

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)
- Castillo (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)

5. Other Latin America

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

6. Other

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

~~5. Other Latin America~~

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, ^{mail folder}
- 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 Borgele
 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. Pearson
 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
 Gus - Jaber
 Israel
 Lebanon

Connie - Pakistan -
 Joe / Barry - Ireland
 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. → Grand
 - 90.60

USec - 100
 10/11

17 10 57
 901 23452
 21 10 0
 ABCDEF
 GHIJKLMNOPST

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,

Stamenu

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 ~~x~~ on the IEC. The purpose of sending this letter is to inform comrades around the world of the present status of the discussion ~~ix~~ 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 ~~x~~ 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 ~~x~~ 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 ~~ix~~ 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.