Ed)  
Colombia: USA + direct (Ed)  
Peru: both gps (Ed)  
Uruguay: Ed  
Brazil: (Ed)  
Mamei (Ed)

6. Other

Dan S. (Gus)  
Peter C. (Gus)  
U. Sec. (Gus)

~~xxx Other Latin America xxx~~

February 5, 1973

Division of labor on sending copies of Joe's letter to Bala along with cover letter:

received 5 { Joe: Bruno, Christos, Willy Boepfle, ~~Cyprus~~, Cyprus, Pia, Bala (done)

received 7 { Ed: Vitale, Bastillo, Montes, Uruguay, Blanco, Brazil, Venezuela (Danny), Colombia (direct plus cde. in USA), Peru (both wings), Manuel

received 5 { Gus: ~~Alan & Connie~~, Megan, Kolpe, Australia (Jim P.), New Zealand, Canada, Mikado, Bober, Jaber, Luxemburg, Holland (Theo & Pieter), Dan Styron, Peter C., U. Sec. (last), Iran, <sup>mail folder</sup>

received 1 { M-A: Karl, Peng & Pi Lan, Greece (Paar. + A.), Sweden (maj. & min.), Denmark (Torben + Praven + ), Austria, Moreno

received 1 { Barry: Sakai

Connie: Pakistan (Gus will send extra copy to her)

received 3 { Gerry F: Ireland (Branden + Rory + Ann) (Joe will tell Gerry) done

{ Peter = Spain (info via Gus), Sweden, Denmark

Dan: Austria - after convention



Gus

List of those who should receive copies of Joe H. letter to Bala

(This does not include Latin America)

L. All IEC members not present (except Santucho and Roca)

Joe - ~~Bruno~~  
 Joe (no address) - ~~Christos~~ OK  
 Ed - ~~Valdez~~ Vitale  
 Ed - ~~Bastillo~~  
 Joe ] - ~~Willy~~ (control comm.) - Willy Borgegale  
 M-A - ~~2~~ Karl  
 Ed S. - ~~Montes~~  
 Barry - Sakai

Manned

Ed - ~~Venezuela~~ - Danny  
 Ed - ~~Colombia~~ } = USA  
 Ed - ~~Peru~~ } - both wings  
 Ed - ~~Uruguay~~  
 M-A - Moreno  
 Ed - Blanco  
 Ed - Brazil

3. ~~the~~ Special cover letters

Peter - Spain - P.C. Vaerson  
 Gus - Britain  
 Ed - India - M // cc Kolpa  
 Gus - Australia - Jim P.  
 Gus - New Zealand - Russel  
 Gus - Canada

ask M-A

M-A - China

4. Others

Gus - Mikado  
 Gus - Bober Israel  
 Gus - Jaber Lebanon

Connie - Pakistan -  
 Joe / Barry - Ireland ③  
 Joe - Cyprus

M-A - Greece Psar. +

M-A - Sweden -- maj. & min.

M-A - Torben Denmark + Praven +

~~Gus~~ - Luxembourg  
 Joe - ~~Switzerland~~ - Pia  
 M-A - Austria  
 Gus - Holland

? ~~France~~  
 ? ~~Belgium~~  
 ? ~~Italy~~

Theo Pieter

Dan St. ①

Peter C. ②  
 - 90.60  
 → Grand

USec - 000  
 ③

17 105 07  
 901 23452  
 21 190  
 ABCDEF  
 GHIJKL  
 MNOPQRST

Gerry Foley  
73 Eastern Parkway  
Brooklyn, NY 11238  
USA

February 6, 1973

Dear Ruari,

I am sorry I have not written you before now. I am just beginning to get my head above water again after getting back. We are sending two copies of the Militant by airmail to the Gt. Charles Street address and will be sending a copy of the International Socialist Review to Parnell Road. The bulletins will go to the same address. I will try to keep you as informed as much as possible of what is happening in the U.S. and internationally. I have sent you a copy of IP by airmail with material on the Bloody Sunday demonstrations that took place here and Northern Aid's role in them. Paddy H. might find it useful.

I enclose a letter that Joe wrote to Bala Tampoe along with a statement he mentions in the letter. This should help bring you up to date on the present stage of the discussion. I would appreciate any questions or comments you have so that we can keep the comrades there as informed as possible. I appreciate your sending me a copy of the Marxist Review, and I hope you will continue to send as much RMG material as you can.

Fraternally,

*Gerry Foley*  
Gerry Foley



Gerry Foley  
73 Eastern Parkway  
Brooklyn, NY 11238  
USA

February 6, 1973

Dear Rayner,

I will look for that other thing as soon as I get a chance. In the meantime, please write me and let me know how your bookstore is going in Belfast. I am sorry that I did not get a chance to talk to you when I was in Ireland. The only time I could go was over the Christmas vacation and that was quite inconvenient in a number of respects.

I hear that you were unable to make the last meeting also. I enclose a letter Joe wrote to Bala Tampoe about the conference, along with a copy of the statement mentioned in the letter. I hope this will help bring you up to date on the discussion. Please let me know if you have any questions or comments. I think it is extremely important for comrades to be kept informed about the debate that is going on and particularly in Ireland. I got the copy of The Irish Trotskyist that Alan sent, and I hope he will continue sending me copies of the material you put out.

Fraternally,  
*Gerry Foley*

Gerry Foley

Gerry Foley  
73 Eastern Parkway  
Brooklyn, NY 11238  
USA

February 6

Dear Brendan,

I have arranged to have you sent two copies of the Militant by airmail and a copy of the International Socialist Review by seammil, in addition to the copy of Intercontinental Press that you already receive. Copies of the internal bulletins will be sent to the 5 Parnell Road address, as per request. I would appreciate it if you would drop me a note when you receive this material so that I can be sure it is coming through all right. Insofar as possible, I would like to get what you publish.

I enclose two copies, one for you and one for Ann, of a letter written by Joe to Bala Taspoe. Also a copy of a statement mentioned in the letter. I hope this can serve as a reminder of the main points in the discussion and help lay out a certain framework. This is very important, it seems to me, for a relatively new group like yours which has not had the experience of participating in an international discussion of this type. If you have any questions or comments, please drop me a line. There is no need for me to repeat what I said before about the importance of the debate that is going on and the particular relevance it has for your situation.

Fraternally,

*Gerry Foley*  
Gerry Foley



14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 7, 1973

JAPAN  
Sakai

Dear Comrade Sakai,

We have received your letter informing us of the February 23-25 national congress of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League.

I will be able to attend your congress as the official representative of the Socialist Workers Party. I will be arriving on Japan Air Lines flight number 1 in Tokyo on February 21 at 8:20 PM. Will someone meet me at the airport, or should I proceed to go into Tokyo? If so, where should I go? I would appreciate it if I could stay with a comrade.

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of a letter from Joseph Hansen to Bala Tampoe. I hope that during my stay in Japan I will be able to have discussions with you concerning the issues raised in this letter and any other thoughts you have about the situation in the International. Also enclosed is a copy of the statement Joe made at the IEC on the reasons why the world congress should be postponed.

I am looking forward to seeing you again.

Comradely,

Statenanu

New York  
February 8, 1973

Alan Harris  
Connie Harris  
London

Dear Alan and Connie,

Enclosed for your information is a copy of the letter that Joe Hansen has sent to Bala Tampoe. As you will note, Joe indicates that copies are being sent to other leading comrades around the world. This includes members of the IEC who were not present, or those who were present but refused to sign the tendency call of Mandel-Maitan-Frank; also, it is being sent to individual leaders of sections, some of whom were present at the IEC, some of whom were not. The purpose is to inform comrades of the present status of the discussion in the world movement following the IEC, and to learn the opinions of these comrades on these matters.

I am also enclosing an extra copy of Joe's letter for you. Would you please send it to the leading Pakistani comrade, along with a brief personal note explaining what it is. Mary Alice said that you would know to whom it should be sent. It would probably also be a good idea to find out if this comrade has received the document by Blanco, Camejo, Hansen, Lorenzo, and Moreno.

Peter said that he conveyed the information about the Santiago conference to you. Jack will discuss it with you in more detail when he comes over for the next secretariat meeting.

Comradely,

Gus Horowitz



New York  
February 8, 1973

Dear Jaber,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Joe Hansen to Bala Tampoe, asking him for his opinion of the current situation in the world movement. I presume that by now you have had a chance to study the international discussion, and wonder if you have formed any views on the discussion and on the points Joe takes up in his letter. If so, please write and let me know.

Did you receive my letter of January 21?

Please keep me informed of your activities.

Comradely regards,

Gary

New York  
February 8, 1973

John Riddell  
Toronto

Dear John,

Thanks very much for your prompt reply to our request for that address you sent. We hope that the visit will work out.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter by Joe Hansen to Bala Tampoe. As Joe indicates at the end, copies of his letter are being sent to various leading comrades. These include comrades who were not able to attend the IEC, those at the IEC who did not sign the Mandel-Maitan-Frank tendency statement, and leading comrades from other countries not represented on the IEC. As you can see, the purpose of circulating this letter is to inform comrades of the present status of the international discussion, and find out what the thinking of these comrades is at this stage.

There are several decisions that still have to be worked out regarding the next steps to take in the international discussion. These involve matters both of a tactical nature and of practical implementation that were not discussed immediately after the IEC because some people had to leave right away. So there is need for a small meeting of the five signers of the document on Latin America plus at least a few leading comrades from other countries who agree with the document. It would be important for you or another central leader from Canada to attend this meeting.

In consultation with comrade Moreno, the meeting has been arranged to take place in Santiago, Chile the first weekend in March. This will enable Hugo Blanco to attend, and will make it much easier for leaders of several Latin American parties as well, since some of these comrades are already planning to be in Argentina at around the same time for a cadre school.

Some of the points that need to be discussed are: the formal organization of the tendency, practical measures to work out such as location of the tendency center and designation of a tendency secretary, the nature of additional documents to be drafted and the designation of drafting committees, etc. The Santiago meeting could also draw up an initial statement to be published in the International Internal Discussion Bulletin and circulated throughout the world movement.

Mary Alice or I will be in further touch with you on this -- by letter or phone. In the meantime, please give serious consideration to the practicalities of your attending.

Comradely regards,

Gene Rosenberg

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 9, 1973

LUXEMBOURG

Dear Robert,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Comrade Bala Tampoe from Joe Hansen, asking for his opinion on the current situation in the Fourth International. Any thoughts you may have on the questions raised would be equally appreciated.

Comradely regards,

Mary-Alice Waters



14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 9, 1973

NETHERLANDS

Dear Comrade Pieterse,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Comrade Bala Tampoe from Joe Hansen, asking for his opinion on the current situation in the Fourth International. Any thoughts you may have on the questions raised would be equally appreciated.

You have probably received a copy of the International Internal Discussion Bulletin containing the document "Argentina and Bolivia -- The Balance Sheet," but if not, please let us know immediately. It will probably take the comrades who are now part of the newly fused organization in Holland a while to catch up on the entire international discussion, but the comrades in Gent indicated they intended to translate some of the material into Flemish, so that should make the task easier for you.

Comradely regards,

Mary-Alice Waters

18 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 9, 1973

ARGENTINA

Dear Hugo,

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a letter from Joe to Bala Tampoe.

We are sending copies of it to members of the IEC who were not present at the plenum, and those who were present but refused to sign the tendency call of Mandel-Frank-Maitan. We are also sending it to a number of leaders of different sections, some of whom were present at the IEC, some of whom were not.

The next step is the Santiago conference.

Warm regards,

Mary-Alice

P.S. The news of the election campaign is extremely impressive!

February 9, 1973

Dear Shu-tse and Pi-lan,

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a letter from Joe to Bala Tampoe. It doesn't need much further explanation. It is simply a step in the process of forming the tendency called for by the document, "Argentina and Bolivia -- The Balance Sheet."

We are sending copies of the letter to members of the IEC who were not present at the IEC plenum, or those who were present but refused to sign the tendency call of Mandel-Frank-Maitan. We are also sending it to individual leaders of sections, some of whom were present at the IEC plenum, some of whom were not. We will keep you informed of any responses.

Peter probably gave you a report on plans for the Santiago conference which will draft a statement announcing the formation of our tendency. We can discuss any ideas or suggestions you may have for this when one of us is in Paris a couple of weeks from now. There is a meeting of the United Secretariat February 24, so we will be in Paris a few days before that.

Hope you are both well.

Warm regards,

Mary-Alice

P.S. We received your response on Pi-lan's contribution to the international discussion. The suggestion to simply use the name Wang and change nothing else is fine. We've already sent the bulletin to the print shop so it should be out shortly.



14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 9, 1973

NETHERLANDS

Dear Theo,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Comrade Bala Tampoe from Joe Hansen, asking for his opinion on the current situation in the Fourth International. Any thoughts you may have on the questions raised would be equally appreciated.

I understand from the last Secretariat meeting that the fusion with Revolte has taken place, so the Dutch comrades must be in an advantageous position now to move ahead on a whole new level.

Comradely regards,

Mary-Alice Waters

February 9, 1973

CHILE

Dear Comrade Vitale,

Undoubtedly Comrade Montes has given you a report of the last IEC meeting which, unfortunately, you were not able to attend. Also, you will have seen the document presented by Blanco, Camejo, Hansen, Lorenzo and Moreno, "Argentina and Bolivia -- The Balance Sheet." This document was supported by a minority of the IEC members present at the meeting. You will have noted that the document concludes with a call for the formation of an international tendency with the aim of reversing the last World Congress guerrillaist "turn" and its implications.

Comrade Hansen has since then written a letter to Comrade Tampoe asking for his opinions on the political line of the international and its evolution since the Ninth Congress. I am enclosing a copy of this letter for your information. We would be pleased to hear your thoughts on these important questions.

Unfortunately, I did not get a chance to visit with you during my last visit to Chile. However, I did talk with Comrades Montes, Blanco and some others. I was able to obtain some of the initial documents of the reunified Chilean section, but we do not yet have the final version of the positions adopted at the reunification congress. One or two of the North American comrades expect to visit Chile soon and we look forward to the opportunity for a meeting with you and other leading comrades of the PSR.

Comradely,

Ed Shaw

P.S. I have sent a copy of Comrade Hansen's letter to Comrade Montes also.

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 9, 1973

GERMANY

Dear Karl,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter that Joe Hansen sent to Comrade Bala Tampoe. It outlines some of our thinking on the IEC plenum and the current stage of the discussion in the International.

Comradely,

Mary-Alice



14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 9, 1973

Dear Patrick,

I had expected to be back in Paris long before now but since I've been delayed here in New York, I thought I should write you.

In November we discussed the possibility of you and another Greek comrade being able to come here for a tour which would be useful in establishing contacts in the Greek community in the major cities in the United States. At that time we left it open, because you still did not have any passport or other papers, which you thought might be resolved by January.

Have you made any progress in this? Is there any possibility that we can organize such a tour this spring? The best times for such a tour here would be late March through May but in that case we would have to know very soon and begin to organize it.

Could you let me know about this by letter? Please write in Greek. There are comrades here who can translate.

Do you know a comrade by the name of Ioannis Felekis who is in the Aegina prison? We have received several letters from him asking for literature which we have sent. If there are other comrades in prison to whom we should send material you should let us know. We'll be glad to do whatever we can.

Comradely regards,

Mary-Alice

February 9, 1973

COLOMBIA

Dear Carlos,

, We have had two visits by Colombians recently. A short while ago Freddy and Avela stopped by on their way to Bogotá from Europe. I expect they have seen you since they arrived in Colombia. I gave them copies of many international discussion documents, some of which were in Spanish. Jaime spent a lot of time with them. Please let us know if you have met these compañeros. They joined the French group during the last year in Europe and said they know about you through correspondence.

Also, just yesterday, a couple stopped by on their way to Europe from Bogotá. The man's name is Umberto, I don't remember the woman's name — she is French. He said he is in a group that participates in the Bloc, but didn't give us a very clear picture of the political differences with your group.

I hope you have been able to read a copy of the document on Bolivia and Argentina that was presented to the recent meeting in Europe by Hugo Blanco, Peter Camejo, Joseph Hansen, Anibal Lorenzo, and Nahuel Moreno. We do not yet have a Spanish translation of this document but expect one to be completed shortly. The document was supported by a minority of the members present.

With relation to the international discussion, you may have noted that the signers of this document called for the formation of an international tendency to better argue for a reversal of the "turn" on guerrilla war, and all it carried with it, at the last World Congress, etc. The enclosed copy of a letter from Joe Hansen to Bala Tampoe tends to explain our position on this matter and I'm enclosing it for your information. It is very possible that Peter or I will be able to visit you in Bogotá some time in March and we would like to know your reaction to these recent events in the international.

We will write to you later with more definite information about the date when one of us will be traveling through Bogotá.

Until then, comradely,

Ed Shaw

Feb. 9, 1973

Chile: Hugo Blanco

Dear Hugo,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Bala Tampoe from Joe Hansen.

Copies of the letter are being sent to IEC members who were not at the last meeting in Europe and to other section leaders around the ~~world~~ world.

Also enclosed is the statement by Hansen explaining our request for a postponement of the World Congress. The request was denied.

This is the material I mentioned in my most recent letter.

It seems quite certain I will be in Santiago with the other cdes. in March. I hope the March 4 elections will not make it difficult to have the meeting.

Comradely,

Ed Shaw



February 9, 1973

MEXICO

Dear Manuel,

We have not received Bandera Roja or Virus Rojo for some time. I hope there has been no problem getting the publications out. I expect that Mara got the pamphlet on the Transitional Program which I sent immediately after returning to the U.S. last December.

I spoke with Dave Weiss and he told me about his visit to Mexico. He was very grateful for the help you were able to accord him. He is an old-time comrade but has not been an activist for several years, devoting all of his spare time to filmmaking.

It is quite possible that I will be able to visit Mexico again in a month or two and would like to discuss the international political differences with the comrades. Unfortunately, the documents adopted by the majority at the IEC have not yet been submitted to the internal discussion bulletin -- I hope they will be available before I visit Mexico again so that the discussion can be more concrete and fruitful. A Spanish translation of the Blanco, Camejo, Hansen, Lorenzo, Moreno document on Bolivia and Argentina will be ready for circulation in the internal discussion bulletin soon.

I'm enclosing a copy of a letter from Joe H. to Bala Tampoe for your general information on our thinking. I wonder if you have had any further thoughts on these problems.

We have been wondering if the GCI has set a date for its next congress. Please let us know when the date is set for we would like to send an SWP representative to attend as a fraternal observer if circumstances permit.

Please give Mara my thanks for her help in selecting the sweater and chess sets as gifts for my son. He was very pleased with them. Since my return I have seen dozens of those "Mexican sweaters" around Greenwich Village in New York. Without Mara's help I would have floundered on the difficult task of gift selection. Also, my best regards to the other comrades.

Comradely,

Ed Shaw

February 9, 1973

CHILE

Dear Comrade Montes,

Following the December IEC meeting and the clearly expressed differences on questions of such major importance as the political line of the international on Latin America, the perspectives for Europe and the analysis of the current stage of the Vietnamese revolution, Comrade Hansen wrote a letter to Comrade Tampoe of Ceylon outlining our conception of the problems facing the international during the current debate. I am enclosing a copy of this letter for your information.

Since you were present at the December meeting and have had the opportunity to discuss the political positions with the Chilean comrades, I think you must have some further thoughts concerning the international differences. We would like to hear your views on this question.

It is possible that I will again be in Chile within the next few months. I am looking forward to a discussion with you and the other leading comrades on the situation.

I sent a copy of Hansen's letter to Comrade Vitale, also, for his information.

Comradely,

Ed Shaw

February 9, 1973

URUGUAY

Dear Juan,

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a letter from Comrade Hansen to Bala Tampoe in Ceylon. The letter is being sent to many IEC members and leaders of sections throughout the movement. I believe the content is self-explanatory.

I suppose you are aware of the plans made in collaboration with Comrade Moreno to hold an initial tendency meeting in Santiago during the first weekend of March and it is not necessary for me to elaborate on them in this letter.

Please give my best regards to the others. I am looking forward to my next visit to el cono sur.

Comradely,

Ed Shaw

February 9, 1973

CHILE

Dear Antenor,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter sent by Comrade Hansen to Bala Tampoe, leader of the Ceylonese section. The letter outlines our position on the political problems in the international and the formation of the tendencies. We have sent copies of the letter to many leading members of other sections as a means of informing them of our tendency and to attempt to draw them into a discussion of the problems involved.

I expect that you are aware of the plans made in collaboration with Comrade Moreno to hold an initial tendency meeting in Santiago during the first weekend in March. We will have an opportunity to discuss the next steps to take in the internal struggle at this meeting.

Give my regards to all the comrades, hopefully Javier is getting the medical attention he needs. Hasta pronto,

Comradely,

Ed Shaw

P.S. I sent copies of Joe's letter to Vitale and Montes for their general information. They have not been invited to the tendency meeting and have not been informed of it.



Dear Shu-tse and Pi-lan,

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a letter from Joe to Bala Tampoe. It doesn't need much further explanation. It is simply a step in the process of forming the tendency called for by the document, "Argentina and Bolivia -- The Balance Sheet."

We are sending copies of the letter to members of the IEC who were not present, or those who were present but refused to sign the tendency call of Mandel-Frank-Maitan.

We are also sending it to individual leaders of sections, some of whom were present at the IEC, some of whom were not. We will keep you informed of any responses.

Peter probably gave you a report on plans for the Santiago conference which will draft a statement announcing the formation of our tendency. We can discuss any ideas or suggestions you may have for this when one of us is in Paris a couple of weeks from now. There is a meeting of the United Secretariat February 24, so we will be in Paris a few days before that.

Hope you are both well.

Warm regards,

Mary-Alice

*Holotad*

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 9, 1973

Dear Fred,

In consultation with Cde. Moreno by phone we have arranged for a small meeting of the people who signed the document on Bolivia and Argentina which called for the formation of an international tendency plus a few leaders of other sections that are in agreement. The conference is to be in Santiago the first weekend in March. In Santiago for two reasons: (1) so Hugo B. can attend; and (2) to make it easier for leaders of other sections, especially in Latin America, to attend. The date was chosen because Hugo told us that some of these people will be attending a cadre school in Arg. during March and can thus fit the Santiago conference in with their plans.

The telephone conversation with Hugo M. took place just before you left New York, but you were rushing around getting ready to leave and I'm recapitulating the outline of the plans in case you didn't absorb it during the rush.

It is very important that you make sure that the comrades in B.A. know that we are expecting them to see to it that the physical arrangements for the gathering are made. They can probably do it by letter to someone in Chile or, if not, someone may have to go over from B.A. The arrangements won't be very difficult because there probably won't be more than 15 to 25 people involved. We plan to send five: Joe, M-A, Jack, Peter and myself. Canada will send one or two. There probably won't be anyone from other countries outside Latin America with the possible exception of one from England. The Latin American delegation will probably be in about the same proportions. We don't think more than two days of formal meeting time will be required -- whether it is a Saturday and Sunday or Sunday and Monday is up to the ones who make the arrangements from that end. But there will probably be another day or two in Santiago of informal discussions in addition to the weekend.

It's also important that you know our general concept of this meeting so you can express it during your discussions with the B.A. comrades. We consider the conference an initial gathering of those who called for a tendency. That is, it is more or less the kind of gathering we should have had immediately following the IEC meeting to discuss and plan our next steps. We couldn't have that kind of meeting because some of the important people couldn't stay over after the IEC. We think it should be limited to a discussion and decision on the next tactical steps and practical implementation, the selection of a committee to prepare a draft of a basic tendency programmatic document for a future larger meeting prior to the World Congress.

At this future meeting others who are prepared to join the tendency will be able to participate in the discussion before the final adoption of the draft programmatic statement. The Santiago meeting should issue an initial statement -- Barnes calls it the "Santiago Grito" -- to be circulated throughout the world movement. This will give us a chance to continue discussion with those who have not yet decided and encourage them to share their ideas about the problems in the International with us while the major document is being drafted. All this will have to proceed quite rapidly since it will have to be finished before the World Congress which is still scheduled for late August.

We've made a start in discussing with other international leaders, IEC members who were not at the IEC and some section leaders, in the form of a letter by Joe H. to Bala Tampoe asking him for his thoughts on the matter. We are sending copies of this letter to others with a covering letter asking them, in turn, what they think about the ideas expressed in Joe's letter to Tampoe. I'm enclosing a copy of this letter for your information, Hugo M. will already have a copy. The general idea is that we want to play it cool and give everyone a chance to make up their mind before the final formation of a formal tendency with a finished program.

Things look pretty good in some places. Peter spoke at the Swedish convention and it seems he won a lot of support and made others more open-minded about carefully considering our positions. The question of Vietnam was crucial with little support for the MMF & Sterne position. It's clear that we can use time advantageously in several places, if not yet in the French citadel.

Joe, Jack, Peter and myself will be in B.A. between four and six days before the Santiago. It will be hard for some of us to get there earlier as had been hoped due to an important US meeting in Europe the weekend of February 24-25. As matters stand now, I will tentatively arrive February 25.

Tell Hugo M. we are sending someone to the library for the Pravda article he asked about and he should get it before the week is out.

I read in the New York Times today that the Lanusse government had ruled Perón can't return to campaign for the Justicialistas as had been planned and that they are "taking steps" to rule the Peronist party off the ballot. If this is true the whole thing may be up for grabs. It is very important that we hear from you. We also need articles explaining some of the stories in A.S. and making them more intelligible for the U.S. reader. AND THIS IS A MUST -- Tell the comrades in charge of sending A.S. that we need it every week. We are trying to get something in The Militant and IP each week but they continue



-3-

to hold back and send us two issues at a time, two weeks apart. There is nothing in the paper or IP this week because there was no news for over two weeks.

Your interview arrived today.

See you soon. Give my best to Virginia.

Comradely,

Ed



New York  
February 9, 1973

Jerusalem

Dear Mikado,

I received your letter of January 26. By now you should have received ~~my~~ the letter of January 26 written from here by Dave Frankel and myself. Did you also receive my letter of January 21? It included a brief mention of the IEC meeting and a draft thesis I wrote on the revolution in the Arab East.

The letters of January 21 and January 26 explain what we are doing in regard to your defense cases against the repression. We are having only limited success, however, in drawing in forces of a broader nature. We need more information -- as documented as possible.

Sixty

Do you continue to receive the international internal discussion bulletins? Did you receive the latest one with the document by Blanco, Camejo, Hansen, Morenzo and Moreno? I hope you have had a chance to study it. I enclose a copy of a letter that Joe Hansen has written to Bala Tampoe in this connection, asking him for his opinion on the discussion in the world movement. I would very much be interested in hearing your views also on these questions.

I was still a little confused by your January 26 letter regarding addresses for correspondence. Please tell me specifically ~~what~~ how you would like this to be handled.

Comradely regards,

Gus

cc. Arie

New York  
February 9, 1973

Arie Bober  
Jerusalem

Dear Arie,

Enclosed is a copy of a ~~sk~~ letter I sent to Mikado. I do not know the exact situation with the addresses, so I am writing to both of you to be sure.

I would also be interested in hearing your views on the situation in the world movement, and in particular on the document by Blanco, Camejo, Hansen, Lorenzo, and Moreno and on the points that Joe raises in his letter to Eala.

Fraternally,

Gus

cc. Mikado

February 10, 1973

Dear Comrade Christos,

I hope that this letter reaches you without any trouble. There are two enclosures: a copy of a letter I wrote to Bala Tampoe concerning the internal situation that has been developing in our movement, and a copy of a statement referred to in the letter to Comrade Tampoe. These are self-explanatory.

If you are in position to send me your own impressions of the situation, I would be happy to hear from you. It is all right to write in Greek, particularly if it is typewritten, as we have someone who can translate for us.

We know that it is quite a problem to get the documents in the discussion translated into your language. What is being done about this? Have you been receiving the documents as they were issued?

Fraternally yours,

Enc.  
Airmail

Joseph Hansen

*Santypal and*

February 10, 1972

Dear George,

I wanted very much to talk with you after the IEC meeting to get your opinions about the development of the internal situation, which is of increasing concern to us here. But I suppose you had to get back to your job.

My impression is that the comrades who opted for the guerrilla line at the last world congress have decided to insist on it no matter what the consequences, including its effect in other areas. This is very bad, in my opinion.

I have voiced some thoughts on this in a letter to Bala Tampoe, who could not be at the IEC meeting, as you know. No doubt you will be interested in this, so I am enclosing a copy for your information. Also I am enclosing a copy of the statement I made for the minutes on the advisability of postponing the congress again. You are already familiar with this and may agree on it.

I was glad to see you make a differentiation on the blanket approval of entryism which Ernest insisted on including in the resolution on Europe. There were some good things in the resolution but that one item looked like what the Russians would call the spoonful of tar in the barrel of honey, or what we would call the fly in the soup. I hope you can wield enough influence to have it removed; but I must admit that I am pessimistic about your chances on this.

Please feel free to write me about your views on the situation in the international and what kind of restraining influence you think might be exerted on the comrades who place such central importance on the guerrilla orientation.

Reba joins in sending our best regards,

Joe



February 10, 1973

Germany

Dear Comrade Boepple,

I am enclosing for your information a copy of a letter I wrote to Bala Tampoe with regard to the internal situation that has developed in our international movement. As one of the movement's older cadres and a member of the Control Commission, you have, I am certain, been following with concern the appearance and subsequent deepening of differences.

In case you would want to send me your own impressions of the situation I would be happy to hear from you.

Fraternally yours,

Enc.  
Airmail

Joseph Hansen

February 10, 1973

*Cyprus*  
Dear Comrade Galatis,

The press here has been reporting the latest events surrounding the reelection of Makarios and the new actions of the Grivas forces. We plan to have something about this in a coming issue of Intercontinental Press. If you have any special material, such as clippings from newspapers or magazines, they could prove useful to us. As you know, one of the members of our staff can translate from printed or typewritten Greek. (Handwritten Greek offers a bit of a problem, although we can handle that, too, with some delay.)

Have you been receiving the documents on the internal discussion in the International? What is your opinion on the development of the discussion? We would like to hear from you about this.

For your information I am enclosing a copy of a letter I wrote to Bala Tampoe about the situation as it stands at present. This should bring you up to date (if you have been receiving the internal discussion bulletin regularly).

Fraternally yours,

Enc.  
Airmail

Joseph Hansen

February 10, 1973

*Austria*

Dear Comrade Bruno,

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of a letter I wrote to Bala Tampoe about the situation that has been developing in the International. Perhaps you will agree with some of the points made in the letter, particularly on the problem of getting the documents translated so as to assure a genuinely democratic discussion. If you feel like writing me, please feel free to do so. There is no problem for us to translate from German.

The article in Was Tun about the history of the Trotskyist movement is a most interesting contribution. The Swiss comrades, who also owe much to the founders of the Austrian movement, had already told me a good deal about this so I was familiar with the main outlines. Do you plan to write down more than was included in the Was Tun article? It would be good for Intercontinental Press.

Fraternally yours,

Joseph Hansen

New York  
February 10, 1973

Dear Magan,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Joe Hansen to Bala Tampoe. Copies of this letter are being sent to various leading comrades around the world. These include comrades who were not present at the IEC, or those who were present and did not ~~sign~~ sign the Mandel-Maiten-Frank tendency statement, and leading comrades from other countries not represented ~~in~~ on the IEC. The purpose of sending this letter is to inform comrades around the world of the present status of the discussion ~~in~~ in the world movement and to try to find out what the thinking is of these comrades at this stage.

Among the supporters of the Blanco-Camejo-Lorenzo-Hansen-Moreno document, there are several decisions that have to be taken about the next steps to take in the international discussion. These involve matters both of a tactical nature and of practical implementation. Therefore the five signers of that document have arranged for a small meeting to take place shortly. It is scheduled to be held in Santiago, Chile on the first weekend in March.

In addition to these five, it is hoped that a few leading comrades from other countries who also ~~in~~ support the document will also be able to attend the meeting. In particular, we expect that several leading comrades from other Latin American countries besides Argentina will be able to attend. For example, comrade Hugo Blanco will be at this meeting.

Some of the points that need to be discussed are: the formal organization of the tendency, practical measures to work out such as location of the tendency center and ~~a~~ designation of a tendency secretary, the nature of additional documents to be drafted and the designation of drafting committees, etc. The Santiago meeting can also draft an initial statement to be published in the International Internal Discussion Bulletin and circulated throughout the world movement.

It would be very valuable if you or one of the other central leaders in India who support the Blanco-Camejo-Hansen-Lorenzo-Moreno document ~~in~~ could attend this meeting. However, I assume that this is not possible for practical reasons. Sometime after the meeting, however, I think it will be possible for someone to come to India and hold further discussions with you about the world movement.

Comradely greetings,

cc: Kolpe



New York  
February 13, 1973

George Fyson  
New Zealand

Dear George,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter by Joe Hansen to Bala Tarpoe. Copies of this letter are being sent to leading comrades in the world movement. This includes comrades who were not able to attend the IEC meeting, those who did attend but who did not sign the Mandel-Maitan-Frank tendency statement, and leading comrades from other countries not represented on the IEC. The purpose of sending this letter is to inform these comrades of the present status of the international discussion and to find out what the thinking of these comrades is at this stage of the discussion.

During the IEC the supporters of the Blanco-Camejo-Hansen-Lorenzo-Moreno document had a chance to have some discussions, but some of the comrades had to leave right away after the meeting, with several decisions still left to be decided. These involve decisions regarding tactics in the international discussion and some practical problems; for example, the formal organization of the tendency, location of the tendency center and designation of a tendency secretary, the nature of additional documents to be drafted and the designation of drafting committees, etc.

To resolve these questions, the five signers of the document have decided to call a small meeting to be held in Santiago, Chile, the first weekend in March. This will enable comrade Blanco to attend, as well as leaders of several Latin American parties who are planning to be in Argentina at around the same time for a cadre school. A few other leading comrades from other countries who support the document will also attend.

It would be very good if one of the leading comrades from New Zealand who support this document could attend this meeting; but I assume that this is impractical. However, some time after the meeting, it should be possible for one of the leading comrades to come to New Zealand and Australia for discussions. I will write you again when there is something more definite to propose in this regard.

Please share this letter with the other leading comrades.

Comradely,

Gus Horowitz

New York  
February 13, 1973

Jim Percy  
Australia

Dear Jim,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter by Joe Hansen to Bala Tampoe. Copies are being sent to other leading comrades in the world movement -- comrades who were not able to attend the IEC meeting, comrades who attended but who did not sign the Mandel-Maitan-Frank tendency statement, and leading comrades from countries not represented on the IEC. The purpose of sending this letter is to inform these comrades of the present status of the discussion in the world movement and to find out what the thinking of these comrades is at this stage of the discussion.

Among the supporters of the Blanco-Canejo-Hansen-Lorenzo-Moreno document at the IEC there were still some questions that were left unsettled because some of the comrades had to leave right after the IEC was over. For example, the formal organization of the tendency, location of the tendency center, designation of a tendency secretary, the nature of additional documents to be drafted and the designation of drafting committees, etc.

A small meeting has been called to discuss these questions. It will be held in Santiago, Chile the first weekend in March. This will enable comrade Blanco to attend, as well as leaders of several Latin American parties who support this document. A few other leading comrades from other countries who support the document will attend.

It would be very valuable if you or another leading comrade from Australia who supports this document could attend the meeting, but I assume that this is not possible for practical reasons. However, as we discussed here, it should be possible for a leading comrade to come to Australia for discussions on questions facing the world movement. Hopefully this can be a short time after the March meeting in Santiago. When there is something more definite to propose I will write you.

Please share this letter with the other leading comrades.

Comradely,

Gus Horowitz

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 15, 1973

GOTEBORG

Dear Hakan,

I'm enclosing a copy of a letter I wrote to Bo in Stockholm.  
I'm also enclosing the material I mention in the letter to Bo.  
I do so to keep the Swedish leadership informed of how we see  
the present situation in the international discussion.

Any comments you would like to make on this would be  
appreciated by us.

Comradely,

Peter Camejo



February 15, 1973

CARACAS

Dear David,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter sent by Comrade Hansen to Bala Tampoe, leader of the Ceylonese section. The letter explains the present situation in the international movement after the IEC. Copies of the letter are being sent to leading members of other sections as a means of informing them of our opinions and to attempt to find out their thinking on these matters.

Also enclosed is Joe Hansen's appeal for a postponement of the world congress. This proposal was voted down at the IEC.

I hope to be able to visit you quite soon. Either after the tendency meeting in Santiago at the beginning of March or just before.

We received Miguel's letter reporting on his trip. The perspectives look quite optimistic for Trotskyism in Latin America in the immediate period ahead. We must try to turn the break-through we are making in Argentina into a continent-wide growth of Trotskyist influence. I see that steps are being taken by our comrades in Argentina to come to the help of Venezuela.

I should inform you of some very bad news we just received. Comrade M.A. in Mexico had a terrible car accident. He will live but has suffered terribly and will need a lot of medical attention. He has been in the hospital one week now and new operations will begin soon. We were notified only yesterday but will take immediate steps to make sure he gets the best medical attention possible.

Looking forward to seeing you again.

Comradely,

Peter

cc: Miguel



14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 15, 1973

STOCKHOLM

Dear Bo,

We have not yet received any of the material that the Swedish comrades were to have sent us. They were: (1) your statement on Vietnam passed at your congress so we could print it; (2) the tape recording of my comments at your congress and the discussion, including Vergeat's comments on the international question; (3) the statement of your Political Bureau made after my comments at the congress.

John Benson remained in Sweden after I left and it was my understanding that he would make sure that this material was mailed to us. I know you are quite busy, but I would appreciate it if you could look into this and let me know what has happened. Also let me know if there have been any further decisions by your leadership on the questions that arose at your congress regarding the international discussion.

For your information I am enclosing a letter from Joe Hansen to Bala Tampoe outlining the present situation in the international. It has been mailed to IEC members who were not present at the IEC, to leaders attending the IEC who have not declared for any tendency, and to other leaders in the international. You are, of course, free to share this information with other leaders of your organization.

Please ask Tom to look at the February 23 Militant which describes the factory occupation of a steel factory by 8,000 workers. It is a perfect example of how to use an election to help mobilize workers in direct action. At the crucial moment when the army surrounded the factory and prepared its attack, Jorge Mera, our candidate for Governor of Buenos Aires and a leader of the Bank Workers, entered the occupied factory, receiving an ovation from the workers as he declared he would stand with them in the coming fight. The strike itself was led by a candidate of the Workers' Front, Luis Gomez. Committees to defend the factory occupation were initiated by the PST through the Workers' Front in the community. Some 500 women organized logistics for the strikers, for example, in 50 hours the bosses capitulated!

In the following issue (March 2), The Militant will run an article describing how the PST is organizing worker committees in the poorer districts of Argentina and how out of each conflict taking place in the factories, workers committees led by our party are being formed. I hope that you in Sweden can give some press coverage to these developments.

Comradely,

cc: Hakan (Göteborg)

Peter Camejo

P.S. After returning to N.Y. I checked again into the situation regarding translating the international discussion documents into French and found that the situation is worse than I had reported to your congress. There are quite a few documents I did not mention, which go back three years, including the very important Chinese discussion, which have still not been translated.

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
February 15, 1973

AARHUS

Dear Preben,

For your information I am enclosing a copy of a letter sent by Comrade Hansen to Bala Tampoe, leader of the Ceylonese section. The letter outlines our thinking on the present status of the discussion in the International movement. Copies of the letter have been sent to IEC members who were not present at the IEC in December, to those present who have not declared for the Mandel-Maitan-Frank tendency, and to other individual leaders in the Fourth International. I am enclosing Comrade Hansen's statement in favor of postponing the world congress.

If you have any questions or comments on this material I would, of course, be interested to hear from you.

Is Torben receiving Avanzada Socialista? Have him write me right away if he is not getting it since I will be down there soon and will make sure it is done.

The next issue of The Militant (February 23) will have coverage of a steel factory occupation by 8,000 workers in Argentina. At the critical moment when the army surrounded the plant and prepared to attack, Jorge Mera, the PST candidate for Governor of Buenos Aires and a leader of the Bank Workers, entered the occupied factory, receiving an ovation from the workers. He pledged to stand with them if the army attacked. The workers voted to allow him to stay. No other outsider was permitted in. The leader of the strike, Luis Gomez, is himself a candidate of the Workers' Front. The PST mobilized community committees, and other factories to help in the defense of the occupation. It is a perfect example of how to take advantage of an electoral process to mobilize the workers in direct action.

The March 2 issue of The Militant will run an article on how the PST is organizing worker committees in the poor districts and in factories where conflicts take place.

Comradely,

Peter Camejo

P.S. Please thank Torben for putting Dan and me up. I never had a chance to say good-bye to him.

P.P.S. Enclosed is the agenda for the world congress. Some of the comrades at the meeting asked me for it.

February 22, 1973

MEXICO

Dear Carlos,

We were all very glad that you called us about Manuel's accident. Since I spoke to you I contacted Ernest Mandel in Brussels and asked him to call Paris and to coordinate the effort to raise money for Manuel's operations. Ernest reported back to me a few days later that they had succeeded in raising 500 dollars. Mara should have received that by now. I also called Miguel in Caracas and notified the comrades in Argentina. I understand the Argentine comrade who visited Mexico last year has written Mara and sent a small donation (about 50 dollars). We wired from New York 250 dollars last week and Judy White and Dick Garza who have been instrumental in raising the money are continuing to check out other people they can approach.

All in all I think the response of individuals who knew Manuel has been quite good. All we can hope is that Manuel's recovery is speedy and complete. This whole experience must be very rough on Mara.

Please keep in touch with us on any further developments regarding Manuel's condition.

Ed Shaw and myself (the two people who speak Spanish in the national office) will be out of New York until about March 15. But if necessary you can contact Judy White. Her office number at the USLA office is 691-2880.

We have sent out a letter by Joe Hansen addressed to Bala Tampoe to all IEC members who did not attend the IEC, to those who attended and did not join the majority and to other leaders of the world movement. I'm enclosing that letter for your information. Please write me if you have any comments about it that you would like to pass on.

Comradely,

Peter Camejo



Car...  
1973

MAR - 1 1973

February 26, 1973

Dear Joe,

I receive your letter dated February 10, 1973 as well as the two enclosed texts.

Here I give very briefly my opinion.

1) I agree with the postponement if the points of view are to be discussed in a better way and if a split is to be prevented, which would be disastrous

2) I appeal to everybody to avoid tension of the discussion of the contrasting points of view and to make any effort and every "sacrifice" in favor of the democratic centralism function.

3) I hope to receive all report and discussion documents - which have not yet been handed over to me do not know for which reasons (by pure coincidence I only received the I.I.D.B. - No 1 January 1973)

Cordially yours  
Th. Thal.

Proposal: Signers of the Grito

- Peter: Spain: Salvador, Carmen, Hugo, Carlos  
M-A ~~Ed~~ Britain: Alan, Connie, Tony, Arthur, John  
Peter Denmark: Torben  
Gus ~~Ed~~ India: Magan, Kolpe + ?  
Gus ~~Ed~~ Australia: Jim Percy, Dave Holmes, Col Maynard  
Gus ~~Ed~~ New Zealand: Keith, George  
~~Ed~~ Canada: John, Ross, Ernie, Art, Alan  
M-A China: Shu-tse, Pi-lan  
USA: Joe, Jack, M-A, Peter, Barry, Ed, Gus, Tony Th., ~~Ed~~ Fred  
Peter Argentina: Moreno, Lorenzo, Marcella, Pedro, Alberto, Arturo  
Peter Peru: Tuco, Tito, ↑  
x Chile: Hugo Blanco, Juan Perez  
x Brazil: ~~Ed~~ Javier, Antenor  
Peter Uruguay: ~~Ed~~ Juan, +1  
~~Ed~~ ✓ Venezuela: David, Miguel, Antonio, Anes  

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~~Ed~~ Iran: Javeed, ~~Ed~~  
Ed Colombia: Jaime  
Ed, Peter Mexico: ~~Ed~~ Ricardo, ~~Ed~~ Roberto, Cristina  
Gus } Pakistan: -  
MA Alan }  
~~Ed~~ Cyprus  
Greece

5/10/73

M-A report

Santiago

Venezuela

Brazil

Peru

Spain

USA

Canada

Argentina

Uruguay

Moreno // — faction orientation = set line  
but agreed

political: Chile: Moreno says its not a popular front because  
it is a bloc w/ nat'l not imp.  
section of bourgeoisie



# Declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency

In the document "Argentina and Bolivia—the Balance Sheet," which was submitted to the International Executive Committee at its plenum in December, 1972, the authors ended the section dealing with the current crisis in the Fourth International by proposing that an international tendency be organized to seek reversal of the guerrilla orientation adopted at the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress).

Some of the leaders of the Fourth International met in Santiago, Chile, March 5-8 to consider this suggestion concretely. After discussing the various problems that have arisen because of the crisis, they decided to undertake the responsibility of organizing such a tendency. They agreed on the following platform as a basis for appealing to the ranks of the Fourth International to intervene in an organized way in the struggle that has been conducted up to now on a leadership level among the sections.

## Platform of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency

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

## Membership Requirements

The basis for membership in the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency is agreement with the seven points of the above

platform. Membership in the tendency is open to anyone in agreement with the platform who is a member in good standing of a section or sympathizing group of the Fourth International. In accordance with the tradition of our movement, all those who join must take an open stand, informing the leadership of their section of their action.

## Assessment of Crisis in Fourth International

Besides the platform, those present at the Santiago conference agreed on the following summary of the internal situation now facing the Fourth International:

At the plenum of the International Executive Committee held in December 1972, the comrades responsible for the guerrilla orientation adopted at the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress) made it clear that they do not intend to rectify this erroneous course. Instead, even after hearing a detailed presentation by two leading Latin American comrades of the lessons of the past three years' experience in Argentina and Bolivia, they reaffirmed their course, making it one of the planks in their call for formation of an international tendency to defend their views.

Although this decision was anticipated, it is to be regretted. It marked a further deepening of the crisis over orientation and leadership that has been developing in our movement, for it recorded both the failure of these comrades to recognize the lessons of the events in Argentina and Bolivia and their intention to fight for approval of their course at the coming congress. They played down the disastrous consequences suffered by the official sections of the Fourth International in those countries. In place of backing away from the guerrilla orientation, they hailed it and deepened it. Now they propose to continue as if the test of events had validated their line. Should they succeed, this would mean assuring the political and organizational disintegration of other sections just as surely as it did in the cases of Argentina and Bolivia.

It is clear that the Fourth International now stands at a turning point.

On the broadest analyses made by our movement of the world situation as a whole over the past decade, both sides have found themselves in agreement in the main (with some significant differences in particular sectors and on particular issues). Yet a growing disparity has appeared in the conclusions the two sides have drawn on how the Fourth International should orient itself in certain concrete situations of key importance (Argentina, Britain, Spain, for instance). That is, in general, mounting differences have developed over how the International should handle its own forces *concretely* so as to expand and strengthen them organizationally and ideologically, exert the greatest possible influence in the class struggle, and advance the cause of the socialist revolution most effectively.

To explain and account for this growing gap between the broad analyses of world trends and the conclusions



to be drawn from them in practice in party building is now of crucial importance. Two major tendencies have crystallized in the Fourth International. They stand in opposition on a series of important questions. It is evident from this that one of them must have departed from the methods advanced by Lenin in his works and practice and summarized by Trotsky in the Transitional Program. Such a departure cannot help but more and more deeply affect the concrete political assessments made by the tendency at fault, thus opening the way to political deviations of either an ultraleft or opportunist nature or a combination of both. Differences as fundamental as this must be brought out so that the proper rectification can be made.

It is the existence of conflicting concepts on the methodological level (which includes party-building methods) that explains not only the development of opposing positions on the guerrilla orientation, but to a large degree the development of differences of varying sharpness on various other important questions, such as the nature and role of the Maoist variety of Stalinism, party-building orientation not only for the sections in Latin America and Europe but elsewhere, construction of Marxist youth organizations, the historical balance sheet on "entryism sui generis," policies in the antiwar movement, and now the assessment of the Vietnam agreement and the nature and role of Stalinism in Vietnam.

*The Fourth International cannot overcome its current crisis without bringing the differences involving method-*

*ology into the open and clearing them up.*

The crisis of orientation and leadership in the Fourth International has been compounded by the insistence of some of the comrades of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency that the discussion must be terminated at this point, that we must proceed to a world congress without further delay even if all the documents already submitted and the important ones to come (including resolutions!) have not been made available in translations, that we must resolve the differences—if only temporarily—by organizational measures; that is, by imposing greater international centralization on our movement at this juncture. Instead of ending the crisis, this "solution" would assure its becoming explosive, for it would signify staging an undemocratic congress lacking any real authority.

A preferable course would be to postpone the congress until the nature of the crisis we face has been more clearly defined, the issues at the bottom of the dispute have been fully clarified, the documents have been published, translated, and disseminated, and the ranks have had full opportunity to discuss them and make their own contributions.

One of the immediate objectives of the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency, besides doing everything possible to facilitate the preparations for the coming congress, will be to mobilize rank-and-file sentiment in favor of this wiser alternative.

The initial signers of this document are given below. Others are urged to add their names.

Argentina:	Alberto, Arturo, Capa, Elias, Fierre, Lorenzo, Marcela, Mario, Nora, Pedro	Iran:	Ahmad Heydari, Cyrus Paydar
Australia:	Dave Holmes, Col Maynard, Jim Percy	New Zealand:	George Fyson, Kay Goodger, Russell Johnson, Keith Locke
Brazil:	Antenor, Javier	Peru:	Hugo Blanco, Tito, Tuco
Britain:	Alan Harris, Connie Harris, John Roberts, Tony Roberts, Arthur Stewart	Spain:	Carlos, Carmen, Hugo, Salvador, Trude
Canada:	Alain Beiner, Ruth Bullock, Al Cappe, Joan Newbigging, John Riddell, Ernie Tate, Art Young	United States:	Jack Barnes, Peter Camejo, Fred Halstead, Joseph Hansen, Gus Horowitz, Caroline Lund, Art Sharon, Ed Shaw, Barry Sheppard, Tony Thomas, Mary-Alice Waters
Chile:	Juan Pérez	Uruguay:	Juan, Juan Carlos, Sylvia
China:	Chen Pi-lan, Peng Shu-tse	Venezuela:	Antonio, L. David, Miguel Fuentes, Inés
India:	Kailas Chandra, Mohan Gan		

New York  
March 19, 1973

Dear Magan,

I hope that you received my letter of February 10 describing the meeting that was scheduled to take place in Santiago, Chile. Just in case you may not have received it, I enclose a photocopy.

The meeting was held in Santiago, and it was very successful. A thorough discussion was held, and the comrades present came to general agreement on the political questions facing the world Trotskyist movement that they discussed. Further documents will be written and further discussions will have to take place in the tendency of course, but this was a good beginning.

Comrades were present from Spain, Canada, the USA, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, and Uruguay. They agreed to establish the center of the tendency in New York. They also agreed to issue a platform and to solicit the signatures of other leading comrades to this platform. It can then be published in the internal bulletin and can be circulated to the entire international. The goal is to ~~be~~ publish it at the earliest possible opportunity -- within a few days after you receive this letter, if possible.

Would you and other leading comrades agree to sign the tendency platform (a copy is enclosed)? I suggest that between 2-4 names from India would be appropriate. In order for us to circulate the platform quickly, we need to know the names of the comrades from India who will sign. Please send a telegram to me indicating who these names will be (indicate the ~~names~~ pseudonyms only, if pseudonyms will be used).

Comradely greetings,

Gus

cc. Kolpe



New York  
March 19, 1973

George Fyson  
New Zealand

Dear George,

This is a followup letter to my previous letter of February 13, which took up the current situation in the Fourth International and outlined the plans for a meeting in Santiago, Chile to launch our tendency.

The meeting took place and was very successful. Comrades were present from Spain, Canada, the USA, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, and Uruguay. A thorough discussion was held and the comrades came to ~~mutual~~ agreement on the draft of ~~an~~ a platform of the tendency. A copy is enclosed.

The goal is now to obtain the signatures of leading comrades throughout the world to this platform and declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency. It can then be published in the internal bulletin and circulated throughout the international.

It would be very important to have the signatures of leading comrades from New Zealand. I assume that you have already given some thought to this question, based upon the projections outlined in my previous letter. We would like to get the statement published very quickly, so please ~~x~~ call or send a telegram to let us know who will sign from New Zealand. Most places which sign will probably be represented by 2-4 names, so that can be ~~xxxx~~ taken into consideration.

The Santiago meeting designated New York to be the center for tendency correspondence, so you can write here on any matters relevant to the tendency.

Comradely,

Gus Horowitz

New York

March 20, 1973

DENMARK

Dear Torben,

The Blanco-Hansen-Moreno tendency called a meeting in Santiago, Chile a couple of weeks ago of some of the leaders of the Fourth International who have indicated support of the call for a tendency contained in the document Argentina and Bolivia: A Balance Sheet. Comrades were present from Spain, Canada, USA, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil and Uruguay. They agreed to issue a declaration which establishes clearly the platform on which the "Leninist-Trotskyist" tendency is to be formed.

I have enclosed that declaration for your information. It will be published in the International Internal Bulletin with a preliminary list of endorsers from about 15 countries. If you feel that you agree with the platform and declaration and wish to have your name added you should send us a telegram because the declaration will go to the printer in about a week. Of course, you may want to hold off till later or may not completely agree with the proposed platform.

There has unfortunately been a substantial delay in the response to the European resolution that Mary-Alice Waters was preparing. She was interrupted by the Latin American conference and has only now finished her draft. It went to the printers yesterday and I will mail you a copy as soon as it comes off the press. I think you will find it very interesting. It takes up some of the points we discussed and many others.

Because of the conference in Latin America I had the fortunate experience of being in Argentina during the last part of the election campaign.

The growth of the PST is truly phenomenal. As a result of the election campaign, everyone in Argentina knows of the PST as a party based in the working class. The comrades have organized groups in hundreds of factories today. In almost every strike the Party is present. During the three months of the election campaign the party accepted as applicants more than 1,500 new members. With the opening of the campaign the party stopped recruiting so that it could have time to test these requesting membership. Of those requesting to join only those who became active and showed serious interest were allowed to become applicant members. Now that



.....2

the campaign is over they will begin to selectively pass the best of these to full membership. We are not in a new qualitative situation in Argentina. The rise of a Peronist government can lead to a conjunctural decline for us but in the long run can open the possibility of the PST becoming a mass party.

I hope to be in Europe again soon and will try to visit you so I can give you and the other comrades a first-hand report.

Comradely,

Peter

enc.

March 21, 1973

Dear Comrade Galatis,

I hope that you received Joseph Hansen's letter of February 10, 1973 and his enclosure of the letter he wrote to Comrade Bala Tampoe.

Since then, the authors of the document, "Argentina and Bolivia -- The Balance Sheet," comrades Blanco, Camejo, Hansen, Lorenzo, and Moreno, called together a meeting that was held in Santiago, Chile. Comrades were present from Spain, Canada, USA, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela, Brazil, and Uruguay. A thorough discussion was held, and the comrades came to agreement on the draft of a declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency. A copy is enclosed.

The goal is now to obtain the signatures of leading comrades throughout the world to this declaration. It can then be published in the international internal discussion bulletin and circulated to the entire world movement. Comrades from about 15 different countries will sign this declaration.

Are you willing to add your signature to the declaration? If so, please inform me or Joseph Hansen. Please do so by telegram, if possible, because it is scheduled for publication very shortly.

Yours fraternally,

Gus Horowitz

*Jus*

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014

March 21, 1973

To Alan Harris, Connie Harris, John Roberts,  
Tony Roberts, Arthur Stewart

Dear Comrades,

On March 5-8 a conference was held in Santiago, Chile, attended by a number of comrades supporting the call for the formation of an international tendency as outlined at the end of the document "Bolivia and Argentina -- a Balance Sheet." Comrades were present from Spain, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela, Canada and the United States.

The meeting adopted the enclosed platform and declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency. It was decided to circulate the statement to leading comrades who were unable to attend the Santiago meeting, so that they can add their signatures to the statement before it appears in the International Internal Discussion Bulletin.

From our previous discussions, and from Sabina's letter of February 18 to the authors of the document "Argentina and Bolivia -- the Balance Sheet" we assume that you will want your names added as supporters of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency. It would be appropriate for the five of you to sign, since all of you are either members of the IMG National Committee, the United Secretariat or the International Control Commission. The initial signers of the declaration will include a similar list of comrades from about 15 sections or sympathizing groups.

The tendency platform and declaration will be published in the bulletin as rapidly as we can receive confirmation of names from the initial signers, so we would appreciate a reply by telegram or phone.

The Santiago conference also decided to set up a tendency secretariat to function out of New York from now until the next conference of the international tendency, scheduled for the end of July in North America. We hope you can attend. The tentative idea is that it would be just prior to the SWP convention and educational week. As you know, the world congress is tentatively scheduled for the beginning of September.

One or more of the comrades who attended the Santiago conference will be in London in the next couple of weeks and we can give you a fuller report then. In the meantime, please let us know about the the signatures as rapidly as possible.

Also enclosed is a copy of the letter Joe sent to Bala Tampoe prior to the Santiago conference.

Comradely,

Mary-Alice

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014

March 30, 1973

To the United Secretariat of the Fourth International

Dear Comrades,

On May 11, 1971 the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party sent a letter to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International voicing our concern over a lengthy letter dated November 24, 1970, written by Comrade Livio Maitan under the pen name of "Domingo." The letter came to our attention accidentally when it was circulated in Latin America in mimeographed form. The Domingo letter had not been written in consultation with the United Secretariat; it had not been made available to United Secretariat members; it had been sent without the knowledge of the United Secretariat; yet it dealt with grave problems of the Fourth International, particularly the problems of the Argentine section, in a way calculated to crystallize opinion along factional lines.

In response to our protest, the majority of the United Secretariat held that the Domingo letter was a private matter. Its content, according to this view, did not go beyond the normal limits of a personal communication.

In our opinion, which was expressed in a letter to the United Secretariat dated July 7, 1971, the fact that the majority of the United Secretariat could consider such a communication by one of its own members as a private matter raised a number of very grave questions. The position adopted by the majority of the United Secretariat opened the way to such abuses of authority as operating behind the back of the United Secretariat and behind the back of the leaderships of sections. It could only encourage the formation of cliques and similar unhealthy groupings put together in secret by individual members of the United Secretariat.

All this material was submitted to the International Information Bulletin in June and July of 1971 (No. 4 and No. 5.). (Reprinted in International Internal Discussion Bulletin, Discussion on Latin America, 1969-1972.)

We have now been apprised of a new and even more serious violation of the traditional procedures of our movement in this respect.

On March 6, 1973, our national office received from Comrade Ernest a copy of a lengthy political letter addressed to the comrades of the Argentine PRT (Combatiente). This letter, signed by six members of the United Secretariat -- Alain, Ernest, Livio, Pierre, Sandor, and Tariq -- was dated October 31, 1972. In an accompanying note dated March 1, 1973, Comrade Ernest asked that it be included in a forthcoming issue of the English-language edition of the International Internal Discussion Bulletin.



This Letter of the Six, which is now more than four months old, was never made available to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. It was sent to the PRT (Combatiente) without the knowledge of the United Secretariat. A Spanish version is at the moment being circulated in mimeographed form throughout Latin America without the knowledge of the United Secretariat as a whole. Members of the United Secretariat, who had never before seen the letter, received by accident copies of the Spanish version several days before seeing the copy in French mailed by Comrade Ernest. The Letter of the Six was also kept from the knowledge of the International Executive Committee, a point we will take up below.

We do not challenge the right of members of the United Secretariat to engage in private correspondence with other leaders of the International. However, as with the Domingo Letter, we challenge the procedure of United Secretariat members privately circulating major political documents dealing with questions and problems relevant to the entire world movement. In the case of the Letter of the Six, moreover, it can hardly be argued that it is a "private" letter. It was signed by six members of the United Secretariat who obviously consulted with each other about it.

We should also like to add for the sake of clarity that we do not challenge the right of a faction, formed on a declared platform, to circulate documents within its own ranks. However, this is not what is involved in the Letter of the Six. The six authors did not declare a faction on an open platform in accordance with the principles of our movement -- they have not done so up to this moment. What they did instead was to reach agreement among themselves on the basis of an undeclared platform, undeclared aims, and an undeclared course of action. The proof is that they wrote at least one joint document which they circulated to a sector of the membership without the knowledge of the United Secretariat or the International Executive Committee.

The decision of the six authors to keep the United Secretariat ignorant concerning this letter -- whether for a short time or for four months -- means one thing and one thing only: that a certain group of leading comrades is working behind the back of the elected leadership of the International, both the United Secretariat and the International Executive Committee.

We do not intend to deal with the content of the Letter of the Six at this time. Like the Domingo Letter it includes a tendentious factional attack on the comrades of the sympathizing section of the Fourth International in Argentina, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST). The attack includes false assertions and distortions of the positions of the PST. The letter also contains a detailed political analysis of the course of the PRT (Combatiente) and firmly stated advice to the leadership of that party. We leave aside our disagreement with the political content of the letter in order to focus on the fundamental issue involving the norms of democratic centralism which is at stake.

The Letter of the Six was written more than one month prior to the meeting of the International Executive Committee, which took place the first week in December 1972. The central points on the agenda for that extremely important gathering of the elected leadership of the Fourth International were Bolivia and Argentina. The purpose of the gathering was to prepare resolutions on these points in particular as part of the preparations for the next world congress. A document such as the Letter of the Six should obviously have been included as part of the material to be discussed at the IEC. It would certainly have had a bearing on the decisions reached there and could have influenced the votes of those present. Had the IEC members known of the existence of this letter we are confident they would have demanded to see it and to include it in the discussion. Thus by withholding their letter of October 31 from the IEC as well as the United Secretariat, the six members of the United Secretariat blocked the top leadership of the Fourth International from considering it and discussing it in the period when key resolutions and other documents were being drawn up.

This is all the more disturbing in light of the special declaration made by Comrade Sandor which was read into the IEC minutes.

"But the comrades who voted for the Latin American resolution at the Ninth World Congress," he said, "committed an error in not opening up a fraternal discussion sooner in our movement on the ideological positions of the Argentine section, in particular, on Maoism, the military intervention in Czechoslovakia, and the road toward building a mass revolutionary International, positions with which they are in complete disagreement. These comrades hereby make a self-criticism in this regard and promise to begin a discussion on these questions with the Argentine comrades and throughout the International, in the context of preparing for the Tenth World Congress."

In other words, Comrade Sandor, one of the authors of the Letter of the Six, did not see fit to inform the elected body to which he and the other authors are responsible that they had already begun such a discussion. The other five likewise remained silent. It is clear that this silence was the result of a common decision. In violation of the norms of a democratic international discussion preparatory to the coming world congress, both the United Secretariat and the International Executive Committee were kept in the dark about the existence of this document and its common authorship by six leaders of the International.

Comrade Ernest's letter of March 1 states, "Enclosed you'll find the text of the letter which a certain number of members of the United Secretariat sent to the PRT, prior to the last IEC. Please reproduce this letter in an International Internal Bulletin in English. This was formally decided at the January 1973 United Secretariat meeting."

The minutes for the January United Secretariat meeting, which Comrade Ernest himself drafted, do not list the Letter



of the Six as having been submitted there.

The minutes read:

"5d) New articles submitted to the International Discussion: Germain article; Thérèse answer to European perspectives document; Pi-lan article in answer to Waag; Draft resolution by United Secretariat majority submitted to World Congress. Agreed to include these articles in the International Internal Bulletin."

Comrade Pedro who was the only member of our leadership able to attend that meeting (which coincided with the massive January 20 march on Washington against Nixon's new bombing escalation against the Vietnamese) reported that the existence of a document called the "Letter of the Six" was mentioned at the Secretariat. It was not submitted to the International Internal Discussion Bulletin, however, nor were copies made available to members of the United Secretariat. That was already close to three months after the letter had been sent to Argentina.

The Letter of the Six was not mentioned at the February United Secretariat meeting nor was it submitted to the International Internal Discussion Bulletin at that meeting either.

The Letter of the Six was referred to by Comrade Ernest Germain in his article "In Defence of Leninism: In Defence of the Fourth International." In the section dealing with his differences with the PRT (Combatiente) he says the following: "Nevertheless it must be said that the United Secretariat has made a serious mistake in not opening a frank discussion with the comrades of the Argentine section much earlier than on the eve of the last IEC. This discussion has now started with the letter signed by some members of the United Secretariat and sent to the leadership of the PRT before the last IEC." (Page 18 of the English-language edition.)

When we read Comrade Germain's article, after it reached us following the February United Secretariat meeting, this reference puzzled us. It was inaccurate to imply that the United Secretariat as a whole had made a mistake in not opening up a discussion with the PRT (Combatiente), inasmuch as some members of the United Secretariat had opposed adoption of the guerrilla line at the last world congress and in various documents had argued against it since then and against the guerrilla course followed by the PRT (Combatiente). On the other hand, if the United Secretariat as a whole decided to open a discussion with the leadership of the PRT (Combatiente) on the basis of a critical appraisal of their errors, why had only "some members of the United Secretariat" collaborated on a letter to them? Why didn't all of the members of the United Secretariat vote for it? Were there differences over the letter? What were the differences? Above all, what was the content of this letter, so important that Comrade Germain appeared to view it as one of the founding documents of his tendency?

The mystery is now cleared up. The Letter of the Six was kept from the knowledge of the United Secretariat and the International Executive Committee!

In our opinion, the foregoing facts show that six members of the United Secretariat have operated as a secret faction for at least five months behind the back of the United Secretariat and the International Executive Committee -- the elected leadership bodies of the International.

This development raises grave doubts about the ability of the elected leadership bodies to organize a fully democratic discussion leading to an authoritative world congress, for it is now revealed that the majority of the United Secretariat had circulated at least one very important document to part of the membership of the Fourth International while keeping another part of the membership in ignorance of its existence. There can be no democratic discussion when documents are circulated to some members and not to others; when a secret, undeclared faction gives an arbitrarily selected group access to documents which it refrains from making available to others -- until the time is ripe, or the existence of the document is accidentally revealed as in the case of the Domingo Letter.

Serious doubt has even been placed on the capacity of the United Secretariat to continue functioning in a normal way, for the question inevitably arises: are other documents of the importance of the Letter of the Six now being circulated by the secret faction in the same surreptitious way to a privileged sector of the membership of the Fourth International? If the six deny that other similar documents are being circulated surreptitiously, what basis exists for believing them? Their probity can no longer be taken for granted. They have succeeded in bringing into question their ability, or their willingness, to abide by the norms of democratic centralism. They have placed the interests of a secret faction above those of the movement as a whole. A most damaging blow has been dealt to confidence in the United Secretariat as a collective body.

We ask that this letter be submitted to the International Internal Discussion Bulletin so that the rank and file of the International can be informed of this extremely grave development.

Comradely,

Political Committee  
Socialist Workers Party

cc: International Executive Committee members



(1)

Latin America

Chile -  $\exists$  group pro LTT ~ 10 people  
includes Blanco, Brazilian exiles  
some Chileans  
 $\exists$  perhaps 50 in the section

Peru - ~ 60 eds in section  
industrial work  
universities  
+ recently in high schools  
 $\exists$  newspaper, but not too  
regular || 2,000 copies

Mexico - 60 - 100 in official section  
50 in gp with LT

PST -  $\exists$  contact with Cubans in  
Argentina + Paraguayans

Brazil

(2)

Uruguay - ~~---~~ ~ 90 ideas

~~many~~ workers fractions  
expect to recruit ~ 40 SKs  
soon

+ 150 contacts

500 copies of mimeographed  
weekly paper

~~---~~ were active in recent general  
strike

Argentina -

when Lorenzo left  
PST had decided to run Corral  
& Pieg

whether or not to run - depended  
on law - said 3% of vote  
required to win - otherwise  
loss of legality // if you ran in  
two consecutive elections

(  
PST =

NYT report that Tocco will join  
the slate -  
he is one of the most well-known  
labor leaders in Argentina vs Kucsi

(3)

he is a left wing bureaucrat - but  
representative of post-1969 - when  
upurge -

[illegible]

[illegible]

the (17) (21) points of tendency  
(what is a tendency) discussed at  
Santiago -

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COPY

COPY

COPY

April 17, 1973

Dear Jack,

Enclosed you'll find the answer of the United Secretariat to the PC's letter of March 30. It will be sent from Paris to all IEC members. Please send it to all PC and NC members, as well as to all those comrades of the PST who received the March 30 letter.

Comradely,

s/Walter

To the Political Committee of the S.W.P. April 10, 1973

Dear Comrades,

On the eve of the April session of the United Secretariat, we, as well as all members of the IEC, received your letter dated March 30, 1973, which makes grave accusations against six members of our body. The subject of these accusations is a letter signed by these six comrades (Alain, Ernest, Livio, Pierre, Sandor, Tariq) and addressed to the Argentine section of the Fourth International, the P.R.T. (Combatiente). The United Secretariat decided that an answer to this letter should be sent in the name of that body. This is our answer.

As all comrades know, the Socialist Workers Party is prevented by reactionary legislation from organizational affiliation to the Fourth International. Thus the word "section" always refers to the relationship of fraternal solidarity that the SWP has with the Fourth International. The word "member" when applied to Socialist Workers Party leaders refers to the fraternal observer status and fraternal consultative vote expressing political opinion that is granted Socialist Workers Party leaders at world congresses, International Executive Committee plenums, and United Secretariat meetings of the Fourth International.

It is necessary first of all to set the record straight as to the actual facts. Although the letter addressed to the PRT is dated October 31, 1972, it could not be sent to the Argentine section because of lack of any address, owing to the repression of which that section is victim. The letter was actually transmitted only on December 15, 1972, to the PRT delegate to the IEC, at the time when he returned home.

At the January 20, 1973, meeting of the United Secretariat, that body was informed about the mailing of the letter, as your March 30 communication admits itself. The comrades of the minority were promised a copy of the letter the next day in Paris, because no copy was present at the place where the Secretariat meeting was held. The next day it appeared that no copy was present in Paris either, and that it was necessary to request a copy from comrade Livio. This was received and transmitted to the minority comrades by mail, because for four months after the I.E.C., there has been no resident minority comrade at the Bureau.

From this simple statement of facts, it appears immediately that the only cause for "scandal" would be the one month -- and not four months -- delay between the actual transmission of the document to the PRT on December 15, and the information given to the United Secretariat on January 20.

What was the reason for this short delay?

Obviously, the letter transmitted to the PRT by six members of the United Secretariat, far from being a "secret" letter, was a political criticism of the line of the Argentine section by comrades who had, till that moment, not yet expressed such systematic criticism. Obviously, this letter was intended to be published as widely as possible in the Internal Bulletins of the International. For anybody who reads that letter, this purpose appears evident. Under these circumstances, the signatories of the letter considered it an act of elementary courtesy towards the leadership of the Argentine section, which they strongly criticized, to give it a normal interval of time in which it could read the letter and, if necessary, reply to it, before it was made public inside the world movement. We did not want to place these comrades before an accomplished fact in the



IVth International, because we wanted to discuss with them, not to excommunicate them.

It so happened that the letter to the PRT was immediately translated into Spanish, mimeographed and widely distributed throughout the Latin-American movement, by an oppositional grouping inside the PRT, which had received it through the same comrade who had brought it back from the IEC session. This publication, which undid the very purpose of the delay desired by the signatories of the letter before it should be made public inside the world movement, was evidently not caused or asked for or approved by the six authors of that letter. They have or had no interest whatsoever to "restrict" the circulation of such a document to a particular sector of the world movement.

Had the members of the Political Committee of the SWP wanted to learn what really happened, they could have easily acquired the necessary information from the authors of the document. No reason for complaint would have been found to exist. Even from a very formal point of view, the necessary information about the existence and the mailing of the letter, and its proposed inclusion in the I.I.B., occurred at the first United Secretariat meeting after the transmission of the letter to the PRT.

But instead of simply requesting (and receiving) the information relative to that letter, the Political Committee of the SWP saw fit to blow this trivial matter up into an "incident" and a "scandal" of "principled" magnitude, and to launch grave accusations, including "violation of democratic centralism", against leading members of the Fourth International, accusations even expressed in abusive language. This makes it unavoidable for the United Secretariat to strongly repudiate these unfounded accusations, and condemn the abusive terms used.

1.- The Political Committee of the SWP states:

"The decision of the six authors to keep the United Secretariat in ignorance concerning this letter -- whether for a short time or for four months - means one thing and one thing only: that a certain group of leading comrades is working behind the back of the elected leadership of the International, both the United Secretariat and the International Executive Committee".

This statement, taken at face value, can mean one thing and one thing only: according to the P.C. of the SWP, any political communication going beyond two individuals, and undertaken by members of international leadership bodies outside the knowledge of others, has to be considered as proof that these members "are working behind the back of the elected leadership of the International."

This is certainly an innovation in the history of bolshevism. It has no basis in any official rule established by any document adopted till now by the world movement. The P.C. of

the SWP has of course the right to propose such a new rule for future consideration of the movement. As for us, it appears unacceptable. There is no principled difference between consultation in writing, or by way of mouth, at informal gatherings, through the telephone etc. To admit the latter and not the former is unjustified discrimination. To exclude them all is a stifling of elementary democratic rights of members.

Indeed, the facts show clearly that members of the SWP who are participating in the international leadership, as well as comrades with whom they are now building an international tendency, have themselves been actively involved in the very same "crimes" which they now consider to be so grievous when they are being "committed" by other members of the international leadership.

Just to refresh the PC's memory, we shall recall a single example. When the Sallustro case occurred, a certain number of members of the international leadership, "working behind the back of the elected leadership of the International", adopted a statement in the PC of the SWP without previously informing or consulting their fellow members of the United Secretariat and the IEC. Many of these fellow members saw the statement for the first time only when it appeared in print in "The Militant". None of them were allowed to participate in the discussion leading to the drafting and the publication of that declaration. They were "kept in ignorance concerning this declaration -- whether for a short time or for four months".

In addition, the Canadian section adopted a similar declaration at the same time. There can be no doubt that the Canadian members of the United Secretariat and the IEC consulted on that matter with the SWP comrades, wither in person, or through the telephone, or in writing, and that, according to the criterium used in the SWP's PC letter of March 30, they were thus guilty of the "conspiracy" to "act behind the back of the elected leadership of the International".

2.- The PC of the SWP writes:

"We should also like to add for the sake of clarity that we do not challenge the right of a faction, formed on a declared platform, to circulate documents within its own ranks. However, this is not what is involved in the Letter of the Six. The six members did not declare a faction on an open platform in accordance with the principles of our movement -- they have not done so up to this moment. What they did instead was to reach agreement among themselves on the basis of undeclared platform, undeclared aims, and an undeclared course of action. The proof is that they wrote at least one joint document which they circulated to a sector of the membership without the knowledge of the United Secretariat or the International Executive Committee".

The last part of the last sentence is completely "unproven". As stated before, the Six did not and had no interest to "circulate a joint document to a sector of the membership without



the knowledge of the United Secretariat or the International Executive Committee".

This sentence only takes on any meaning if by "circulating" is understood "consulting" a certain number of comrades before the document is communicated to the whole membership. We should then like to remind the members of the PC of the SWP that the drafting of their declaration and the declaration of the Canadian section on the Sallustro affair also implied obviously mutual consultation among some members of the United Secretariat and the IEC, from which other members of these leading bodies as well as the whole membership of the F.I., had been "arbitrarily excluded". This occurred at a time when the members of the PC of the SWP "did not declare a faction on an open platform", but apparently had "reached agreement among themselves on the basis of an undeclared platform, undeclared aims, and an undeclared course of action. The proof is that they wrote at least one joint document...".

Why didn't we raise that "accusation" at that time? Why didn't we accuse the members of the United Secretariat and of the IEC who are members of the PC of the SWP of having "constituted a secret faction" on an "undeclared platform"? Because the accusation would have been preposterous -- as is the same accusation launched to-day by the PC of the SWP against comrades Alain, Ernest, Livio, Pierre, Sandor and Tariq.

What is involved here is the process of formation of a tendency, and not the operation of a "secret faction". Obviously, for a tendency to be in the process of being formed, it is necessary that it does not already exist prior to this process. Therefore, no "open platform" and "declared aims" of such non-existent tendency can yet be discovered. But growing political differences already manifest themselves. A certain number of comrades already vote repeatedly in the same way in leadership bodies, as against other comrades who vote in the opposite way. How if they refrained from having consultations among themselves? How could such a platform come into existence without some comrades starting to write it together -- "with the exclusion of other comrades"? To call this process the "operation of a secret faction" is ridiculous, and starts to question the basic democratic right of members of the F.I. to create a political tendency on the basis of free consultation and political discussion among themselves.

As a matter of fact, less time elapsed between the drafting of the Letter to the PRT and the call for the constitution of a tendency by the signatories of that letter, in association with other comrades, at the December 1972 IEC session, than between the moment when comrades Joe, Peter, Moreno, Lorenzo and Hugo started to discuss and circulate among them ("behind the back of the leadership bodies of the F.I.") the first drafts of "Argentina and Bolivia -- a balance-sheet", which was finally submitted to the leading bodies of the International only 4-5 months later.

We do not challenge that procedure, because it is impossible to create tendencies otherwise. But what is an admitted right



for some must be an admitted right for all. If the P.C. of the SWP does not think that its members have violated democratic centralism by the way in which they came to draft the resolution on the Sallustro affair or the document "Argentina and Bolivia -- a balance-sheet", then it should cease and desist from accusing other members of the international leadership of having committed such "violations".

We are not ready to accept the argument that such procedure is permissible for members of the international leadership who are also members of leadership bodies of a single national section or sympathizing organization, but that it is impermissible procedure for those comrades who, while being members of the international leadership, happen to be members of leadership bodies of various national sections or sympathizing organizations. In the first place we reject any federalist concept of the International, and therefore consider that members of international leadership bodies have their prime responsibility towards these bodies. In the second place, such a distinction would introduce an impermissible element of discrimination among comrades, giving privileges to some which are denied to others, which is in contradiction with the fundamental equality of rights of all members of the F.I. and its sympathizing organizations.

3. Let us add that in the process of building the tendency for which 19 members of the IEC launched an official call in December 1972, the letter to the PRT leadership was all the more called for, as it was necessary to establish first of all whether there existed basic political differences between the PRT leadership and the comrades engaged in the preparation of building that tendency. This could not be done without some form of consultation. Oral consultation was impossible for reasons of repression. Only written consultation was open to them. It was therefore entirely within the rights of these comrades building a tendency to have such a consultation, prior to making that document known to the whole world movement.

Late September 1972 we received issue nr. 8/9 of "Revista de America". In this is published a letter of comrade Moreno to a Brazilian comrade, dated July 1, 1972. It was written and mailed nearly three months before we received it - in publicly printed form! The letter is addressed to a comrade who seems to be the leader of a Brazilian group which has not yet even formally requested to be recognized as a sympathizing organization of the F.I. It deals with all kinds of political problems around Bolivia, implying strong criticism of the Bolivian section. It is not the only letter dealing with problems debated in the F.I. which comrade Moreno has exchanged with Brazilian comrades. No file of that correspondence has even been handed over to the United Secretariat of the F.I. Bilateral communications between comrade Moreno's group and this Brazilian group, a Uruguayan group, and certainly comrades in other Latin-American countries, have been going on for years, without the leading bodies of the International receiving a single scrap of paper, - till they saw the July 1, 1972 letter in public print. At that moment, comrade Moreno had not declared a public ideological tendency. Had he then been acting for many years



as a "secret faction", "with an undeclared platform and undeclared aims"?

4.- The comrades of the PC of the SWP write:

"In our opinion, the foregoing facts show that six members of the United Secretariat have operated as a secret faction for at least six months behind the back of the United Secretariat.... This development raises grave doubts about the ability of the elected leadership bodies to organize a fully democratic discussion leading to an authoritative world congress.... Serious doubts have even been placed on the capacity of the United Secretariat to continue functioning in a normal way.... If the six deny that other similar documents are being circulated surreptitiously, what basis exists for believing them? Their probity can no longer be taken for granted. They have succeeded in bringing into question their ability, or their willingness, to abide by the norm of democratic centralism".

These wild and abusive accusations -- even calling into question the "probity" of comrades, just because the copy of a letter obviously intended to be published in the widest possible way inside the International was mislaid in Paris at the end of January; raising "violations" of "norms" of democratic centralism not contained in any official document of the F.I. -- can only have one consequence: to poison the minds of those who receive them and read them against the six comrades accused; to prevent the leading cadres of the SWP and their allies to seriously weigh the political arguments of comrades; to cast doubt, in advance, upon the "authoritativeness" of a world congress where they fear to be in minority, after the longest and most democratic discussion ever known in the world Trotskyist movement.

In sending such a letter, without the slightest material basis, without prior examination of facts which could easily have been ascertained, and in complete conflict with elementary logic (for what reason would the Six want to "keep secret" a political differentiation with the PRT which, as the PC of the SWP itself notices, was already publicly announced at the IEC?), the comrades of the PC of the SWP have succeeded in striking a serious blow against a free, open and democratic pre-congress discussion, which can only take place on a political basis, around political documents and platforms, and not with the aid of manufactured "scandals", blown-up "incidents", and personal attacks on the probity of leading comrades, as those launched in the March 30 letter. We call upon all members of the IEC and all members of the NC of the SWP not to follow this bad example, and to keep the discussion on a strictly political basis.

Adopted by a majority vote of the United Secretariat:  
For: 9 -- Delfin, Ghulam, Livio, Pierre, Riel, Sandor, Stern,  
Vergeat, Walter.  
Against: 6 -- Abel, Adair, Hans, Juan, Pedro, Thérèse.

23 Lambeth Towers,  
Kennington Road,  
London SE 11,  
England.

tel: 01 735 5566

June 9th, 1973

To the Political Committee  
of the R.W.I., Brussels.

Dear comrades,

We would like to inform you that the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency will be holding a conference in Brussels the weekend of July 14-15th.

We would appreciate any help and assistance you may be able to provide to those comrades working on the physical arrangements of the conference.

with comradely greetings,

Alan Adair

Alan Adair,  
for the Leninist-Trotskyist  
tendency.

c.c. USFI.



JUN 27 1973

London  
England

June 21st, 1973

To the Political Bureau:

Dear comrades,

Enclosed is an announcement of the Brussels conference of the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency.

We would appreciate it if this information could be made available promptly to your membership.

comradely,

Adair,  
for the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency.

London  
England

June 21st, 1973

To the Political Bureaus of the Sections and Sympathising Organisations  
of the Fourth International:

Dear comrades,

The Leninist-Trotskyist tendency has scheduled a meeting in Brussels on July 14-15th. Comrades who feel it necessary to change the line adopted at the last world congress on Latin America and who are in general agreement with the approach outlined in the Bolivia and Argentina sections of the balance sheet (volume IO number 1, IIDB) authored by Hugo Blanco, Peter Camejo, Joseph Hansen, Anibal Lorenzo and Nahuel Moreno, are welcome to attend and participate in the discussions.

The meeting will take up the present stage of the differences on Latin America and the organisation of the debate on this question in preparation for the next world congress.

Reporters of the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency will also explain how they see the interrelationship of the errors on Latin America at the last world congress and the issues under discussion in the International today.

Comrades attending the meeting, should, on arrival, go to the Brussels headquarters of the Belgium section at 121 rue d'Espagne, (telephone: 385812).

For further information write to Alan Harris,  
23 Lambeth Towers,  
Kennington Road,  
London SE11.

comradely,

Adair,  
for the Leninist-Trotskyist tendency.

PC report 7/20/73

1.) <sup>(European)</sup> LTT Conf - Brussels July 14-15

70-75 present

- a) Bal - Peter
- b) Arg. - Alberto
- c) Spain/Er-S
- d) Joe - general

- 6 - Spain
- 15 - Britain
- 11 - Belgium
- 10 - Germany
- 3 - Sweden
- 1 - Denmark
- 1 - France
- 1 - H.K.
- 2 - Iran
- 10-15 U.S.
- 2 - Aust.
- 1 - Arg.

there were several layers

i] - supporters of L-T-T  
pol. level was good

report on Spain - evolution of differences since the split - deepening along <sup>lines of</sup> minority violence

ii] debate with those who agree on Latin America, but not on other questions - e.g. Karl  
- Amin - influenced by Germain document

iii] rank + file // new to discussion // open to our views

a layer of Germans didn't ~~show~~ <sup>show</sup> up



on different experiences  
organizational norms

In the difficulty of explaining formation of a  
faction — due to lack of experience of  
values of FI

— on the one hand, this is a problem —  
but is also an opportunity to explain <sup>(not just particular org problem, but)</sup> movement  
norms <sup>(as a whole)</sup> from several different angles

Q — why do many comrades supporting <sup>TBC might</sup> ~~secret~~  
think that the method of secret faction is a normal  
procedure

— stems from miseducation; widespread acceptance  
of a method of failing to confront forthrightly both  
political and organizational questions — this goes  
under the name of well-roundedness <sup>organizational experience / devoc</sup> <sup>political</sup>

~~intrinsic~~  
~~dem cut~~ ~~but genuine~~

e.g. 1) failure to state political positions clearly  
— double-talk resolutions — <sup>Lot. Amer // Europe</sup>

need someone to interpret  
i.e. secret faction

such resolutions give inexperienced comrades  
the image of being well-rounded,  
taking all factors into account

soften, or muddy up clarity

Bolshevik norms standards

2) non-assimilation of  
organizational norms of Bolshevism

— Ken Lewis — all tenderness  
— repelled from loyalty norm of SWP  
<sup>convention</sup>



leads to  
a secret  
faction  
b) because  
concept of  
centralism  
isn't  
handled  
politically

~~Secret~~  
~~Sec of~~  
Factor = reverse side of license

Bolshevik method = rigid standards of conduct

- requires

strict guarantees of rights

- e.g. translation

discussion

collaboration

strict obligations to elected bodies & sections

- political

- organizational

obligations

Meaning of Internal Bulletin

Central Mess  
military families  
inside Base

---

London

Spain

Factor does not imply split

---

Comrades can consult +  
write to each other

---

Story of Path London



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 <sup>is</sup> [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 "recognition" debate - Verdad of Cuba*
  - 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, <sup>Com</sup>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 <sup>(incoming)</sup> 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<sup>s</sup> for membership subject to approval by faction.
- d. Members subject to faction discipline.
- e. Faction is structured and has elected leadership.
- f. Faction <sup>with permission of party</sup> may issue its own 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. <sup>accelerate unaccepted ideas, demands, parallel caucuses</sup> 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 <sup>cf. Petrusen refusal on Comiso</sup> 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 Institute*

*Marsyas  
class & desert  
gen. strategy*

*Class & Desert*



...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.