

New York, N.Y.
October 3, 1973

To: National Committee Supporters of the Majority Caucus

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are copies of the material sent today to Majority Caucus Correspondents. However, since National Committee members received (along with their PC minutes of September 28, 1973) a number of the items referred to in the report to the International Steering Committee of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction, these items have not been enclosed with this mailing.

For copies of 1) "Recommendations to the Delegates of the Coming World Congress," adopted unanimously by the United Secretariat, 2) the motion by Pierre concerning the date and preparations for the world congress and the countermotion by Hans, and 3) the correspondence with the comrades in Washington and Bloomington, please refer to the material you have already received.

Comradely,

Ed Shaw

New York, N.Y.
October 1, 1973

To: Steering Committee, Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

Dear Comrades,

The September 17-19 meeting of the United Secretariat made a number of important decisions regarding the coming world congress and the organization of the preparatory discussion.

Most important was the unanimous "Recommendations to the Delegates of the Coming World Congress," which is attached. Agreement on the 10 points removes from contention a number of the organizational questions which stood in the way of a political discussion at the world congress and further clarification of the issues in dispute.

The agreement also guarantees that discussion will continue after the world congress on important questions which have only begun to be debated in the world movement.

At the same time, however, the majority of the United Secretariat, by a vote of 8 to 6, insisted on scheduling the world congress at the beginning of 1974, and closed the list of new contributions to the written discussion prior to the congress. The United Secretariat minority believes the time schedule adopted makes it impossible to meet the "Preconditions for An Authoritative World Congress," adopted unanimously by the April 1973 United Secretariat meeting.

The attached motion by Pierre and the countermotion by Hans outline the positions expressed by the majority and minority of the United Secretariat respectively.

The objective correctness of the position expressed by the United Secretariat minority, urging a later cutoff date for written contributions and several more months for discussion, has already received confirmation from the letter sent to the United Secretariat by the comrades of the Kompass tendency in the German Section. A copy of this letter, sent to the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction, is attached.

Also attached are (1) the letter from Walter to all sections and sympathizing organizations, to which the comrades of the Kompass tendency are responding; and (2) a copy of a correction to Walter's letter from Comrade Juan.

It was agreed that both the April unanimous statement of the United Secretariat and the October unanimous recommendations to the delegates to the world congress should be published immediately in the International Internal Discussion Bulletin.

* * *

The United Secretariat was given a report on the decision of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency conference to convert to a faction. The draft declaration, "The New Situation in the Fourth International," was submitted to the IIDB, and copies

were given to the members of the United Secretariat.

Comrade Walter, reporting for the comrades of the IEC Majority Tendency informed the United Secretariat of the decisions made by their September 8-9 tendency meeting. He stated that the IEC Majority had decided not to openly declare itself a faction; and alleged that it had no discipline except within the framework of the documents which define the tendency.

In addition to the documents earlier adopted by the IEC Majority Tendency (i.e., "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe," "In Defence of Leninism: In Defence of the Fourth International," "Bolivia -- Results and Perspectives," and the two tendency declarations) the September meeting of the IEC Majority approved the general line of and adopted three new tendency documents. The three are a draft political resolution to be submitted to the pre-world congress discussion, a reply to the United Secretariat minority document "Two Assessments of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: A Balance Sheet," and a new resolution on Argentina. Copies of the political resolution and the China document were submitted at the United Secretariat meeting in French. As there was no time to translate or study them, they were not discussed or voted on, but it was agreed to publish them in the IIDB without waiting for discussion at the October United Secretariat. They are currently in the process of being translated and prepared for publication. The new document on Argentina was not available.

Comrade Walter also reported that there are now 60 more members of the IEC Majority Tendency (in addition to the 50 who signed the original declaration of tendency in March), and that these 110 are the only members of the IEC Majority Tendency. Their tendency, he informed the Secretariat, is not open to anyone who declares agreement with the platform (as has traditionally been the case with tendencies in our movement) and is not open to the ranks of the sections and sympathizing groups of the Fourth International. The IEC Majority promised to publish a list of its members and its steering committee members for the information of the membership of the world movement.

* * *

The United Secretariat also discussed and adopted by a vote of 7 for, 6 against, a declaration on the recent events in Chile (see "Solidarity with the Chilean Workers," Intercontinental Press, October 1, 1973, pp. 1099-1102).

A minority of the United Secretariat put forward several amendments which were accepted. Two proposed amendments however, were defeated by votes of 6 for and 7 against:

1) Motion by Juan: to unambiguously label the Unidad Popular government as a popular front, as we did in the previous United Secretariat declaration on Chile, by replacing the word "coalition" by "popular front" in the second sentence of the first paragraph of the section entitled "The Unidad Popular Program and the Dynamics of Mass Mobilization."

2) Motion by Hans: to drop the paragraph in the last sec-

tion (p. 1102) that projects the eventuality of calling for international brigades.

* * *

Some 40 new documents were submitted to the IIDB at this meeting of the United Secretariat. In addition to the documents already mentioned or referred to in the attached motions, these included:

* an answer to the Political Committee of the SWP from the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste on the election policy of the Ligue Communiste

* a number of contributions by supporters of the IEC majority document on Europe

* a draft resolution on the Arab revolution drafted by the Lebanese comrades plus amendments and commentary by several comrades

* a draft international women's liberation resolution by the United Secretariat minority and a criticism of that draft by comrades of the women's commission of the former Ligue Communiste

* a document by Germain in answer to Gus Horowitz on the national question

* two articles by comrades from Iran

* three articles by comrades of the Liga Comunista in Spain [formerly the Encrucijada tendency]

* two articles by comrades of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria in Spain [formerly the En Marcha tendency]

* two contributions from the Bolshevik Faction in Argentina, two from the Red Faction in Argentina, and one from the comrades of the POC(Brazil) [two contributions from the leadership of the PST were submitted at an earlier meeting]

* a contribution on the antiwar movement by the comrades of the Socialist Action League (New Zealand)

* several contributions on Ireland, including a draft resolution by the United Secretariat minority.

* Jack Barnes' report to the SWP convention on the current situation in the world movement

Some of these contributions are already in hand, others are still being written. Given the October 1 cutoff adopted by the United Secretariat, beyond which translation and circulation in all three languages (English, Spanish and French) cannot be assured, it is likely some of these will not be in the hands of all comrades for discussion prior to the selection of delegates to the world congress.

* * *

The United Secretariat majority also took the unprecedented step of voting to restrict the contributions from the comrades of the two sympathizing organizations in Spain to a total of 25 type-written pages for each group. The minority of the United Secretariat rejected this action as being out of order. No other section, sympathizing group or individual has been limited in such a way by the United Secretariat (although the U.S. majority cited the precedent of restricting the contributions from the Bolshevik Faction in Argentina, which is not even a sympathizing organization of the International and has no right to submit anything to the internal discussion). The Spanish question and the repercussions of the split in Spain are extremely important to the entire International and fundamental to the differences over the points on the world congress agenda. The United Secretariat minority argued that given the deadline for submission of material the Spanish comrades would not have time to adjust whatever they had written to meet such arbitrary and last-minute limitations.

A counter-motion by Hans to ask the comrades of the LC and the LCR to keep their contributions within a reasonable size, but without imposing an arbitrary limit, was defeated by 8 votes against, 6 for.

* * *

It was unanimously agreed that Quatrième Internationale, the official organ of the IEC, should publish in the issue after next a major document of the Liga Comunista in Spain, outlining its general political orientation. The May-August 1973 issue of Quatrième Internationale published a document by the LCR as a special insert entitled "Resolution on Building the LCR as a Section of the Fourth International in Spain."

* * *

The declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction is being printed at the present time in the English-language discussion bulletin and should be mailed to you in several days. Included in the same bulletin (IIDB Vol. X, No. 15) will be the Barzman letter, the April and October unanimous declarations of the United Secretariat, and two contributions on the Vietnam debate, one by Gus Horowitz and one by Geoff Mirelowitz (SWP).

The next two bulletins which will be available shortly in English are:

Vol. X, No. 16: "The Real Record of the Canadian Section: In Reply to Comrade Germain," by John Riddell and Art Young

Vol. X, No. 17: "Theses on the Irish Revolution," Draft Resolution submitted by United Secretariat members Abel, Adair, Hans, Juan, Pedro, Stateman and Thérèse; and "The Test of Ireland," by Gerry Foley

For your information we are enclosing a list of the current French-language discussion bulletin. The Nouvelle Série #1-16 has been published in Belgium and can be ordered directly by writing to E. Mandel, 127 rue Josse Impens, 1030 Bruxelles, Belgium. If comrades have any difficulty obtaining these bul-

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letins, please let us know.

A list of Spanish-language bulletins will follow shortly.

Comradely greetings

Mary-Alice

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KOMPASS
Tendenz in der GIM

p.adr.: Herbert Obenland,
6 Frankfurt / M
Nordendstrasse 30

To
United Secretariat
cc International Majority Tendency
cc Leninist Trotskyist Faction

September 27, 1973

Dear comrades,

on Wednesday, September 26, 73, the headquarter of the GIM received a letter by comrade Walter on behalf of the United Secretariat, dated from September 22, which came to the knowledge of our tendency at the same day.

In this letter it is pointed out, that the deadline for announcing contributions to the international discussion was the September - 73 - U.S. -meeting, and the deadline for submitting announced contributions will be October 1, 73. The letter of comrade Walter refers to the April 1973 U.S.-meeting decisions and to the reminder of these decisions from July 73.

Concerning the April - 73 - U.S. decisions we'd like to quote from the letter by Karl from August 10, 1973, to the United Secretariat, which he wrote as an IEC-member, but which was also true for the Political Bureau of the GIM as a whole:

"today I received the minutes of the May 14-15, 1973, meeting of the U.S. (...)

"By the way the above mentioned minutes of the US are the first I received since the minutes of the United Secretariat Meeting of October 28 and 29, 1972."

That means neither the GIM-PB nor Karl as an IEC member received the April decisions referred to in cde. Walter's letter.

Concerning the July - 73 - U.S. confirmation of these decisions we'd like to quote from the letter by Martine from September, 14, 1973 to cde. Karl:

"In Zukunft schicke ich sie (the minutes of the US-meetings) aus, und lhr bekommt sie. Es dauert allerdings jetzt sehr lang, da sie zur Uberprufung hin und hergeschickt werden: so haben wir das Juli-Protokoll noch immer nicht, obwohl nachste Woche bereits das September - US stattfindet. (...)"

That means, we did not receive the confirmation and the reminder made at that US meeting either.

To be complete, in answer to Karl's letter from August 10, 73 he did receive a photocopy of the Attachement Nr.4 of the April 9 US-meeting, enclosed to a letter by Walter from August 17. The letter did not mention the question of the deadline, but the Attachement No.4 includes a sentence, which should have warned us and should have stimulated us to ask for further details: "In accordance with the new date it also recommends that the final date for submission of material be set approximately three

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months in advance of the world congress." Perhaps the importance of that sentence has been overlooked at first readings.

Let us come to the conclusions: In general our tendency of course has no objections against the October 1, 73 deadline. But insofar this came to our full notice only in September 26, 4 days before the deadline, just time enough for a protest, it brings us in a very unfavorable situation to use our democratic rights. So we propose the following:

1. to give us time to bring our position to the European Perspective Document into the international discussion until the date of the next US-meeting (October 23, we think);
2. to give us three weeks time after receiving those World congress drafts which are not yet out to answer them in the framework of the international discussion if we think it's necessary to do; that concerns world perspectives and Argentina.

Rotfront

on behalf of the steering committee
Karl

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September 22, 1973.

To all sections and sympathising organisations

Dear comrades,

At its september 1973 session, the United Secretariat has definitively confirmed the date of the 10th world congress (4th since reunification) as being end 1973-beginning 1974. The precise date will be communicated to you orally. It has been fixed in such a way, that Christmas 1973 can still be used as date for national conferences and congresses of sections or sympathising organisations, preparatory to the world congress.

The confirmation of that date for the coming world congress implies, given the decisions of the April 1973 United Secretariat meeting which have been recalled to your attention by the July 1973 Secretariat, that the deadline for submitting discussion contributions for the world congress discussion has been the september 1973 United Secretariat meeting. The articles whose publication the United Secretariat can guarantee at least in English and French, in the international pre-congress discussion bulletins, must be present at the Bureau's office the latest on October 1.

For your information, up till Sept. 15, 100 discussion contributions have been printed in English and French. At the September 1973 United Secretariat meeting, more than 50 supplementary contributions have been announced and accepted; they will appear in the coming weeks.

The September 1973 United Secretariat meeting also decided, and this unanimously, that the representation at the next world congress should be based upon 1 mandate for every 50 members or fractions of 50 members, starting with 30 and upwards. The representation of minorities should be proportional to votes received in the membership on a national scale, and based upon the same key: 1 mandate for 50 votes or fractions of 50 votes, starting with 30. This means that a tendency receives 1 mandate for 30 to 79 votes in the membership; 2 mandates for 80 to 129 votes, etc.

The minutes of the September 1973 United Secretariat meeting, which contain other resolutions and recommendations for the coming world congress, and which confirmed unanimously the April 1973 United Secretariat resolution on the conditions for an authoritative world congress, will be sent to you in a few days.

Fraternally yours,

For the United Secretariat Bureau,

Walter.

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New York
Sept. 27, 1973

Dear Comrade Walter,

We received your letter of September 22, which you sent out to "all sections and sympathising organisations."

There are two errors that we would like to call your attention to:

1. You state: "The articles whose publication the United Secretariat can guarantee at least in English and French, in the international pre-congress discussion bulletins, must be present at the Bureau's office the latest on October 1."

The fact is that it was agreed in the statement passed unanimously by the United Secretariat last April, setting down the pre-conditions for an authoritative world congress, that publication of contributions was guaranteed in English, French, and Spanish.

2. You state: "The representation of minorities should be proportional to votes received in the membership on a national scale, and based upon the same key: 1 mandate for 50 votes or fractions of 50 votes, starting with 30. This means that a tendency receives 1 mandate for 30 to 79 votes in the membership; 2 mandates for 80 to 129 votes, etc."

The United Secretariat, as noted in its September minutes which you drafted, decided only "that representation of minorities of national sections or sympathizing groups in the world congress delegations be proportional on the basis of total membership on a national scale." What key this is to be based on was referred to the Parity Committee to propose to the next United Secretariat.

By some oversight you failed to mention that in addition it was decided by common agreement that the question of representation for small newly formed groups in countries where there are no sections as yet, would be referred to the Parity Committee for recommendations to the delegates at the world congress.

Fraternally,

Juan

CONTRIBUTIONS AU DEBATE INTERNATIONAL

DISPONIBLE EN FRANCAIS

(1 octobre 1973)

Série: Documentation Internationale

- No. 1 -- Fascicule A
1. Résolution du 9ème Congrès Mondial sur l'Amérique Latine
 2. Un texte insuffisant, de Livio Maitan (15 mai 1968)
 3. Critique du projet de résolution sur l'Amérique Latine, de Joseph Hansen (12 mars 1969)
 4. Rapport sur le troisième congrès depuis réunification, de Joseph Hansen (4 juin, 1969)
 5. Une contribution à la discussion sur la stratégie révolutionnaire en Amérique Latine, de Joseph Hansen (26 juin 1969)
 6. Lettre de Livio Maitan à Hugo Blanco (26 mars 1970)
 7. Guerre de guérilla: Les leçons de la Chine, lettre d'un trotskyste Chinois (31 juillet 1969)
 8. Lettre de Hugo Blanco à Livio Maitan (17 octobre 1970)
 9. Encore une fois sur les perspectives révolutionnaires en Amérique Latine: Défense d'une orientation et d'une méthode, de Livio Maitan (30 sept. 1970)
- Fascicule B
1. L'orientation stratégique des révolutionnaires en Amérique Latine, de Ernest Germain et Martine Knoeller (Nov. 1970)
 2. Pour la défense de la stratégie léniniste de construction du parti, de Joseph Hansen (19 mars, 1971)
 3. Correspondance Stein-Hansen-Camejo, mai-juin 1971)
 4. L'affaire Domingo (mai-juillet 1971)
 5. Centrons le débat, évitons les diversions, de Livio Maitan (23 juin 1971)
 6. Encore et toujours la question de la Quatrième Internationale, de Pierre Frank et Alain Krivine (10 juin 1971)
 7. Lettre au congrès national du SWP, de Pierre Frank (26 juillet 1971)
- No. 2 La construction des partis révolutionnaires dans l'Europe capitaliste (septembre 1972)
- No. 3 Résolution du bureau du S.U. après la publication des accords Kissinger-Le Duc Tho (30 octobre, 1972)
- Lettre sur la Bolivie, de Raimond (septembre 1971)
- Commentaire sur le document d'A. Krivine et P. Frank "Encore et toujours sur la question de l'Internationale," de Hugo Blanco (novembre 1971)
- Au Comité Exécutif de la IVème Internationale, C.C. du P.R.T. (Combatiente), et C.E. du P.R.T. (Combatiente) -- "A propos du groupe La Verdad" (20 août 1971)
- Pour la construction et le renforcement des sections latino-américaines de la IVème Internationale, de L. David, M.

- Fuentes, Antonio, *Imés* (janvier 1972)
Une contribution à la discussion dans l'Internationale sur
la tactique et la stratégie en Amérique Latine, de A.
Iber, J. Montero, T. Ismael (février 1972)
- No. 4-5 Argentine et Bolivie: Le Bilan, de Hugo Blanco, Peter
Camejo, Joseph Hansen, Aníbal Lorenzo, Nahuel Moreno
(décembre 1972)
- No. 6-7 En défense du Léninisme: En défense de la Quatrième
International, de Ernest Germain (5 jan. 1973)
Déclaration du 19 membres du C.E.I. (décembre 1972)
- No. 8 Constitution de tendance internationale
Bolivie: bilan et ligne d'orientation (adopté par la maj-
orité des membres du C.E.I., décembre 1972)
Lettre au P.R.T. (Combatiente), de Ernest, Livio, Pierre,
Sandor, Tariq, Delphin (31 octobre 1972)
Quelques divergences fondamentales entre le P.R.T. et la
majorité de l'Internationale, de Ernest, Livio, Pierre,
Sandor, Tariq, Delphin (10 février 1973)
- No. 9 Qui devons-nous soutenir dans l'actuelle révolution chin-
oise? de Hajime Osada
Texte préparatoire à la Conférence Internationale des
sections européennes, de Verjeat, Delphin (juillet 1971)
- No. 10 Le débat sur l'Indochine, de Sterne
Texte introductif au "2ème souffle" (published in English
as "A contribution to the Discussion on the Worldwide
Radicalization of the Youth -- resolution passed by the
Political Bureau of the French Communist League) (août
1969)
- No. 11 Résolutions du Vème congrès du P.R.T. (juillet 1970)
- No. 12 La crise politique et les perspectives de lutte révolu-
tionnaire en Argentine (adopté par la majorité des mem-
bres du CEI, décembre 1972)
Les leçons de Bolivie, de Aníbal Lorenzo

Nouvelle Série: Documents et informations de sociologie

- No. 1 Une Critique de la résolution de la majorité du Secrétariat Unifié sur "La construction des partis révolutionnaires en Europe capitaliste"-une première contribution, de Mary-Alice Waters (27 février 1973)
- No. 2 Les véritables leçons de l'expérience chinoise sur la guerilla, de Chen Pi-lan (10 janvier 1971)
Relations entre le PRT (Combatiente), section argentine de la IVème Internationale, et le Secrétariat Unifié (10 juin 1972)
- a. Déclaration du Bureau Politique du SWP à propos de l'enlèvement Sallustro
 - b. Déclaration de la LSA-LSO sur l'enlèvement de Sallustro
 - c. Extraits du Procès Verbal du Secrétariat Unifié
 - d. Motion adoptée par le plenum du comité national du SWP
 - e. Déclaration des membres du Secrétariat Unifié (Delfin, Ghulam, Livio, Petersen, Pierre, Sandor, Walter)
 - f. Lettre du B.P. du PRT et résolutions proposées

- No. 3 La seule voie vers le pouvoir ouvrier et le socialisme, de Carlos Ramirez, Sergio Domecq et Juan Candela, (présenté par le P.R.T.-Combatiente)
- No. 4 Différences entre les deux documents sur la révolution culturelle, de Joseph Hansen (juin 1969)
- No. 5 Deux modes de construction et d'intervention du parti marxiste révolutionnaire, de Pierre Frank (20 juin 1973)
Contribution à la discussion internationale, de Marcel (17 avril 1973)
Déclaration de tendance Léniniste-Trotskyiste (8 mars 1973)
Nouveaux développements de la situation en Chine, de Chen Pi-lan (mars 1969)
- No. 6 Lénine contre Germain, de Peter Camejo (20 mai 1973)
Pourquoi nous n'avons pas signé la déclaration de la tendance de la majorité internationale, de Nico, Karl, Heinrich, Albert, Emanuel, Karew, Hartmut, Oskar, Juan, Werner, Richard, Oliver (10 mai 1973)
Pourquoi nous avons rejoint la tendance majoritaire, de Mintoff, Sonja (10 mai 1973)
A propos des demi-vérités du camarade Germain: ou comment le drapeau de l'ERP fut mis sur le cercueil, de Fred Halstead (15 mai 1973)
- No. 7 Lettre au BP du SWP sur la formation d'une tendance politique, de Bill Massey, John Shaffer, Don Smith (19 janvier 1973)
Déclaration de la tendance internationaliste du SWP (27 mai 1973)
Déclaration d'appui à la tendance majoritaire internationale de la part de camarades du SWP (10 juin 1973)
Huit documents du plénum de décembre 1972 du comité exécutif International
- No. 8 Projet original de la résolution du 9ème congrès mondial sur la "Révolution Culturelle" et amendements proposés à ce projet par la majorité
Une critique du document de la majorité du secrétariat unifié concernant la "Révolution Culturelle", de K. Nishi (mai 1969)
Critique d'une critique: Réponse au camarade K. Nishi, de F. Charlier (mai-juin 1970)
- No. 9 L'Origine des divergences sur la Chine, de Joseph Hansen (juin 1970)
La position de la délégation mexicaine de la IVème Internationale sur la résolution du secrétariat unifié sur l'Amérique Latine au 9ème congrès mondial (avril 1969)
- No. 10 Rapport international adopté au IXème congrès de la YSA, de Caroline Lund (décembre 1969)
Deux lignes, deux méthodes, de George Novack (16 mars 1973)
Retournez sur la voie du trotskysme, de Peng Shu-tse (12 mars 1969)
Lettre des camarades chiliens au IXème congrès mondial concernant les documents sur l'Amérique Latine (29 mars 1969)
Lettre de Hugo Blanco à Joseph Hansen (janvier 1970)

No. 11

No. 12 Les problèmes fondamentaux que doit résoudre le mouvement trotskyste mondial, de Jack Barnes (18 août 1972)
Une appréciation de la réunion plénière du CEI de décembre 1972, de Jack Barnes (9 février 1973)

No. 13 Les Erreurs du Camarade Germain sur la Question Nationale, de Gus Horowitz (juillet 1973)
Annexe I: La révolution permanente aux Etats-unis
Annexe II: Nationalisme noir, lutte de classe et histoire du parti
Annexe III: La formation des nationalités opprimées aux Etats-unis
Annexe IV: Le caractère international du parti Léniniste

No. 14 Lettre du B.P. du SWP au B.P. de la Ligue Communiste (28 mai 1973)
Notre orientation dans le NDP en tant que stratégie -- et son application tactique, de Ross Dowson (1970)
A propos du sionisme et du mouvement de libération des Palestiniens, de Micha (27 juillet 1969)

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No. 16 De profondes divergences méthodologiques, de Joseph Hansen (24 juillet 1973)