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New York, N.Y. 10014

November 27, 1973

To the Steering Committee of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction

Dear Comrades,

Attached is a communique drafted by comrades from several European sections who consider themselves to be in agreement with neither the LTF nor the IEC Majority.

Comradely,

Mary-Alice

COMMUNIQUE

On November 17-18 comrades from various European sections of the Fourth International met in Frankfurt to consult about the situation that has arisen in the international prior to the Tenth World Congress (Fourth Since Reunification).

At this meeting, they reached the following conclusions:

1. The Fourth International is at the present time divided into two powerful currents -- the International Majority Tendency and the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction. These currents have differences that are becoming deeper and have been extended to cover most of the immediate problems facing the Trotskyist movement today. We do not accept the concept that at present it is a question of choosing sides and supporting one side against the other. For these disagreements are not only a matter of different theoretical positions, and different strategic conceptions -- they flow as well from different evaluations of and conclusions drawn from the experience of our movement, especially since the Ninth World Congress. At times this experience represents only partial aspects of the reality of the world-wide class struggle, which in the last analysis is an expression of the fact that there are objective limits to the unification of the Fourth International as long as it is not a mass international which presents a real international class leadership.

Therefore we must accept the fact that at present the Fourth International joins within its ranks varying political orientations that are unified by the principles of the Trotskyist program and the struggle to overcome the historical crisis of leadership of the proletariat, but are divided by different conditions, experiences, and conclusions drawn from their struggle. We must concentrate on preventing this problem -- which can only be solved through the process of building and homogenizing the International -- from becoming exacerbated by selfish factional concerns and by the independent dynamic of the tendency struggle, in such a way that calls into question the possibility of continuing to construct the world Trotskyist part.

2. The United Secretariat's recommendations to the delegates of the coming world congress, which we support, have diminished the present danger of a split. But the latent danger of a split resulting from unresolved political differences is not eliminated by this. We do not accept the proposition of a "cold" split in the International, which means having two internationals under one roof that cooperate with one another on a tactical plane and maintain their formal unity only in order to avoid a new Trotskyist scandal.

We defend the conception of the present-day Fourth International as the nucleus of the world party of revolution. Therefore these differences must be discussed further, even after the World Congress, and this debate must thoroughly involve all sections until a solution to the present crisis can be reached on a principled level.

3. The present status of the discussion in the International aids but little in this necessary task. The dispute over the transformation of the LTT into a faction, the transformation of the conjunctural guerrilla strategy of the Ninth World Congress into a general "strategy of armed struggle," and the apologetic character of the the international majority's self-criticism over the Latin America orientation, which passes over fundamental

methodological and strategic errors, as well as the character of the international majority's theory of the "new mass vanguard," which serves to hide the objective difficulties faced by our sections in adequately responding to the qualitative advance of the European workers' movement -- all of this intensifies the present crisis in the Fourth International instead of contributing to its resolution.

4. As far as the discussion on Latin America is concerned, we have come to the conclusion that the Ninth World Congress gave an incorrect orientation for this sector of the world revolution, one which has had negative effects not only on several Latin American sections but on the whole world organization. We also agree that the basic criticisms of this orientation expressed in the LTF's balance sheet on Argentina and Bolivia are correct.

A thorough self-critical evaluation of the Latin America experience is an indispensable precondition for resolving the present crisis in the International. However we do not have the impression that the requisites of formulating an alternative line to that of the leadership majority have been fulfilled up to now. The hardening of positions in this debate along factional lines in our opinion makes it more difficult at the present time to work out a coherent line that can aid in the successful reconstruction of the Fourth International in Latin America.

5. The present international discussion creates serious political and organizational problems for the various currents within the International that agree with neither the IMT nor the LTF. It is especially difficult, given the conception of the debate as a "struggle of two lines," to assure an equal hearing in the present pre-world-congress discussion and an unprejudiced and democratic reception from the ranks. A fundamental reason for this is that these tendencies formed and began common discussions only at a very late date. The late and incomplete publication of discussion documents in some of the sections concerned has also been a contributory factor. Another reason is the necessity of initiating a process of clarification and an exchange on the experiences and perspectives of the sections we work in, something we consider to be an important requisite for a responsible intervention into the international discussion.

6. Therefore we have decided to conclude an agreement for mutual discussion, information, and cooperation in the preparation for the Tenth World Congress and to fix a time for another international gathering open to the members of the tendencies concerned and sympathetic observers, so that after further study of our mutual positions we can determine our next steps in making a contribution to the world congress and to the resolution of the crisis in the Fourth International.

We request the United Secretariat to publish this communique within the Fourth International.

Frankfurt November 18, 1973

Albert, Juan, Karl: Steering Committee of the Compass Tendency (West Germany); Roberto: Tendenza Marxista Rivoluzionaria [Revolutionary Marxist Tendency] (Italy); Krasno, Reiner: Tendence Contre le Courant [Against the Stream] (France); Dumas, Lesage (France); Fraternal observer: H. Sand (Sweden)