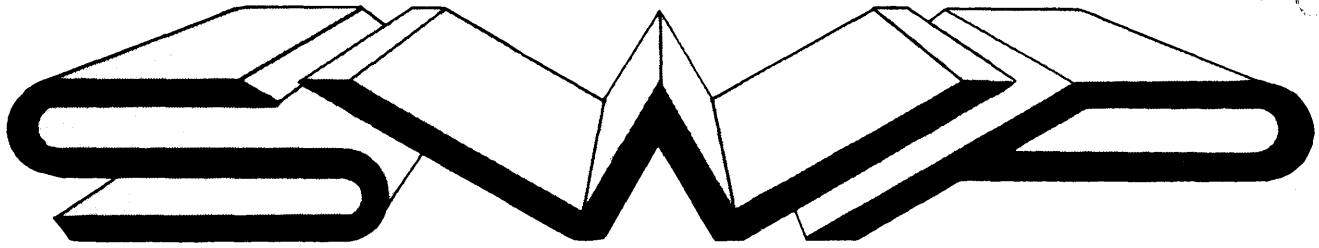


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# Discussion Bulletin

14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014

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**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY**

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THE BARZMAN LETTER

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N. Y. 10014  
July 20, 1973

To National Committee Members

Dear Comrades,

Attached are copies of two items which have come into our possession by accident.

The first item is a copy of a letter from Comrade John Barzman to supporters of the original Massey-Shaffer-Smith tendency in the United States. Comrade Barzman was in Europe at the time it was written.

The second item is a copy of the original draft of the Internationalist Tendency declaration. The changes suggested by the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency leaders, which Barzman refers to in his letter, are in the right-hand column.

The originals were hand-written. All emphasis, spelling and punctuation is as in the original. Three names have been replaced by X, Y, and Z for obvious reasons.

We are placing this material in the next issue of the *SWP Discussion Bulletin* for the information of the membership of the party.

Comradely,  
s/Mary-Alice Waters  
SWP National Office

Paris, May 15, 1973

Dear Comrades,

I'm sending this letter just in case I don't get a chance to write again or phone in a while. I am due to leave for Brussels tomorrow morning for the meeting of the steering committee of the international majority tendency. I am supposed to present a report on the American Tendency but things are rather vague. After that, I am supposed to take a tour of Sweden, Denmark, Germany and maybe England, with Walter Davis, to agitate against the SWP, and acquaint myself with the situation in these countries. Then back to France for a few days before returning on May [?].

I stayed the first night at Alain Krivine's, who briefly told me that they were in the process of forcing Livio to put his name on a very self-critical document on Latin America. Livio was resisting, taking it very personally (. . .)! Alain encouraged me to emphasize the damage done in the U. S. by Livio; unfortunately I will have to improvise, as our tendency has not really discussed in what way our criticisms differ from those of Jo Hansen and those of we heard from Krivine.

Then a talk with Vergeat, who explained the unwillingness of Ernest, Pierre and Livio to be responsible or see another split of the International, because it would feed once again all the anti-Trotskyist gossip. He wanted me to meet with a Basque comrade of the E. T. A. to discuss the national question.

Then I had a meeting with Verla, she is heading up

women's work in France. The Ligue is in the leadership of the M. L. A. C. (Movement for Free Abortion and Contraception) a movement open to men and women and calling for free abortion on demand. She explained that thanks to their success in this field they were now ready to take on the SWP, with a comparison with the Ligue's experience:

— attack the revision of the Marxist opposition to feminism

— attack the "inter-class" approach of the SWP

— stress working-class issues but no centrist socialist women's groups.

Both Vergeat and Verla were sympathetic to a reevaluation of the SWP's position on Black nationalism. They favor stressing the class issues in this respect.

On the differences within the I. T., Verla seemed to favor comrades going ahead to criticize Maitan without waiting for an official statement from the international majority. Krivine seemed to understand the possible risks of such a procedure. They seem to consider the I. T. as a bonus from heaven that they did not work to create. Vergeat sees the international majority as the real place for discussion, the real international, is therefore not that concerned about homogeneity. Vergeat wanted to arrange careful preparation for an international majority team to come to the U. S. A.

I then had a long talk with a young Chinese comrade from Hong Kong who is the leader of the youth movement there, a member of the section, and a supporter of the international majority. As the Maoists are totally uninterested in fighting British colonialism, they have hegemony over the movement. There may be a similar development among Chinese students in the U. S. He was recruited by Wang, the person Chen Pi-lan attacks in her article, and believes that he can transform the section and align with the majority, given time. He doesn't characterize Maoism as Stalinist, but says China became a workers' state in 1949, and that political revolution was immediately necessary.

Right now, I am wasting time. I should prepare a report on U. S. A. and a clear list of criticisms on Latin America. I think I will focus on the following points:

— the incorrectness of banking on a "breakthrough" in one country

— the over-estimation of the strength of the sections in Bolivia and Argentina and the need for political clarification in the ranks

— that while various tactics of armed struggle are perfectly consistent with Trotskyism, to put them all together (self-defense of the party, expropriations for the party, self-defense of mass movement, guerrilla bands) and to add that they can create a crisis, is an illusion.

Thursday May 17, 1973, midnight

Two days of international majority steering committee meetings and the U. S. are not even yet fully discussed.

On Latin America:

4 documents will be written—

1) a re-reading of the IX W. C. resolution which is considered ambiguous, and which failed to warn against militarist deviation. The issue is seen as: should the party set up a *military wing* completely subordinate to the political work of the party in the masses, to initiate and participate in armed struggle when conditions call for it? SWP says no. Int'al majority says yes! Then specific actions must be reviewed country by country, according to needs of class struggle and abilities of section.

2) a perspectives document for Argentina as the current one is considered inadequate, as it fails to explain the dynamic of how the PRT actions became dominated by the need to make more military actions, and so on. PRT is almost out of F. I. Five tendencies adding up to about 150 people are seeking the franchise. Possibility of getting a tendency in the P. S. T. Will criticize Moreno's economism in unions, and electoral opportunism. Will project no support to Campora, but possible defense against army.

3) a balance sheet of Cuba—critical but not political revol. Dorticos invited to Argentina.

4) perspectives for Chile. The whole international majority is down on Livio, who seems to be brooding, but there are many organizational details I don't know about L. A. sections. Mexicans are split. Everybody sees need to emphasize transitional program and method of party-building but Mandel and Frank are hesitating on taking on the SWP leadership in its own country.

Pierre Frank is writing an answer to Mary-Alice on the European question and this naturally leads to a debate over method. Frank & Mandel did not want to add another one, more general, announcing Novack (they have illusions about him). The French (Vergeant, Krivine, Stern) Pat Jordan, Ken Lewis want to start attacking SWP on its own ground. They want us to provide the ammunition. Mandel realizes the SWP is not internationalist and would split over such interference, and he has a psychological block against a new split.

There is a possible "third force" developing in some European sections, especially Germany, of comrades who reject the L. A. line. Ross is applying for int'al majority, has been hesitating, but will be let in. India is in a mess.

So far we were promised a team made of X, a French woman comrade in charge of int'al work and the abortion campaign, has been to YSA Minneapolis convention, very orthodox, will attack feminism, sisterhood, minimalism and failure to stress issues relevant to working-class women; Y you know him, and Z. They all have agreed to consult with us first. We must raise about \$1,200 for the trips and organize a tour of branches for mid-July.

The following was resolved for U. S. A.:

1) The I. M. will accept *three* signers from our tendency in U. S. A., provided should be ready to accept *discipline*.

2) They look with favor upon the formation of our tendency—will collaborate with us on writing document, defend our democratic rights, and probably, if we make an adequate showing, will use it for world congress and a world document.

P. F. was upset by no representation of P. O. on N. C. At the U. Sec. meeting, Barnes promised a special "conference" (?) for mid-November, which would follow an oral discussion, and send delegates to world congress on the basis of *membership* votes for resolutions.

The French comrades strongly believe in full-scale offensive against SWP and have no illusions on the results of it. Mandel pins his hopes on a working-class radicalization in U. S. A., which would change SWP. Vergeat pointed out, even if a crisis in the SWP did develop then, they could not spontaneously develop an analysis; the American tendency must be supported and built. Swedish, Canadians, British agree. Livio, Swiss and German are in the middle.

Right now Mandel is reading our outline and half-draft. We are scheduled to discuss it tomorrow. This may bring some good ideas but I expect pretty heavy discussion.

The following were the suggestions after I read our tendency declaration: Pat J. said to take out the call to "all revolutionaries" as it implies we are calling on people outside the SWP. Ernest said to remove all references to SWP ties to F. I. as this would lead to the impression that SWP was violating Voorhis Act, and as majority would attack us for security risk. He said we had too much emphasis on armed struggle, should reduce that, and stress transitional program. He thought our *style* was too violent on the organizational questions, but recognized that was the American way of doing things. He said he preferred the irony of Massey letter to Sheppard. I have made the corrections and am sending you the copy. We should leave all the names that agree with the call.

I was told, but am unable to check, that the addendum to declaration of 19 I. E. C. members only includes the *Bolivian* balance sheet, and not Argentina, or just the *general* line of Argentina. If there are comrades who do not agree with *Germain* document's formulations, then they have a serious problem as they are probably *Kautskyites*. We cannot continue to entertain our *vague* criticisms that the document was vague, or had a guerrilla warfare line (which in fact it did not on the whole) and that this is a cover-up, but must *express exactly* what we disagree with. I was very embarrassed at the absence of any elaboration of our criticisms by ourselves. But I think most comrades will agree with *Germain*, and with the need for a military wing of the party (in the Comintern tradition) (and not just a defense guard against ultra-lefts) which is as much as we need to say.

I am due to go to Switzerland and IMG. The European comrades desperately need ammunition against the SWP. IMG situation seems wild, but Ross is being handled basically correctly as far as I can see. It would be good if you discussed with Canadian comrades. We have to put together a credible counter-political line and develop a stable internationally-oriented leadership. This is the first priority and will enable us to face any eventuality.

Vietnam, so far, is not part of tendency declaration, but there is increasing desire by Sterne to launch offensive on

— that treaty was modest advance and left *dual power*.  
— that solidarity with NLF is key task, and SWP fails to do it.

— that NLF-DRV are fighting for a socialist revolution,  
&

— that NLF-DRV are not Stalinists. He has a document under his own name coming out.

Comradely,  
JB

Chicago, Ill.

The United Secretariat  
10 Impasse Guemenee  
Paris, France

and

The Political Committee  
Socialist Workers Party  
14 Charles Lane  
New York, N. Y. 10014

Dear Comrades:

We submit this Declaration of the Internationalist Tendency for publication in both the International Discussion Bulletins and the Discussion Bulletin of the Socialist Workers Party.

The below listed comrades announce the formation of the Internationalist Tendency in the Socialist Workers Party. This Tendency reflects the political and organizational evolution, growth and maturing of the Tendency formed by Massey-Shaffer and Smith on January 19, 1973.

The Internationalist Tendency in the interest of building the building of a "Leninist-Trotskyist" Fourth International not only in words but in deeds expresses its basic agreement with the general line of: the December 3, 1972 Statement of the 19 IEC Members; the Draft Thesis "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe" adopted by the IEC; and the further elaboration and clarification of this line contained in the document "In Defense of Leninism: In Defense of the Fourth International.

In addition the Internationalist Tendency will submit a counterresolution on the International Questions in opposition to the line of the present leadership of the Socialist Workers Party—as well as a political resolution extending the method of the Draft Thesis "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe" to the United States.

We call on all revolutionaries to support the general line of the International Majority Tendency and to reject the counterline of the SWP led SWP members and of the International Minority Tendency. This Minority Tendency reflecting a right opportunist danger to the development of the Fourth International because of its abandonment of the methodology of the Transitional Program in Practice and its abstention from involvement in the struggles of the working class counterposes an abstract and sterile conception of Party Building.

In addition this Minority Tendency fails to educate the vanguard to the necessity of armed struggle as the only means of carrying out the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois state in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even in pre-revolutionary situations the International Minority Tendency resists the implementation of or preparation for armed struggle counterposing instead "Party Building" and peaceful legal electoralism. To present Party building as separate or apart from the needs of the living class struggle including the methods of armed struggle under specific circumstances is to repudiate the Leninist strategy for the seizure of state power and the smashing of the bourgeois state.

This conception sees a growth of the party taking place as a result of socialist propaganda for recruitment on the one hand, and calls to action on a minimal basis, on the other. It fails to advance a transitional approach and tactical solutions for the more advanced layers in struggle.

It presents Party building as separate or apart from the needs of the living class struggle including the methods of armed struggle under specific circumstances. This is a repudiation of

, which requires the party leading the masses in the military as well as the political arena.

The failure of the Socialist Workers Party leadership, up to this time, to project a special convention dedicated solely to the International questions is not only out of step with the majority of sections of the Fourth International but seriously limits the discussion on these all important questions. (It is a) further evidence of a lack of a serious-attitude toward the International and calls into question *again* this leadership's ability to understand internationalism. It was at the request of the SWP led Minority Tendency that the International Movement decided to postpone the date of the 10th World Congress and allow for even further discussion in the world movement. Yet the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party refuses to provide for this extended time for its own ranks in its own Party. This can only be a reflection of a cynical attitude toward democracy in both the SWP and the International—a cynicism reflected in the SWP leaderships attitude toward centralism in its own Party and the International.

This delay is

democratic

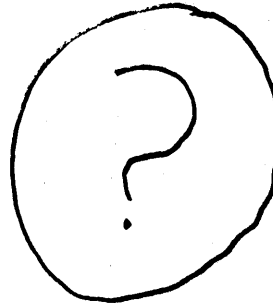
It is necessary to state at this time that the policy of the SWP leadership reflected in Comrade Sheppard's letter to Massey-Shaffer and Smith dated February 12, 1973 and the actions of the leaderships in (the) branches (such as Washington D. C. — that is of demanding that comrades in the Party line-up *NOW* on the issues involved in a discussion that only is being opened up to the ranks is completely undemocratic and in opposition to the norms of a Leninist Trotskyist movement. It is in fact an effort to cheat the Party of a genuine and democratic discussion. While this is certainly consistent with the past policies of this present leadership it is at odds with the image they attempt to project in the International arena—that is as the pious defenders of the democratic norms. No comrades should be forced to line-up on one side or the other until the close of the discussion after all the positions have been given an adequate opportunity to be heard and debated. We therefore call on the SWP leadership to call a halt to this practice and we support the ranks of the Party in refusing to be forced into positions before they have heard the contending views. For the practice of internationalist proletarian democracy in action not simply in words!

some

Comradely,  
The Internationalist Tendency  
Bill Massey — National Coordinator  
(Chicago)

for:

John Montello — Boston	Robin Block — Philadelphia
Don Smith — Chicago	Peter Graumann — Portland
John Barzman — Chicago	John Shaffer — Houston
Hedda Garza — New York	Cheryl Clark — Houston
Patrick Quinn — Madison	Ted Stacy — Houston
Judi Shane — Los Angeles	Chris Marat — Washington D. C.
Ron Warren — Los Angeles	
Jeff Meissner — Minneapolis	
Garth Chojnowski — San Francisco	
Ralph Levitt — Oakland-Berkeley	
Celia Stodola — Oakland-Berkeley	
Alan Wald — Oakland-Berkeley	



You decide who should sign. No problem with many names

Copy to: The International Majority Tendency

THE MEANING OF THE BARZMAN LETTER:  
A SECRET FACTION IN THE FOURTH INTERNA-  
TIONAL

by Jack Barnes

From the very beginning, the preconvention discussion has been marked by perplexing behavior on the part of Bill Massey-Ralph Levitt, and their supporters in the Internationalist Tendency and the West Coast Tendency. In normal political struggles, minority tendencies usually attempt to create the best possible impression on the party membership in order to maximize their possibilities for gaining a hearing. But many of the followers of Massey and Levitt have from the very beginning curtailed their party activity, cut their financial support of the party to the bone, engaged in a series of transfers from one party branch to another, conducted their polemics in the most unrestrained tone, and flooded the national office with spurious organizational grievances and demands, accompanied finally by the threat of appeals to "higher bodies" should they receive no satisfaction here.

This is hardly the course calculated to appeal to SWP members, who know what our organizational norms are, who know how to conduct a principled political discussion, and who know how democratic our party is.

Comrade John Barzman's epistle from Paris [see page 3 of this bulletin] sheds new light on the character and behavior of the Massey and Levitt groupings. It also makes it clear that we are at a new stage in the unfolding crisis of leadership in the Fourth International. Barzman's letter shows that a secret faction, led in part by elected members of the United Secretariat, exists in the Fourth International, a secret faction that includes an American component holding a split perspective.

Evincing not one iota of Mandel's "psychological block against a new split," Barzman and his colleagues have made themselves available to "agitate against the SWP." This assignment is called for because "the European comrades desperately need ammunition against the SWP."

Now that they are organized, we learn, they will also have to "put together a credible counter-political line," and "accept discipline" from an undeclared International faction while they do so. But, as Vergeat is reported to have frankly explained, they don't have to be "that concerned about homogeneity" because the IEC Majority "tendency" (or its steering committee?) is "the real place for discussion, the real international." Meanwhile, we learn, the American wing of this faction will have to "improvise" a few criticisms of Livio, the absence of which "embarrassed" Barzman.

Barzman's initial assignments from the unrestrained believers in a "full scale offensive against SWP" include helping to twist Livio's arm for the requisite scapegoat mea culpa; straightening out any American "*Kautskyites*," who, even if willing to accept discipline, have the temerity to "not agree with *Germain*"; and loyally accepting a \$1,200 initial quota to pay for a "tour of [the SWP] branches for mid-July," by three "very orthodox" British and French allies.

Barzman reports that Vergeat, Krivine, Sterne, Pat Jordan, Ken Lewis and others are enthused over the prospect of "attacking SWP on its own ground" and unlike

some of the more experienced leaders of the European Trotskyist movement have no encumbering hang-ups such as "a psychological block against a new split" in the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International.

One of the real gains for Barzman and his friends was the "pretty heavy discussion" granted him to help work out the various aspects of this operation. Barzman dutifully reports to his coleaders in the U.S.A. that Ernest Mandel was downright helpful in making their opposition platform sound more loyal and orthodox. While Mandel is reported to have felt that the Barzman-Massey-Levitt "*style*" was too violent on the organizational questions," he accepted that this "was the American way of doing things."

Meanwhile, Barzman reminds his associates that they not only have to "put together a credible counter-political line," but they must develop a "stable internationally-oriented leadership." This, Barzman believes, will help prepare his clique to "face any eventuality," maybe even shouldering the awesome responsibilities of leading the American section of the "real" Fourth International, "military wing" included.

Barzman, like some of his European colleagues, has "no illusions on the results" of the planned "full-scale offensive against SWP." But in exchange for carrying out this undeclared factional operation in a disciplined manner, behind the backs of the Socialist Workers Party membership and its elected leadership, Barzman reports that the leaders of the IEC Majority Tendency will not only "collaborate with us on writing document," but will righteously and with a straight face, before the cadres of the entire Fourth International, "defend our democratic rights."

But one possibility occurred which Barzman and his colleagues did not anticipate. They were caught in the act. Their secret operation isn't so secret any more.

And, I am afraid, Comrade Barzman is a little mistaken about the "American way of doing things." There is another American way somewhat different from the Barzman-Massey-Levitt school of politics. That is the school of Trotsky and Cannon, the school of principled politics, which is jealously maintained by the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party.

The membership of the Socialist Workers Party has a few democratic rights also, and these include the right to deal appropriately with disloyal, secret factional operations.

#### *The Ammunition Carriers*

What does Barzman mean when he says that he and his associates must provide the desperately needed "ammunition against the SWP"? What can this "ammunition" be? Certainly not political arguments. The views of the SWP on American and international questions are openly stated, published, and distributed, and presumably are well-known to those leaders of the International who can read English. The issues are clear, and those who disagree have plenty of information about where we stand for material in draft-

ing their counterarguments.

The Barzman letter makes it easier to understand some of the behavior of the American supporters of the IEC Majority Tendency. The main purpose of the flood of grievances, complaints and demands in letters and telephone calls to the national office was not to influence the Socialist Workers Party. No, the purpose was to provide the necessary "ammunition" — the organizational scandals, and complaints—without our replies—to be circulated around the world, to be used to close comrades' minds to our political views. Thus, Barzman and Co. modestly call themselves the "bonus from heaven."

There is another purpose to the scandal campaign, too. They are intended to help pave the way for the *real* American Trotskyists (who are already the only ones participating in the *real* International) to be recognized at the next world congress.

Now we can better understand why Jeff Meisner so clearly warned the Political Committee on June 24, "It would be a pity, wouldn't it, if the SWP goes through all the trouble of electing fraternal delegates to the world congress, only for them to receive a very cold welcome by the credentials committee when they arrive there." [See Meisner letter, in this bulletin.] Meisner also seems to have "no illusions" about where things are heading.

The job of providing the "desperately" needed ammunition to make it easier to "agitate against the SWP," has led to some peculiar innovations — for instance, Massey and Levitt's rewriting the history and results of the elections to our current National Committee; Massey's proposal to fly to Los Angeles as a character witness for Mike Bartell in the latter's ill-fated application for membership; and the institution of "open" letters as opposed to plain contributions to the discussion bulletin.

The most serious act by the American supporters of the IEC Majority Tendency has been the financial sabotage of the party organized by members of both the Massey and Levitt groupings. Several of them openly justified cutting down their sustainers as political acts motivated by disagreement with the party's policies in the world movement. It was hard for us to understand this action. But as the Barzman letter shows, we had seriously underestimated the financial burdens the disciplined American supporters of the secret international faction had been asked to shoulder out of loyalty to the "real" International.

The purpose of the last-minute frenzied shuffling from branch to branch by various cothinkers of Barzman (including Barzman himself) also becomes clear. Their key assignment is not to build the branches where they are located, but to make sure that their delegates "make an adequate showing" so they can "use it for world congress."

The greatest blunder made by Massey et al. is to believe that they are representatives of the "majority" of the International, and that, as they put it in their June 20, 1973 statement to the Chicago branch, they no longer plan to go through normal party branch channels. Rather, "higher bodies" will straighten out the SWP after hearing Massey's accusations.

There are several interrelated errors.

1. It remains to be seen what political positions the world Trotskyist movement will approve. It will be shown only by a democratic and authoritative world congress

that reflects a full discussion on a world scale.

2. The majority at that congress will adopt the positions to be defended by the Fourth International on the big political questions on a world scale, and will decide on the affiliation of new sections, but it will not lay down orientations or choose leaderships for sections.

3. Being a member or supporter of any minority or majority tendency on an international scale has nothing whatsoever to do with the rights or duties of party membership. All SWPers have the *same rights* and the *same duties* as outlined by the constitution and the organizational principles of the party. There are neither second-class citizens as far as rights are considered, nor any dispensations for members of international tendencies as far as the loyal implementation of all duties are concerned.

There are no higher bodies than the democratically convened conventions of the Socialist Workers Party that can alter these facts. And there is nothing in the constitution and organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party or, for that matter, the statutes of the Fourth International giving substance to any contrary notion.

#### *The Splits in Canada*

We are reprinting for the information of the party the report on the splits in the Canadian section drafted by the Political Bureau of the LSA/LSO. [See Appendix I of this bulletin]

In Canada, growing numbers of the supporters of the IEC Majority Tendency are not even willing to wait for "higher bodies" to act. Evinced no "psychological block" whatsoever against splits, they just walk out of the party and youth organization. Apparently, they are confident that "higher bodies" will retroactively ratify their actions. Walter Davis, Comrade Barzman's partner in the tour to "agitate against the SWP" (and against the LSA/LSO, we assume), should have spent less time agitating and more time educating his cothinkers in principled politics. Unfortunately, bleeding splits are one of the fruits of the secret faction's method of operation.

The Barzman letter may shed a little more light for the members of the LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS on the background of the splits the Canadian section of the Fourth International has suffered.

#### *A New Low in Unprincipledness*

There is one aspect of the Levitt-Massey evolution that should not go unnoticed, because it represents a new low in unprincipled politics in the SWP—that is two separate tendencies, both of which stand on the *general line* of the *same* political resolution and the *same* international platform of the IEC Majority Tendency. The party has yet to hear a single principled word of explanation for their separate and counterposed existence.

The Barzman letter alludes to differences among the 19 proposed signers of the draft tendency statement, and to his discussions with the leaders of the secret faction about this problem

But not even a recent ambassadorial peacekeeping mission to California and Illinois by one of the steering committee members whom Barzman describes as one of the most desirous "to start attacking SWP on its own ground" was able to bring the two sectors of the faction back together again. It was certainly a hurried tour. The comrade had no time to accept our invitation to speak



before the party branches on the political issues.

In the absence of direct knowledge, one can only speculate about the factional infighting that keeps the National Co-ordinator and his West Coast allies from uniting. But that is all part of the overhead of a secret faction, especially on an international scale. Since the "real" International is "not that concerned about homogeneity," the "real" differences quickly become fights over pecking order in the factional hierarchy. A "franchise" is anticipated from higher bodies.

In secret factions the main "psychological block" is not against splits, but against principled politics, even within the faction itself. And Livio's "brooding," Ernest's "psychological block," the combinations seeking the "franchise" in Argentina, the inside dope of how John Ross "is being handled" become the little tidbits that represent *real* politics. Misrepresentation, gossip, slanders, personal quotes and little hatchet jobs that are not rebuttable gain the upper hand. "Ammunition" collecting becomes a way of life.

#### *Faction Before Party*

The way factional blindness leads to warping the most elementary organizational norms of a Leninist party can be seen in many of Massey and Levitt's organizational proposals and grievances. Take two examples.

Massey and Levitt object to the delegate-election ratio for the convention.

Massey and Levitt object to a "gerrymandering" of the branch vote that limits their delegates.

In both these cases, the American supporters of the IEC Majority Tendency place the needs of their faction first, not the needs of the party as a whole, and in the process subordinate the rights of the party as a whole to the desires of their faction.

In its deliberations on the ratio for delegate representation, the National Committee did not begin with the existence or size of any factions, tendencies or cliques. It began with the fact that at the last convention the number of delegates was so large that the time for speakers was cut down several times during the convention, and fewer than one-half the elected delegates were able to take the floor a single time to express their point of view. The purpose of the convention is to allow the delegates elected after thorough political discussion in the branches, to discuss the points before the convention and to make decisions in the light of the discussion.

The ratio the National Committee chose would have been the same whether there were ten tendencies or zero tendencies in the party. The decision had nothing to do with the existence of tendencies. Instead, it was based on the responsibility of the National Committee to draft a convention call that would structure a convention at which the delegates elected by the branches can speak with adequate time to express their views and then decide on all the important issues before the party.

As is often the case, not only is Comrade Massey's method wrong, but his facts are too. The 1969 delegation ratio was one to seven, not one to five; the number of delegates at the coming convention will be larger than at any convention in the last 25 years except for the 1971 convention; and minorities will find it mathematically easier, not harder, to gain representation than at several of the conventions of the past decade. The facts

did not fit, so Massey tried to fix the facts to fit.

The complaint about "gerrymandering" is mystifying. The basic unit of the party is the branch, not the faction or clique. Each branch has equal rights in the election of delegates. The delegates are democratically elected following political discussion and vote, and the branch delegations have the final say in all questions before the Socialist Workers Party.

Nor has the party assigned Levitt-Massey supporters to any branches. In fact, the only new assignments in the preconvention period have been the transfer of majority supporters *out of* branches where debate is occurring to St. Louis and Pittsburgh to build new branches.

The only thing approaching "gerrymandering" which I can discover, is the recent frenzied rushing of some of Barzman's cothinkers to different branches just before the vote is taken. We assume the National Co-ordinator, slide rule in hand, attempts to maximize what is important for him: the number of delegates he can point to in international councils. The needs of the branches are scarcely a factor in his considerations.

Once again, Comrade Massey forgets about the rights of the party as he hunts for privileges for his faction. He and Levitt made the same mistake before the 1971 convention. [See Appendix II.]

#### *Factional Blindness and the World Congress*

Like their international cothinkers, we assume that Massey-Levitt et al. will vigorously oppose any further postponement of the world congress. Once again we have an example of factional blindness where the desire of a secret faction to settle accounts with the SWP leads it to adopt positions that are not in the interests of the International as a whole.

The statement included in this bulletin which defines the preconditions for an authoritative and democratic world congress was adopted unanimously on April 9, 1973, by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. [See Appendix III.] The Socialist Workers Party supports this statement and will continue to do everything possible to ensure its implementation.

It represented a step forward on two counts. One, it explicitly recognized the fact that a world congress not preceded by a full and democratic discussion could have no statutory authority whatsoever and it recognized that Joe Hansen's estimation at the December 1972 IEC plenum of the difficulties and time necessary to assure French translations, was fundamentally correct. Second, it agreed to poll the International Executive Committee recommending cancellation of the August date for the Fourth World Congress Since Reunification, originally set by a majority at the IEC meeting.

But at the same time, the leaders of the IEC Majority Tendency on the United Secretariat repeated the identical mistake they had made at the IEC. By proposing late December as the new world congress date, against Comrade Hansen's proposals for late spring 1974, they again misestimated:

1. The pace of clarification of the disputed issues within the International, and their depth. The future of the Fourth International hinges on this.

2. The length of time it would take the two major tendencies to prepare drafts of and organize initial United Secretariat discussions on draft resolutions for the re-

maining points that had been unanimously placed on the agenda of the world congress—the Chinese question, women's liberation, the youth question, a major political resolution, and even the United Secretariat majority's new resolution on Argentina.

3. The growing problem of translating the contributions to the discussion into French, the mounting evidence that the United Secretariat would not be able to assure the rapid translation of the entire discussion into French, as well as English and Spanish, and thereby assure a real discussion among the thousands of French-speaking members of the International.

By the mid-July 1973 meeting of the United Secretariat, the situation the Fourth International faced was the following: The IEC Majority Tendency had no drafts of any further resolutions—on Argentina, China, women's liberation, the youth radicalization, or draft political theses. They asked to postpone discussion and vote on drafts prepared by the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency members on the United Secretariat. None of these questions will even be discussed in the United Secretariat until mid-September.

The French translation situation is shown by the list in Appendix IV. With some 62 contributions to the International Internal Discussion Bulletin not yet available in French, the translation schedule is even further behind than it was in early April when there were only 49 items not available in French, a situation thought serious enough to require postponement of the congress.

Items such as Hugo Blanco's letter to Joseph Hansen in January of 1970 (available in English for more than three years) and the International Report to the Ninth National Convention of the YSA by Caroline Lund, in December 1969, have not yet been translated.

*El Unico Camino*, "The Only Road to Workers' Power and Socialism," submitted by the comrades of the PRT (Combatiente) almost a year and a half ago, has not been translated. And even Mary-Alice Waters' criticism of the IEC majority European document, available in English for more than four months, has yet to appear in French.

The most striking example of the bearing of the translation situation on democracy in the discussion is the fact that *more than four months after its submission, the two-page "Declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency" has not been made available to the French-speaking cadres of the Fourth International!*

This fact alone makes it impossible to hold a democratic world congress in the late fall of 1973.

In addition, no consideration was given to the new situation facing the comrades of the former Ligue Communiste, a situation that will at least temporarily further impede the process of translation, and postpone even longer the *beginning* of any preworld-congress discussion in the ranks of the biggest section of the Fourth International.

#### *A Grave Danger*

The Barzman letter puts the crisis of the Fourth International and the responsibilities of Trotskyists around the world in a new light. It reveals the existence of a secret faction, and one that is now hell-bent on holding

an undemocratic world congress. Some of the leaders of that faction are determined to apply a caricature of democratic centralism, on the basis of a congress with no authority, and equally determined to organize and operate behind the backs of the elected leadership bodies of the International and the sections. This is a grave threat to the Fourth International.

Ever since the discovery of the Domingo letter more than two years ago, the SWP leadership has repeatedly expressed its deep concern about the danger of the development of a secret faction in the Fourth International. It has expressed this, and urged caution, time and time again, in the *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*. In a frank and comradely manner we have raised this danger time and time again with the most experienced leaders of the IEC Majority Tendency.

Far from being opposed to the organization of tendencies or, if necessary, factions, the SWP leadership has pointed out that at certain stages in the evolution of the discussion over important political differences, *open* and loyal organization of tendencies or factions is a fundamental clarifying and stabilizing factor in the life of a Trotskyist party or international.

But *secret* factions—disguised as ideological tendencies—with their concomitant underground discipline, financing, private internal bulletins, power struggles, unprincipled combinations, and the destruction of normal leadership relations and party loyalty—this always brings to the fore the most unrestrained factionalists, fostering the logic and perspective of a split.

It is this danger that we have repeatedly warned the International leadership against. It is this danger that we must now call to the attention of the entire world movement for emergency action. Not only to the supporters of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency, but to every member and supporter of the Fourth International, including ideological supporters and leaders of the IEC Majority Tendency who are willing to curb the would-be splitters, and organize a democratic discussion in the International leading up to an authoritative world congress.

#### *No "Stupor"*

Barzman-Massey-Levitt et al. will discover that the membership of the Socialist Workers Party is in less of a "stupor" than the political resolution they support so arrogantly states. Elected after a discussion that not only jealously guarded all the democratic rights due minority points of view, but that extended privileges and ignored provocations, the convention delegates will accurately reflect the rank-and-file opinion of the Socialist Workers Party.

Following the debate and vote on the disputed international and national political question, the convention, I'm sure, will:

1. Find the appropriate means to unambiguously reaffirm the fundamental organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party and their application to every single member.

2. Empower and instruct the incoming National Committee, which the convention will elect, to take whatever steps are necessary, in collaboration with our cothinkers, to warn and mobilize the ranks of the Fourth International against the danger posed by the secret faction.

July 20, 1973

CENTRAL OFFICE  
334 Queen St. West  
Toronto 133, Ontario

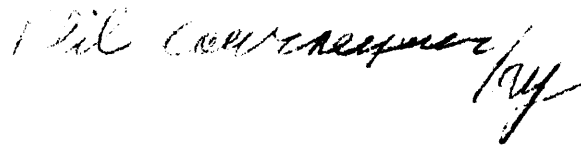
July 8, 1973

To all branches and members at large

Dear Comrades;

Enclosed is a copy of a "Report on the Splits" prepared by the Political Bureau. It is for the information of all members. Branches may wish to present the material it contains during one of their regular meetings.

Comradely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Phil Courneyeur" followed by a stylized flourish.

Phil Courneyeur  
Acting Executive Secretary

## REPORT ON THE SPLITS

Recent weeks have seen a growing split extend across the Canadian Trotskyist movement. In rapid succession, five groups of members have split from the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSA/LSO), and from its youth organization, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (YS/LJS).

On June 3, 1973, the five Toronto members of the "Internationalist Communist Tendency" (ICT) split from the YS/LJS. The five constituted the leadership and the majority of the membership of the ICT, a minority grouping within the YS/LJS. They were joined by a sixth ICT supporter in Toronto.

Three days later, the "Revolutionary Marxist Tendency" (RMT) split in turn from the YS/LJS. Its fourteen members were from the Peterborough Young Socialists local.

On June 11, the split reached the LSA/LSO. Bob Mills, Dorothy Knight and Arnie Mintz, three members of the "Revolutionary Communist Tendency" in the LSA/LSO, split from the organization. Mills was a member of the LSA/LSO Central Committee.

On June 19, two additional members of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, Peter Horbatiuk and Michael Thoma, announced their split from the LSA/LSO.

The most recent split is that of Bob Lyons, the Regina member of the ICT, who walked out on July 3.

Although the splitters belonged to three different tendencies, the RCT, ICT and RMT, they had the same political views. Together these three minority groupings constituted the supporters in the Canadian Trotskyist movement of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank Tendency in the Fourth International. They also shared a common basic outlook on the tasks of Canadian Trotskyism.

The RCT functions within the section, while the ICT and RMT are tendencies in the YS/LJS. Prior to the formation of the ICT, its members had belonged to the RCT. When the ICT was established in the YS/LJS, it declared its full agreement with the political positions of the RCT. The RMT, on the other hand, did not document its differences with the line of the organization until eight days before it split.

Each group of splitters cited, as the main justification of their split, what they termed the LSA/LSO's policy of "factional recruitment." As evidence, they pointed to the refusal of the LSA/LSO to agree to immediate unity with the Revolutionary Marxist Group, a Toronto-based organization of 30-odd members. Each group of splitters indicated they were leaving the LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS to join the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG).

The LSA/LSO Political Committee discussed this growing split in its June 11 and 19 meetings. Two counterposed positions were

put forward. The position of the majority of the Political Committee was expressed in the motion on the Mills-Knight-Mintz split, adopted at its June 11 meeting:

The Political Committee condemns the action of Bob Mills, Dorothy Knight and Arnie Mintz, in splitting from the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere. Their split has struck a blow against the LSA/LSO, the Canadian section of the Fourth International, and against the unity of the world Trotskyist movement.

This motion, and a parallel motion on the splits in the youth organization, were adopted by the votes of all members present, except for Walter Davis, the one member of the Political Committee adhering to the RCT. Davis abstained on both motions.

At the June 19 meeting of the Political Committee, Davis introduced his own motion on the splits:

"MOTION: We have now had a full discussion of the resignation of a number of YS comrades and a handful of LSA comrades who were members of the RCT. We deeply regret that comrades who are supporters of the majority of the Fourth International should feel the need to separate themselves from the Canadian section.

"We understand the feelings and motivations of comrades who have witnessed a year of factional recruitment which casts in doubt the future of the LSA. If the course of the LSA on factional recruitment is not reversed, we can only fear that further attrition and resignations will take place, and the ability to fuse Trotskyist forces in Canada will become more difficult to bring about."

"For: Davis  
Against: all others  
Defeated."

Of the forces in the LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS who supported the RCT, and the Maitan-Mandel-Frank Tendency at the time of the LSA/LSO's convention in April 1973, almost half have now left the two organizations. The motion of the RCT member of the Political Committee foresees that this process will continue, unless the LSA accepts the minority's demands with respect to the section's recruitment policy forthwith. The motion clearly poses the danger that the split will continue to extend among the Canadian supporters of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank Tendency.

### The Political Meaning of a Split

Our insistence on the necessity for unity of the Trotskyist movement flows from the nature of our task, and the measures required to achieve it. We aim to gather the forces to build a

revolutionary combat party, capable of leading the working class and its allies to victory in the struggle for power in this country. This demands the conscious subordination of personal and factional considerations to the need to unite the revolutionary cadres in this historic task. The party's strength is founded on the loyalty, discipline, and unity of its members. The pressures of capitalism, and the difficulties of the struggle tend to disperse and divide our forces; we strive consciously to unite them, and look on attacks on the unity of our movement as a betrayal of our party-building task.

We are not for unity with everyone, or unity at all costs. Revolutionary Marxists broke from the Stalinist International in 1933, because the test of experience proved the organization to be degenerate, and incapable of correcting their errors. The revolutionary movement must also on occasion defend itself through disciplinary action against disloyal elements who prove themselves unwilling to work with the framework of party discipline. And just as we are against unprincipled splits, we are equally against unprincipled or unprepared unifications, which would endanger the integrity of the revolutionary organization or its program.

Our movement is built on the foundations of the historically established Trotskyist principles and program. This is the guarantee of the unity of our organization. For when differences arise, as they do in any living organization confronting the new tasks posed by the class struggle, we resolve them on the basis of our fundamental concepts, through a process of democratic discussion and decision by the membership. While the party can commit errors, it is united by confidence in its capacity to correct them -- a capacity based on the fact that errors will be revealed by the test of experience, and corrected through applying or basic program and principles.

We strive to reinforce the unity of the organization on the basis of our program and principles. This is the necessary road to building the party that can meet the greatest challenge of history -- leading a socialist revolution to victory. To rupture this party-building process through split is one of the gravest crimes against the Trotskyist movement.

### The Political Context of the Split

The split in the Canadian Trotskyist movement began only six weeks after the convention of the LSA/LSO, which concluded a wide-ranging and rich internal discussion. The convention, originally scheduled for September 1972, had been twice postponed to facilitate clarification of disputed questions. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency was one of two minority groupings which advanced positions in this debate counterposed to those of the majority of the Political Committee.

Fifty-eight English-language editions of the pre-convention

bulletin printed over ninety separate submissions to the discussion. All contending points of view were discussed in the branches, and organized tendencies were invited to tour all branches to present their positions. Each of the three contending platforms was put to a vote in the branches, and delegates were elected by proportional representation.

In the convention itself, equal time was granted for the presentation of minority points of view, and convention rules were several times relaxed to ensure that every dissident point of view received adequate opportunity to be heard.

The LSA/LSO convention was a model of internal democracy in a Bolshevik movement. The issues at stake were clarified, and the membership were able to speak with a decisive voice.

The Political Committee platform received 72 percent of the votes cast in the branches, and 75 percent of the delegates at the convention; its resolutions were passed by a majority of three-fourths or better. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency received 15 percent of the delegates; none of its resolutions received more than 15 percent of the votes. The convention elected a Central Committee, by unanimous vote, including five members of the RCT.

In a parallel process in the YS/LJS, after a seven-month internal discussion, a convention of the youth movement in December 1972 defeated RCT positions by a three-quarters majority.

The organizational report adopted by the LSA/LSO convention described how the League's organizational norms had been deliberately relaxed during the pre-convention period, to ensure clarification of the political issues. Many violations of organizational norms had occurred, but there had been no recourse to disciplinary action. In fact, the only disciplinary action ever taken against RCT members, a censure of two LSA/LSO members in the Maritimes in October 1971, was withdrawn by the convention, in an attempt to do everything possible to cement party unity.

### The Revolutionary Communist Tendency's Position at the Convention

The RCT's documentation for the convention, and reports at the convention, drew sweeping conclusions that the Canadian section was in an advanced state of political degeneration. According to the RCT, "the cancer of reformism has assumed malignant proportions" in the Canadian section -- a malignant cancer is one that brings death to the organism it attacks. The RCT claimed that the LSA was being transformed into a "utopian reformist sect," and that it was undergoing "the beginning of the final phase of the abandonment of Leninism." The leadership of the LSA/LSO, the RCT claimed, was bankrupt and beyond reform. The English-Canadian wing of the organization was "degenerating", according to the RCT. The Quebec wing was "degenerate," beyond reform, and should be dissolved.

The organizational secretary, Art Young, made a special appeal for unity on the last day of the convention. He expressed concern over the implications of the RCT's sharp characterizations. When such terms have been used before, Young said, it is normally by persons who are in the process of writing off our organization, concluding that it was a barrier to the revolution. Whatever the intentions of the RCT, this created a situation in which minority comrades would begin to consider a split. And in fact irresponsible talk of split had already been heard in the movement.

Young called on the RCT to repudiate any talk of splits, to affirm its acceptance of the convention's authority, and to join with the majority in common effort to build the organization.

Young's appeal was sharply rebuffed by Brett Smiley on behalf of the RCT. He reaffirmed in full the RCT's political characterization of the "degeneration" of the LSA/LSO. The leadership of the LSA/LSO was bankrupt and beyond reform. The Quebec wing of the movement (the LSO) was degenerate -- having failed in May 1972, an historic test in the same manner as German Stalinism's capitulation to Hitler in 1933. In the English-Canadian portion of the LSA/LSO, the process of degeneration was not yet past the point of no return; it could still be reversed. While the leadership was bankrupt, many members had been won to the positions of the RCT. There were others who still could be won. This perspective justified the RCT's decision to "stay and fight."

("Stay and fight" is a well-known slogan in the Canadian left. It was popularized by Canadian Trotskyists conducting fraction work in the social-democratic New Democratic Party, to explain why they remain members of the NDP, in order to combat the class collaborationism of social-democracy, and win new forces for the building of the revolutionary party.)

"We don't need to split," Smiley stated, "because we're meeting with success -- growing success in our struggle in defense of Leninism." On behalf of the RCT, Smiley had earlier delivered an extended eulogy of the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire which had split from the section the previous summer.

Only after the convention reacted with indignation to the Smiley tirade did the RCT affirm its "willingness to accept the discipline of the elected leadership... to abide by the decisions that this movement makes... (and to) build the section," in a contribution by RCT reporter Marv Gandall. Gandall also said that "Comrade Smiley has indicated that he is willing to retract the contentious (sic) statement about the Quebec section and its parallel to the situation in Germany in 1933. The RCT, however maintains its position that the LSO is a degenerated sect and should be dissolved." The RCT also maintained its characterizations of the LSA/LSO leadership and its program.

Yet only six weeks after the RCT's recognition of the authority of the convention, the process of split had also begun, as a growing



number of RCT members and youth supporters found themselves unable to work within the framework of the convention decisions of their respective organizations.

### The Justifications Proposed for the Splits

The five splitters from the LSA-LSO made only oral declarations explaining their split, declarations, which, they said, were preliminary. The written statements they promised have not materialized, except for Thoma's. They will all be appended if received in time. The oral statements focus on the LSA/LSO's failure to accept the proposal of the Revolutionary Marxist Group for immediate fusion of the two organizations, which as RCTer Horbatiuk put it, constituted the "acid test" of the Canadian section.

The splitters from the youth organization, however, submitted written declarations, which are appended to this report.

These statements do not attempt to justify the splits on the grounds of principled political differences.

Nor do they attempt to portray the splits as the necessary result of factional reprisals. The Toronto ICTers refer to "organized factionalism" but come up with nothing concrete other than emergency and temporary suspension of two Maritime locals in 1971, an action which has been followed by two years in which the RCT and its youth supporters have not been subject to disciplinary or organizational measures in any form.

The RMT (Peterborough) splitters refer to their fears that their applications for membership in the LSA/LSO might not be accepted. Far from waiting for this application to be processed, however, they defected shortly after receiving letters from the LSA/LSO Central Office, informing them their applications were under consideration.

The ICT splitters allege that the LSA/LSO excluded from membership a youth member who supported the RCT and the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency.

"In its holy war against alleged ultraleft sectarianism, the LSA has flippantly excluded YS militants who have a long standing record of building Trotskyism."

In fact, we have been able to come across only three cases where applications of RCT youth supporters in the LSA/LSO were contested. All three were decided by the Toronto East branch. One applicant, a long-standing member of the RCT, was admitted (he has since broken with the movement by denouncing it in the pages of the Lambertiste press). Two others were told their applications would not be accepted at that time. The latter two cases were not appealed to the Metro Toronto executive, and

were not brought to the attention of the Political Committee. There is no evidence of any pattern of exclusion of RCT youth supporters from the LSA/LSO.

No specific case was ever brought to the attention of the leadership bodies of either the LSA/LSO or the YS/LJS, concerning youth members were alleged by anyone to have been excluded from the LSA/LSO without cause.

The charge of "factional recruitment" boils down to a political disagreement over the correct course to follow in attempting to achieve organizational unity between the Revolutionary Marxist Group and the LSA/LSO. The issue is not "factional recruitment" whatsoever, but the political question of how best to bring about the unification of another organization with the LSA/LSO.

This question will be dealt with in a separate report. The RMG position, in brief, is that unity can best be achieved through immediate fusion of the two organizations, on the basis of their mere affirmation of adherence to the basic program of the Fourth International. The LSA/LSO position is that the road to unity must be through a process of political collaboration and discussion that establishes that there is a principled basis for unity, and demonstrates in life that unity can be successful.

A second disagreement concerns the programmatic basis of recruitment to sections of the Fourth International. The revolutionary Marxist Group holds that unity should take place on the basis solely of the program and principles of the Fourth International, as laid down by World Congresses. The LSA/LSO regards this as insufficient, and recruits to its ranks on a programmatic basis encompassing not only the world view and work analysis of Trotskyism, but the Trotskyist program for Canada. In the view of the LSA/LSO, a revolutionary organization cannot be built in Canada if it is not built around a program for the class struggle in Canada.

These two questions were debated exhaustively before and at the LSA/LSO convention. The leadership's position was sustained by an overwhelming majority of the delegates. The comrades of the RCT may hold that view to be mistaken; they have no cause to claim it is factional in conception or application. The LSA/LSO's view of recruitment on recruitment and unity of revolutionary forces was formulated and applied long before the appearance of the RMG. It was outlined in a convention document adopted in 1970, entitled "Building a Revolutionary Party in Canada". Rather than arbitrarily change its recruitment norms in the case of the RMG -- which would indeed be a factional procedure -- the LSA/LSO has applied impartially its long established concepts of recruitment and party building. If these concepts are wrong, they will be corrected through further experience and further discussion -- not through splits.

Leaving aside the rights and wrongs of the two positions in this debate, the split in the LSA/LSO and YS/LJS has indisputably dealt a blow to the prospects for unity with the RMG. The splitters' conclusion that they could not exist as a loyal minority within the Canadian section can tend to create doubts in the RMG's ranks that they can succeed in functioning, as is their declared intention, as a minority within the framework of the Canadian section. Moreover, the RMG's declared intention to recruit to its ranks these renegades from the Canadian section indicates a political attitude at variance with their declared intention to join and build the LSA/LSO.

Whether the splitters' opinion in the disputed question of recruitment policy is right or wrong, it is no justification for split. A convention has democratically taken a stand on recruitment policy, and on the question of unity with the RMG. The RCT pledged to abide by the decisions of this convention. If this decision is wrong, this will be shown in due course through the test of experience, and the LSA/LSO will have the opportunity of correcting it. If members who find themselves in a minority on one or another question regard this as justification for split, no movement can be built. Members whose positions on a given question are defeated must accept the democratic decision of a convention, participate loyally in the work of the organization, confident that experience, and the re-opening of discussion, will prove the correctness of their views.

#### A Split From the Fourth International

After splitting from the youth organization of the Canadian section, the 14 splitters of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency state, surely tongue-in-cheek, "We will continue to press for membership in the Canadian section of the Fourth International." The LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS are organizationally independent parts of a common movement, and loyalty to the LSA/LSO involves loyalty to, and building of the youth organization. The Davis motion to the Political Committee correctly characterizes the RMT and ICT splitters as having "separate(d) themselves from the Canadian section" by splitting from the YS/LJS. Davis therefore joined the rest of the Political Committee in adopting a motion that "the applications for membership in the LSA/LSO of those persons who have split from the YS/LJS be null and void."

The Internationalist Communist Tendency, explained that "We therefore leave the Young Socialists, not splitting from the Fourth International -- for you have never allowed us to be part of it..." If this means that they were arbitrarily barred from membership in the Canadian section, it is factually untrue. But in any case, the statement makes no sense. The Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes is a sympathizing youth organization of the Fourth International. As such, it pays dues, receives the internal bulletin of the International and participates in the international discussion. The YS/LJS sends fraternal delegates to World Congresses with voice and consultative vote. The discussion

in the world movement was one of the most hotly disputed issues before and at the YS/LJS convention.

The IMT and RCT splitters appear to believe that membership in the Fourth International is essentially a matter of faith and personal testimony. The only form of membership in the Fourth International is membership in a section or sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. By splitting from the YS/LJS and the LSA/LSO, the ICT and RCT splitters have split from the organization of the Fourth International in Canada, and thus left the ranks of the world movement, and placed themselves in opposition to the organized Trotskyist movement.

No organizational grounds exist to justify the split. But when Horbatiuk and his fellow splitters point to the failure to immediately recruit the Revolutionary Marxist Group as failing "the acid test," they surely point to the real grounds for the split. Their split surely indicates that they have concluded that there is indeed no hope within the LSA/LSO to reverse the process of "degeneration," and that the hope for the future now lies outside the ranks of the section. For them, the goal is now not to build the LSA/LSO but to build a rival organization.

Their action defines them as enemies of the Canadian section. All relations with them must be as with any political opponent -- only through the authorized channels of the movement, with the agreement and under the supervision of its leading bodies.

The splitters claim that in leaving the Canadian section, and applying to join the Revolutionary Marxist Group, they are not leaving the Fourth International, but building it. They conceive of the Fourth International as composed in each country of a collection of rival groupings, who agree on nothing but their adherence to abstractly-conceived principles of the International. By this logic, any split in any country can be justified, as long as the splitters do not declare themselves to be "breaking with the Fourth International."

The Fourth International is a disciplined party of world revolution, whose component units are national sections in each country. The Statutes of the Fourth International specify that there can be only one section in each country, and that a sympathizing organization will not be recognized in a country where there is a section. Exceptions can be made in extraordinary situations, but only with the agreement of the section. To deny the central concept that the Fourth International is made up of national sections, is to deny the very aim of the Fourth International: to build in each country revolutionary parties capable of leading the socialist revolution to victory; it would transform the Fourth International, a combat organization, into a meaningless conglomeration of splintered and warring grouplets in each country.

The test of every point of view, and every tendency, in the

present discussion in our world movement, is its capacity to contribute to the building and reinforcement of strong national sections. We are now in the midst of the deepest and most wide-ranging discussion since the founding of the Fourth International. This discussion demands of all of its participants conscious efforts to defend and strengthen the unity of the world movement. The greatest threat to this unity is factionally motivated splits in national sections -- tearing apart the component units of the international.

With the walkout of the Mill group, the split first struck the Quebec wing of the movement. Then it hit the youth wing. It is now advancing into the ranks of the remaining supporters of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank Tendency in the English-Canadian wing of the section. Urgent and serious measures are required now to halt and reverse this process.

### The Response of the Political Committee

Faced with the drive towards split, the responsibility of the leadership is to set aside political differences and take a united stand against splits, and for the unity of the movement.

The motion proposed to the Political Committee by the Executive Secretary on June 11 was drafted to fulfil that function:

The Political Committee condemns the action of Bob Mills, Dorothy Knight and Arnie Mintz in splitting from the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere. Their split has struck a blow against the LSA/LSO, the Canadian section of the Fourth International, and against the unity of the world Trotskyist movement.

This motion laid aside the question of blame for the splits, and condemned no one. It however took a clear and unambiguous political stand on an action that had taken place. Is the Political Committee for or against the splits? Does it consider the splits to help or to hinder the process of building the LSA/LSO and the Fourth International? The Political Committee motion answers these questions clearly by condemning the splits as a blow against the LSA/LSO and the Fourth International.

The RCT member of the Political Committee abstained on this motion. RCTers abstained or voted against similar motions, when they were moved in the Toronto branches. In explanation of his abstention in the PC vote, Walter Davis submitted a statement, which is appended to this document.

The Davis statement is a complete evasion of the RCT's responsibility to explain its stand on the splits, and its stand on the Political Committee motion. It says not one word on the splits themselves, or on the question of party unity. It offers limp excuses for his abstention, such as that he is being asked to vote "under duress" -- the "duress" involved consists of the simple

necessity to take a stand on an event that has occurred. Davis terms the PC motion a "bourgeois loyalty oath." It is not. It takes a political position in opposition to a split. (But unconditional loyalty to the LSA/LSO is a condition of membership -- there is nothing bourgeois about that!)

Davis claims that the motion demands that RCTers "recant" -- it clearly does nothing of the kind. But the key objection he makes to the motion is that it does not contain a self-criticism by the Political Committee on the question of its recruitment policy: in other words, it does not contain a recantation by the PC! The Political Committee agrees with comrade Davis that recantation is not part of our political tradition; that is why it framed a motion which was designed to permit a united stand by the PC without recantations by anyone concerned.

Davis's statement gives his justification of his failure to support the motion.

It was to be hoped that if the RCT could not support the PC motion, it would propose a motion of its own which, in its opinion, could unite the leadership in opposition to the splits. Unfortunately, the RCT motion, when it was presented eight days later, had the opposite character:

We have now had a full discussion of the resignation of a number of YS comrades and a handful of LSA comrades who were members of the RCT. We deeply regret that comrades who are supporters of the majority of the Fourth International should feel the need to separate themselves from the Canadian section.

We understand the feelings and motivations of comrades who have witnessed a year of factional recruitment which casts in doubt the future of the LSA. If the course of the LSA on factional recruitment is not reversed, we can only fear that further attrition and resignations will take place, and the ability to fuse Trotskyist forces in Canada will become more difficult to bring about.

This motion says not one word of opposition to the splits, not one word in support of the unity of the Canadian section. It regrets -- not the splits -- but the fact that the splitters felt their action to be "necessary;" yet it "understands" their motivations. It further predicts that "if the course of the LSA on factional recruitment is not reversed, we can only fear that further attrition and resignations will take place..."

What is the meaning of this "prediction?" Is it merely a forecast, or is it a statement of the RCT's program? Does the RCT wish us to understand that they are merely "predicting" that more and more of their members will bolt their ranks and break from the LSA/LSO? If so, it is a unique statement of political bankruptcy -- what does the RCT propose to do to help block the process?

Or is it more a form of blackmail -- that unless the LSA/LSO changes its recruitment policy, the RCT will permit or encourage the "attrition" of its members to continue through a process of splits? Is the RCT saying that in its opinion, unity can be preserved only by overthrowing the convention decision on fusion with the Revolutionary Marxist Group? If so, it is a one hundred percent break with their stand at the convention, when they stated they would abide by convention decisions.

The splitters have sought to cover their actions with the authority of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank Tendency in the Fourth International. The declarations of each group of splitters refers to their agreement with the MMF Tendency. (The RCT in fact declared its support for MMF documents only eight days before splitting.)

Yet the MMF Tendency has previously gone on record as opposing splits. "In Defense of Leninism, In Defense of the Fourth International," a central document in the platform of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank Tendency, argues for the need to resist tendencies which would fracture the unity of the world movement. In discussions with leaders of the LSA/LSO on April 26, 1973, Alain Krivine, a leader of the MMF Tendency, singled out this concept as one of the main reasons for the formation of his tendency. The tendency was formed, he said, in order to combat splits in national sections.

But the supporters of the MMF Tendency in Canada (both those who split as well as those who remain in the section but justify the split) have not followed this policy. Walter Davis, whose motion to the Political Committee in effect endorses the split, is the Canadian member of the International Steering Committee of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank Tendency.

### The Road Forward

The worst crime in the present situation would be an attitude of fatalism or abstention in face of the growing split. The walkout of half the supporters of the MMF Tendency from the Canadian movement is cause for concern by all responsible leaders of the International, whatever their viewpoint. The United Secretariat should be able to take a unanimous stand against any extension of the split in Canada. It can do so without attempting to attribute blame for what has happened, and without taking up broader political questions which obviously divide it. A strong, united stand by the United Secretariat in favor of the unity of the Canadian movement could do a great deal to halt the split.

The Canadian section, like the International as a whole, numbers in its ranks comrades holding widely divergent views on various questions. But the strength of our party rests on our common conviction that our differences can be democratically discussed and resolved within the framework of a united, combat organization. In the face of the recent splits from the LSA/LSO, we must unite around a common re-assertion of our commitment to the unity of the section and its youth group. Building the section is the only road forward to the construction of a mass revolutionary socialist party in Canada. This must be reflected, whatever our views on the causes of the splits, in a united stand against them -- to halt them now, and to reverse the process of split now unfolding in the Canadian Trotskyist organization.

July 7, 1973

APPENDIX I

STATEMENT BY DAVIS TO THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING, JUNE 11/73

Note: The following statement was submitted by Davis in explanation of his vote on the motions under items "Mintz, Knight, Mills Split" and "Young Socialists".

To be affixed to the minutes of the Political Committee meeting of June 11, 1973.

I would like to explain my vote on the P.C. motion condemning the YS comrades who have just resigned in block.

My vote of abstention is motivated from several factors:

- 1) the comrades split from the YS/LJS, not the Canadian section, and while we (the LSA/YS) are a "common movement",
- 2) the Political Committee of the LSA and the executives of the Toronto branches have treated the members of the Toronto YS on two levels -- those supporting the politics of the PC majority and those supporting the international majority
- 3) the motivation for this motion in no way examines the effect of factional recruitment as a catalytic agent contributing to the split in the youth
- 4) this motion was first presented in the Toronto branches in obvious attempt to maneuver and create an air of intimidation around RCTers
- 5) John Steele's motivation in the Toronto branches made it clear that comrades had to vote for the motion or be guilty of giving aid and comfort to splitters.

I will not vote for any motion that fails to draw a balance sheet of the results of factional recruitment. Furthermore, I will not be forced (internally to the Fourth International) to vote for any motion under duress. Certainly, Trotskyists cannot be expected to vote for a motion simply because it is brought to the floor by the likes of John Steele.

Steele furthermore made it quite clear in his branch summations that RCTers will be expected to recant their branch votes following reflection upon the matter of the YS splits. If this is also the view of the Political Committee of the Canadian section, I would draw your attention to the history of the Fourth International and the struggle for an international proletarian party. Bourgeois loyalty oaths and recantation are not part of our history.

The Political Committee of the Canadian section has systematically excluded supporters of the Fourth International both externally and from the YS over the past year. Ignore it if you wish, the record is very clear on this matter. We will not underwrite such activity with our votes internal to the organization. The onus is on you, comrades.

I repeat my statement to the Toronto branches: "...while I cannot vote against a moral platitude void of self-criticism, I certainly cannot vote for it."



## APPENDIX 2: SPLIT STATEMENTS

### STATEMENT TO JUNE 3, 1973, TORONTO LOCAL CONFERENCE, SIGNED THE TORONTO GROUP OF THE INTERNATIONALIST COMMUNIST TENDENCY

Comrades!

The International majority supporters within the Young Socialists, youth appendage of the Canadian section, find themselves at a crossroads. For two years we have struggled for a revolutionary program to replace the present eclectic and tailist one. It has been a long, hard, bitter struggle where you have often preferred to respond to our ideological challenge with organizational factionalism such as the unwarranted suspension of the Halifax and Fredericton locals one and a half years ago, the distortion of our political positions, attacks on other sections of the Fourth International, etc..

Yes, comrades, it has been a bitter struggle. And now the LSA has made it clear that it intends to continue in the same course. It chooses to do so by the conscious exclusion of Fourth International majority supporters in the Young Socialists and in external political groups from membership in the Canadian section. The normal international debate is closed to us. We are comrades in limbo because the Political Committee majority has so little faith in its politics that it fears to recruit dissidents from the youth. It fears to recruit Trotskyists and prefers to recruit new apolitical activists.

In its holy war against alleged ultraleft sectarianism, the LSA has flippantly excluded YS militants who have a long standing record of building Trotskyism.

The refusal to recruit Old Mole and the Red Circle is even more outrageous. We are told they were political opponents of the Fourth International. What slanders flow from the pages of our press and our internal documents! These "political opponents" consist of a Toronto based group of thirty whose press and actions publicly identify with the Fourth International. This is far more than can be said of the Labor Challenge (much less the Young Socialist) and of the liquidationist actions of the LSA. The widening influence of these comrades now grouped as the Revolutionary Marxist Group contrasts sharply with the stagnation and decline of the LSA-YS in English Canada.

The Revolutionary Marxist Group intends to build a national organization armed with the program of the Fourth International. You have left these comrades no choice but to build the Fourth International by the only means open to them.

We call on the LSA to repudiate its present course which can only lead to further division of the international movement. We would request that the LSA-YS refrain from sectarian public attacks on the RMG.

We wish at this point to solidarize with the Revolutionary Marxist Group and with the task it has set itself. Building the revolutionary party in Canada will be done by bringing together the healthy forces of the vanguard. The RMG, as a group loyal to the F.I., as Revolutionary Trotskyists in the finest traditions of the world movement are our natural allies. They need our aid towards building an organization which will someday represent a major part of the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Regardless of your future actions, we intend to build the Fourth International, not divide it. We therefore leave the Young Socialists, not splitting from the F.I. -- for you have never allowed us to be part of it -- but towards creating a Trotskyist pole on the Canadian left which has the right of applying for recognition from the World Congress, as a step towards unifying Trotskyist forces in Canada.

It is not we who have chosen to divide the forces of Trotskyism in Canada, but the LSA has done so. You have shown no interest in these forces which wish to build the Fourth International. We are forced to choose another route.

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!  
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST GROUP!

Signed the Toronto group of the Internationalist Communist Tendency:

David Allen  
Barbara Thoma  
Roger Annis  
Isabel Meherry  
Gary Kinsmen

#### REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST TENDENCY STATEMENT, JUNE 6, 1973

Comrades!

The Revolutionary Marxist Tendency of the Young Socialists has come through extensive discussions and declared its support for the International Majority Tendency. We have concluded serious differences with the Canadian Section and regard its politics as degenerating from the theory and practise of Marxism-Leninism. Nonetheless, as loyal supporters of the Fourth International, a majority of the comrades in the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency have applied to join the LSA to participate fully in the debates of the International. However, we have watched with apprehension the Canadian Section's recruitment procedures. The rejection of the Red Circle, Old Mole, and youth comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency -- all supporters of the International majority -- is inadmissible factionalism that impairs the debate in the Fourth International.

Such tactics do not present us with any hope for the fate of our serious applications for membership in the LSA and for branch status in Peterborough. We feel we must protest by removing ourselves from the YS in solidarity with Toronto comrades formerly of the Internationalist Communist Tendency and joining with them and with other supporters of the International majority similarly excluded from the Fourth International in Canada. We will continue to press for membership in the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

As of this moment, all members of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency resign from the Young Socialists.

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Signed:

Peter H.	Scott F.	Gordon F.
Sue G.	Pat S.	Bridget R.
Michel T.	Linda P.	Geoff T.
Bob W.	Catherine F.	Ross F.
	Gary S.	Larry L.

THOMA STATEMENT, JUNE 19, 1973

Comrades!

The past two years have seen a struggle in the LSA/LSO that was unprecedented both in scope and amount of discussion. The struggle was not any easy one; it was often tinged with personal hostility towards oppositionists and attempts to crush the opposition organizationally when you could not deal with it politically.

You reversed lines with minimal, if any, discussion, you glossed over or ignored mistakes and defects, and you continually violated norms of proletarian democracy.

But all of this pales beside your continued refusal to recruit genuine Canadian Trotskyists to the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The emergence of supporters of the F.I. majority in the Young Socialists was a threat to the hegemony of the PC over the LSA. This threat was met by the absolute refusal of the LSA to recruit these comrades, lest they gain support within the section.

When two separate groups of militants, the Old Mole and the Red Circle, evolved towards the politics and the analysis of the Fourth International, to the point where both made group applications for recruitment to the LSA, these comrades were similarly refused.

The claim of the PC that all these comrades were refused entry into the LSA because of a lack of common work is strained. in the case of the Red Circle comrades, and absolutely ludicrous in the case of the YS comrades. It is nothing more than a rather transparent cover-up for the fact that the LSA is in fact carrying out factional recruitment within the F.I., recruiting supporters of the F.I. minority while refusing to recruit to its legitimate majority.

The Revolutionary Marxist Group was formed as an organization through the fusion of the former Old Mole and Red Circle, only after every other alternative had been closed to them by the LSA. They did/decide to set themselves up as a group in opposition to the LSA, rather it was the LSA which forced these comrades to find organizational expression for their politics outside of the Fourth International. You, Comrades, and not the RMG, are responsible for the disunity of the Trotskyist forces in Canada.

The RMG has again called for the fusion of the RMG, the LSA, and all other supporters of the Fourth International in Canada.

The Toronto members of the Internationalist Communist Tendency of the YS viewed this call as a step forward in the unification of the Canadian Trotskyist forces. As a result, they rightly left the hopeless quagmire of the YS to help the RMG in its efforts.

Believing that the forces of Canadian Trotskyism must be united in order to build Canadian Trotskyism, I intend to do all that I can to aid the comrades of the RMG.

Therefore, I am resigning from the LSA/LSO. I am simultaneously resigning from its youth appendage, the YS/LJS. I will be applying for membership in the RMG this week.

- For a unified section of the F.I. in Canada!
- Long live the Fourth International!
- Long live the Revolutionary Marxist Group!

FRATERNALLY, Mike Thoma

cc: USFI

LYONS STATEMENT, REGINA SASKATCHEWAN, JULY 3, 1973

Comrades:

This letter is to inform you that I am resigning as a member of the YS/LJS.

The reasons for my resignation are as follows:

1) The failure of the Canadian section to recruit me as a member. As my application is now over 1 (one) year standing, I can only consider my exclusion from the LSA/LSO as being politically motivated, ie., for my support of the International Majority Tendency of the Fourth International.

2) The failure of the Canadian section to recruit the Trotskyists of the Old Mole and Red Circle groups, comrades who are also supporters of the International Majority Tendency of the Fourth International. I consider their exclusion from the Canadian section a telling sign of the political cowardice and degeneration of the present leadership of the LSA/LSO

3) The need for the unification of revolutionary Marxists under the banner of the Fourth International. For this reason I shall turn what political abilities I may possess to the consolidation and building of the Revolutionary Marxist Group so that once again the Trotskyists of Canada may march under the banners of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary banner of the Fourth International.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST GROUP!?  
LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!!

Bob Lyons  
former Organizer, Regina local

cc: USFI

JULY 25, 1971, LETTER FROM BILL MASSEY FOR  
THE PROLETARIAN ORIENTATION TENDENCY  
TO JACK BARNES

Comrade Jack Barnes  
National Organizational Secretary  
Socialist Workers Party  
14 Charles Lane  
New York, New York 11014

Comrade Barnes,

Enclosed is a letter concerning the amount of time being allotted to the reporter for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency in presenting the position of the Tendency under the Political Resolution at the Convention. We would request that the Political Committee take up this matter immediately either thru a meeting or a poll of its members. We would request that if the information in our letter is accurate concerning the fact that our reporter (for the Tendency's counter-resolution to the N. C. Draft Political Resolution) would only receive thirty-eight minutes to make a presentation of our position before the convention and not one hour or more (that is one hour and fifteen minutes) that the enclosed letter be then published as a contribution to the SWP Discussion Bulletins for the pre-convention discussion.

It is possible that there has been a misunderstanding and that the 38 minutes was not an accurate or serious proposal for the time we would be allotted in this matter, and that one hour or one hour and fifteen minutes is what our spokesperson will receive to give an adequate presentation of the position of our tendency. If this is the case then there would be no purpose served in publishing the enclosed letter in the Pre Convention Discussion Bulletins and we would ask that you file it along with

a copy of the letter telling us of the decision of the P. C. in granting our reporter the hour or hour and fifteen minutes for an adequate presentation of our views. However, we wish to make it clear, that unless this matter is cleared up prior to the end of the acceptance of contributions to the pre-convention discussion bulletins (and that we receive no less than one hour or one hour and fifteen minutes for our reporter's presentation) we want this printed as a contribution to the pre-convention discussion bulletins, for the information of the entire Party.

Let me restate the matter: If our spokesperson is denied the adequate time to present our views (the counter-resolution submitted by the Proletarian Orientation Tendency in opposition to the line of the N. C. Draft Political Resolution) to the Convention, and we consider anything less than one hour presentation time, to be inadequate; and if the decision on this matter, by the Political Committee, is to be delayed until after the close of the pre-convention discussion and the acceptance of contributions to the SWP Discussion Bulletins; then the attached letter is to be considered a contribution to the discussion and therefore printed in the SWP Discussion Bulletins for the information of the Party as a whole. In that event we would ask that this letter be also printed as an introduction to the attached (then constituted contribution to the pre-convention bulletin) letter. Thank you.

Comradely,  
s/Bill Massey, Oakland-Berkeley Branch,  
for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency.

Copy to: File

A SERIOUS TENDENCY WHICH HAS ACTED SERIOUSLY  
DESERVES TO BE TREATED IN A SERIOUS MANNER AND  
RECEIVE ADEQUATE TIME TO PRESENT ITS VIEWS TO  
THE HIGHEST BODY OF THE PARTY

by Bill Massey for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency

It is the understanding of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, whose interests I represent in this regard, that the spokesperson for our Tendency reporting our views before the SWP Convention to be held in Ohio in August, will receive only thirty-eight (38) minutes to make the presentation of the counter-resolution of our Tendency to the N. C. Draft Political Resolution. This is my opinion gathered in a telephone conversation with a spokesperson for the National Office of the Socialist Workers Party.

Let me first state, that this amount of time, which would be half the time allotted to the spokesperson for the N. C. Draft Political Resolution, is totally inadequate, as is any time less than one-hour.

To say that the Party protects the rights of a tendency, that is of organized political differences — and allows it to present its views to the pre-convention discussion and then to arbitrarily give it half of the time of the reporter for the N. C. Draft Political Resolution is, in my opinion, a violation of democratic procedure. During the pre-convention discussion and during the convention itself, the Party should bend over backwards in enforcing the democratic aspect of democratic centralism. In this concrete instance, we believe that the Party should give the

Proletarian Orientation Tendency equal time (or no less than one hour) with the reporter for the N. C. Draft Political Resolution, to present our views in an adequate manner. As Cannon stated in *Letters From Prison*, page 108, "Pre-convention and convention discussion should not be restricted to the policy of the NC; it should not be restricted at all." We feel that limiting the time of our presentation to less than one hour would be a serious restriction.

To give our Tendency less than equal time (or less than one hour) would be wrong for several reasons. (1) It would instill, if not reinforce the prejudice that minority views are not as important as what the NC says, therefore it is perfectly permissible to give them, in this case the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, "half time," (which is obviously not the same as "equal time") to present our views. (2) This in turn would instill the attitude that allowing a minority (the Proletarian Orientation Tendency) to speak is a mere formality instead of a vital part of Party democracy. (3) It might leave many comrades with the impression that the Convention, which is the highest body of the Party, did not get a chance to hear adequately and fairly all viewpoints and thus

did not get a chance to take a fair vote. In this regard it is well to keep in mind that what the Proletarian Orientation Tendency is asking for in this regard is a matter of twenty-two minutes (which would give our reporter one hour presentation time) or more adequately thirty-eight minutes (which would equal one hour and fifteen minutes or the same time that we understand the reporter for the NC Draft Political Resolution feels is needed to make an adequate presentation).

Cannon in *Letters from Prison* also stated:

... I am not of the opinion "that every discussion disturbs the Party." That is a slanderous echo of the petty-bourgeois opposition. To be sure, I am not very much in favor of kibitzing which leads to nothing but more of the same and drives serious workers away, and I am not very much in favor of pampering chronic kickers and windbags. But I am strongly in favor of full discussion which leads to a decision by the party whenever different viewpoints are presented in the proper season. The pre-convention period is the season. (page 108).

It is our opinion that it is the responsibility of the PC to assure a thorough political discussion prior to the convention discussion. This would naturally include the presentation of the resolution of the NC and the counter-resolution of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency. When the PC arbitrarily gives the Proletarian Orientation Tendency half the time it gives the NC Draft reporter, it is not assuring a thorough political discussion prior to the vote and is, in fact, implying that for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, the presentation is not very important.

Let me state that we don't look upon this issue as a simply abstract one. Our tendency has conducted itself with regard to the Party in a serious manner and has fulfilled its responsibilities to the Party to the best of its abilities. There is concrete evidence of this, we think you will agree, in the following:

1. We notified the Party leadership of our intentions to submit our differences prior to the opening of the pre-convention discussion. In fact we notified the leadership, early enough for you, Comrade Barnes, to note that we had differences, in your report to the NC Plenum in mid-March of 1971 — some five months ago.

2. We put our ideas at the disposal of all the comrades of the Party at the very opening of the pre-convention discussion; we presented our criticisms of the NC Draft Political Resolution at a relatively early date in the discussion, for all comrades to see and take note; we fully spelled out what our orientation would mean in all areas of the Party's work, at a time that allowed for a full discussion in all the branches and in the pre-convention discussion bulletins. This we felt was how a serious tendency should act toward the Party.

3. Spokespersons for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency presented its views to most every Party Branch in the country. This included: the three branches in New York City; Boston; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; Atlanta; Cleveland; Detroit; Chicago; Minneapolis; Seattle; Portland; San Francisco; Oakland-Berkeley; Austin; Los Angeles; and Houston. Only two Party branches were omitted, and this was due to the expense and time of travel. We fulfilled

this responsibility not only to get our ideas out to the most comrades possible, but to provide the Party as a whole with a clear differentiation of the opposing views reflected in the NC Draft Political Resolution and the Proletarian Orientation Tendency. This we feel contributed to the seriousness with which comrades should treat the pre-convention discussions in our Party.

4. The majority of the material published in the pre-convention discussion bulletins has been devoted to the differences between the NC Draft Political Resolution and the Proletarian Orientation Tendency. This reflects not only how comrades look at the main questions before the Convention but it reflects what are the main questions before the Convention. This is not strange, since the Majority and the Proletarian Orientation Tendency are the only alternatives put forward in a serious manner for the consideration of the Party members. It is quite logical and just that the Convention agenda—with relation to the time allotted for the presentation of these differences—should reflect this concrete reality. To do less, would encourage an unserious attitude toward the Party and the pre-convention discussion. It would also be an injustice to our Tendency which took its responsibilities to the Party seriously and fulfilled them.

5. It is also a fact, that with the possible exception of seven comrades (in Boston) and one (in Oakland-Berkeley) the votes of the rest of the Party membership will be divided between the NC Draft Political Resolution and the counter-resolution put forward by the Proletarian Orientation Tendency. This again is not strange, since even at this late date of July 26th, no one—save possibly eight persons nationally—have been confronted with any other alternatives.

6. Furthermore, the strength of our ideas and the seriousness with which we have put them forward allows us to make a very safe estimate that some ninety (90) comrades nationally will vote for our line in their branches. This estimate is a modest figure if anything. This takes in at least 15 Party Branches. It includes members of both the Party and youth National Committees, members of several Branch executive committees, a goodly percentage of the Party's Third World cadre (15-20%), several former Branch organizers as well as youth organizers. The members of our tendency have, are and will be characterized as active participants in building both the Party and youth and participants in the movements of involvement for the Party. Not a few of these are outstanding examples in this regard, and have been for several years. The Proletarian Orientation Tendency has a real life in the Party and that as well as its ideas contribute to its being a serious tendency.

It is correct to say that democracy should be extended to every comrade or group of comrades with differences. However, it is also true, and thus a corollary to this, that democracy does not exist in the abstract but in the concrete. A serious Tendency, that treats the Party as well as its ideas, with seriousness should be extended the time necessary to present its views to the highest body of the Party and not treated like an unserious group of, to use Cannon's terms, "chronic kickers and windbags" who fall either to get their views to the Party or take the norms and traditions (in addition to the comrades) of the Party seriously.

It is not only in the interests of the Party but also of

its co-thinkers everywhere, that our Party puts a high priority on the democratic aspect of our dialectical organizational method of democratic centralism. To limit the presentation of our reporter in the Political resolution discussion to 38 minutes or less than at least one hour, would not only be a mockery it would be cause for scandal. It would make any pronouncements that we would make to our co-thinkers, seem like empty rhetoric marked "Made in the U.S. for Shipment Abroad." Further it would not only cause an unserious attitude toward fulfilling the responsibilities of democracy but it would impair the centralist side of our concepts also.

If a Tendency treats the Party in a serious manner, as our Tendency has done, it deserves serious treatment from the Party also. It is on this basis that the Party after it has voted for its positions is able to exert its moral influence in its expectation, that every comrade to the person, carry out these decisions in a disciplined manner until the next convention.

The members of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency will in the future as we have in the past, act in a loyal and disciplined manner toward the Party; we are Leninists and put no conditions on our Party patriotism. However, we are aware that the type of treatment, reflected in the 38-minute-type proposal, will undermine the Leninist concept of democratic centralism, which we pride ourselves on.

The restriction on our rights, and that is what the 38-minutes-type proposal (or any allotment of time less than one hour or one hour and fifteen minutes) would be, could only create not only in the minds of the members of our Tendency but in the minds of the Party members as a whole, a cynicism toward democratic centralism itself. This situation is not our creation and therefore we cannot take responsibility for its adjustment—we seek to change the minds of the PC members in order to avoid this type of situation.

Comrades will travel thousands of miles to participate in the decisions of this convention, we believe these decisions are of historic importance, therefore we feel that the presentations of the different points of view contained in the NC Draft Political Resolution and the counter-resolution of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency should be allowed adequate time to develop their alternate lines in a complete and comprehensive manner. To deny this would be a ludicrous injustice not only to the members of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency but the Party

as a whole, as well as the International. When you realize that what we are asking for is an additional 38 minutes (added on to the proposed 38 minutes) our request is not only fair but in the best interests of the Party. In that the Convention of the Party is once every two years and that it is our highest body—we feel our request is in order.

When you also realize that the Convention schedule could well withstand this minor change, especially since several days at the end of the convention have been set aside for an educational conference. Though important, this educational conference still takes a secondary position with regard to our Convention and its working out of our differences in coming to our decisions.

We of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency ask that the Political Committee meet and discuss this matter, taking seriously the information and views put forward in this letter. On that basis we request that they make the necessary adjustment. This would give the entire Party represented at the Convention, a chance to hear an adequate presentation of our views put forward in an adequate fashion before our Party's highest body. If the Party did not consider Conventions important enough to allow adequate presentations of ideas and differences—the federated mail-in your vote procedure of Burnham, I believe, would be most sensible. But since we rejected that un-Leninist fancy, I believe we must have an adequate presentation of the differences to aid the discussion and the decisions coming out of it.

Finally we state that thirty-eight minutes or anything less than at least one hour for the presentation of our report on our counter-resolution, would be inadequate.

We further request that this decision be made as soon as possible so as to allow our reporter to prepare the presentation before the last minute. We assume that the reporter for the NC Draft Political Resolution already has a good idea of how much time will be allotted for that presentation and thus has ample time to prepare that document's presentation. We of the Proletarian Orientation would like the same ability to prepare. Not knowing whether to prepare an inadequate-to-begin-with thirty-eight minute presentation (which is impossible to cover the material) or to prepare an hour-and-fifteen minute presentation is a serious disadvantage to the ideas that the comrade will be representing. We hope that the Political Committee will act in a responsible manner in this regard.

July 26, 1971

#### JULY 30 POLITICAL COMMITTEE LETTER TO BILL MASSEY

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014  
July 30, 1971

OAKLAND-BERKELEY  
Bill Massey

Dear Comrade Massey,

The Political Committee, at its meeting today, considered your letter of July 25 on behalf of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency and the July 26 document "A Serious Tendency Which Has Acted Seriously Deserves to be Treated in a Serious Manner and Receive Adequate Time to Present Its Views to the Highest Body of the

Party." This letter is in reply to several of the points raised in those two documents.

You ask the Political Committee to guarantee that the reporter for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency under the point on the Political Resolution at the convention receive at least one hour for the presentation of your position. The Political Committee can not make such a guarantee.

The Political Committee only makes a recommendation to the preconvention plenum of the National Committee, which meets shortly before the convention, concerning the time to be allotted to various reporters under the different points on the agenda. The National Committee



then considers this recommendation, making any modifications it desires, and submits its own recommendation to the convention. The delegates to the convention make the final decision on the question of the apportionment of time to different reporters, as they do on all questions before the convention.

Thus, the Political Committee cannot guarantee what you ask of it. Consequently, according to your instructions, your letter and document are being placed in the *Discussion Bulletin*, together with this reply. In your letter, speaking for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, you refer to the correspondence between the leaders of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency and the national office prior to the convention. We are reprinting, in an appendix, that correspondence for the information of the party.

The tradition of our party is that when there is a political division, the amount of time allotted for the reporter of a minority position compared to the time allotted to the majority reporter is not strictly proportional to the strength of the minorities as opposed to the majority. In order to provide an opportunity for minorities to present their views, more time is generally given minority reporters than would be the case on a strictly proportional basis. When the convention delegates have deemed it appropriate, equal time has been granted to minority reporters. In some instances, such reporters have been given less than equal time by the convention delegates, when this was in their opinion warranted by the concrete circumstances.

Until a few weeks ago, it appeared there would be only one minority report. However, at that time the supporters of *For A Proletarian Orientation* split into two groups, the Proletarian Orientation Tendency and the Communist Tendency. The convention may thus be confronted with three counterposed positions: a political resolution backed by a large percentage of delegates and two counterresolutions each backed by a separate minority grouping of elected delegates.

In the case of more than one minority on a given point, it has been party practice to divide among the reporters for the minorities no more time than that of the majority reporter.

This procedure is indicated for two reasons. 1) If each minority were to receive time equal to the majority reporter, then the majority would receive a minority of the time. When there is a clear majority this would mean that the democratic rights of the majority were being violated.

2) If each minority were to receive time equal to the majority reporter, this would make the ratio of time allotted to reporters compared to that allotted to the elected delegates out of balance. It must not be forgotten that the convention is above all a meeting of the elected delegates, who must have the opportunity to present their positions and fully participate in the discussion before deciding upon all the issues facing the party. There is much more before the party convention than the debate with either the Proletarian Orientation Tendency or the Communist Tendency. The delegates must make decisions under eleven major agenda points.

In your letter and document you allude to the problem which the split in your grouping has placed before the convention, but do not directly name or discuss the Communist Tendency. However when you state that "with the possible exception of seven comrades (in Boston) and

one (in Oakland-Berkeley) the votes of the rest of the party membership will be divided between the NC Draft Political Resolution and the counterresolution put forward by the Proletarian Orientation Tendency," we assume that these eight comrades (by your estimation) you are referring to are in fact the Communist Tendency.

If we understand you correctly, you imply that the Communist Tendency is not serious, and that its reporters should receive no time or perhaps little time, on this basis. You claim that you are serious in contrast to them. Should the majority of delegates determine how much time should be allotted to your tendency on the sole basis of how "serious" they think you are? Your notion of "seriousness" cannot be the basis for the division of time among reporters for the two minorities.

One of the arguments you advance for the "seriousness" of your tendency is that it has the support of members of the National Committee and of branch executives, and that it will receive (you predict) the support of a minimum of 90 members. Would you consider a tendency of 40 comrades composed of rank-and-file members only "not serious" and restrict its time accordingly?

You talk about democracy and the rights of minority views to be heard. You say that if the convention delegates should give your reporter less than an hour this would mean making a "mockery" of party democracy and would constitute a "scandal." This would not give the convention "the chance to hear adequately and fairly all viewpoints" and would prevent the convention from taking "a fair vote," you charge. It would "instill the attitude that allowing a minority (the Proletarian Orientation Tendency) to speak is a mere formality instead of a vital part of party democracy."

But what about time for the reporter for the Communist Tendency? Would you make your decision on the basis of how "serious" the Communist Tendency considered its "real life in the party... as well as its ideas"? What about the democratic rights of *another* minority than your own?

Perhaps we have misunderstood your argument. Perhaps you are requesting equal time for your reporter and equal time for the Communist Tendency reporter giving the combined minority reporters double the time of the majority reporter. We have already explained that this would be a violation of the democratic rights of the majority and of the delegates as a whole.

You assert that the democracy of the convention hinges upon the single question of how much time your reporter receives. This is absurd. There has been a record number of *Discussion Bulletin* articles printed for this convention. The *Discussion Bulletin* was open to every contribution your supporters cared to make. There was full discussion in all the branches, including presentations by reporters for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency wherever you chose to send one. We are sure the convention will grant your reporter appropriate time to present the views of your tendency before the convention, relative to the reporter for the majority and for the Communist Tendency, if it should be represented by delegates to the convention.

It is the responsibility of the delegates to insure that democratic procedures are followed throughout the convention. This includes, but is not limited to, guarding the democratic rights of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency. It also includes guarding the democratic rights of the Communist Tendency, the democratic rights of the major-

ity, and the democratic rights of the convention delegates as a whole.

Your entire letter reveals a conception of party organization alien to the party's principles of democratic centralism. For example, you say that the concept that "minority views are not as important as what the NC says" is a "prejudice." That is not a "prejudice," it is a fact. The positions of the National Committee, the democratically elected leadership of the party between conventions, are binding party policy until and unless they are altered by the national convention. This does not prevent comrades from giving critical views the attention they deserve.

You make the charge that if the reporter for the Proletarian Orientation Tendency receives less than one hour for his or her presentation, it would "make any pronouncements that we would make to our co-thinkers, seem like empty rhetoric marked 'Made in the U.S. for Shipment Abroad.'" This is a slanderous and false accusation. The convention delegates will make their decision on this question in accordance with the SWP's democratic centralist principles—principles which the SWP has always affirmed and defended in relation to our co-thinkers in other countries as well as to its own functioning.

You go so far as to warn the party that if your demand for a minimum of at least one hour reporting time should be rejected by the delegates this "would impair the centralist side of our concepts." You contend this would prevent the party—after the convention delegates have made their decisions—from being "able to exert its moral influence in its expectation, that every comrade to the person, carry out these decisions in a disciplined manner until the next convention." This is an erroneous assumption on your part.

It will not be clear until the branch votes are taken whether the Communist Tendency will win any delegates or not, nor will it be clear how many delegates the Proletarian Orientation Tendency will get. When this information is available, the Political Committee will make further recommendations to the National Committee plenum.

Comradely,

/s/Jack Barnes  
for the Political Committee

cc: Barbara Gregorich  
Communist Tendency

## THE PRECONDITIONS FOR AN AUTHORITATIVE WORLD CONGRESS

*Adopted unanimously by the United Secretariat (April 9, 1973)*

In view of the backlog of translations still to be done of documents submitted to the preparatory discussion for the next world congress and the number of documents already announced for presentation in the coming weeks, it appears unlikely that these can be placed in the hands of the rank and file before the conferences of the sections are held to choose delegates for the next world congress.

To overcome this difficulty and thus help to assure a fully democratic discussion and election of world congress delegates, the United Secretariat therefore unanimously recommends to membership of the I. E. C. postponement of the world congress. In accordance with the new date it also recommends that the final date for submission of material be set approximately three months in advance of the world congress. The United Secretariat is not bound to translate and publish material submitted after that date.

All national pre-world congress conferences should be rescheduled to be held as close to the world congress

as practical, but not earlier than 6 weeks before the congress.

Some comrades have expressed fear that the delay in translating documents might be part of a process that would bring into question the authoritativeness of the next world congress.

The United Secretariat is of the unanimous opinion that fulfillment of the following conditions, regardless of the date of the congress, will assure recognition of the statutory authority of the decisions of the next world congress by all sections, sympathizing groups and international tendencies of the Fourth International.

1) A fully democratic preparatory world discussion.

2) Translation and circulation at least into English, French and Spanish of all documents submitted before the final deadline.

3) The democratic election of delegates to the world congress.

4) Democratic conduct of the congress.

## APPENDIX IV

### THE RECORD ON TRANSLATION OF INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION DOCUMENTS INTO FRENCH

The *International Internal Discussion Bulletin* is the English-language edition of the discussion bulletin of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. It is printed by the Socialist Workers Party as a fraternal courtesy to the entire international Trotskyist movement.

Publication of the French-language edition of the discussion bulletin is also directed by the United Secretariat and has in recent years been printed as a fraternal courtesy to the International by the now-dissolved Ligue Communiste, French Section of the Fourth International.

The American and French organizations respectively agreed at the beginning of the discussion to assure the speedy translation into English and French of all material submitted.

Until recent months, the United Secretariat has taken no responsibility for translation into any other languages. However, attempts are now being made to assure the publication of the entire discussion in Spanish, and exceptional efforts are being made by Spanish-speaking comrades throughout the international movement in a coordinated attempt to catch up on translation and circulation of documents in Spanish. The comrades of the Argen-

tine PST have agreed to take responsibility for the translation and publication of all new material submitted to the discussion bulletin.

As for the English-language bulletin, every single item submitted since the discussion prior to the last world congress began is currently translated and available in any quantity demanded by any comrade, section or sympathizing organization anywhere in the world.

Unfortunately, that is not the case with the French-language bulletin. Publication of the discussion material in French is of special concern for two reasons. First, because of the very large numbers of French-speaking cadres in the International, real political debate is impossible until the material is translated into French, circulated and discussed by the ranks.

Secondly, the record on the French-language discussion bulletin is important because it has been the responsibility of a section of the International whose leadership supports the majority of the United Secretariat. Thus the performance of the comrades responsible for assuring the appearance of the French-language bulletin stands as a measure of the seriousness with which the majority lead-

ership of the International is preparing a full, democratic debate on all the issues before the world movement, and assuring that the next world congress of the Fourth International will be one at which the delegates are elected on the basis of complete and timely information, knowledge of all the documentation, and thorough discussion in the ranks, not just leadership bodies, of all questions before the world movement.

If the documents are not available in the languages of the ranks of the International, at a minimum in the languages spoken by thousands of the members of the Fourth International, any pretense of a democratic world congress evaporates.

Comrade Germain has pointed out that safeguarding the unity of the world movement today depends on respecting "two key conditions of democratic centralism." One is that the minority is willing to recognize majority decisions and the right of the majority to lead. That is correct. But Comrade Germain's second condition is equally important: the minority must be "convinced that it enjoys unrestricted democratic rights in discussion periods to develop its points of view before the membership, to get a fair hearing and thereby has a chance of gradually convincing sectors of the movement of the correctness of its ideas." ("In Defence of Leninism: In Defence of the Fourth International," IIDB Vol. X, No. 4, April 1973.)

The seriousness of the translation problem has been raised numerous times with the United Secretariat, the International Executive Committee, and the leadership of the former Ligue Communiste. As Comrade Juan pointed out at the December 1972 meeting of the IEC, in his statement on reasons for postponing the world congress (IIDB Vol. 10, No. 6, April 1973):

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

Comrade Walter, in his statement rejecting the postponement of the world congress, assured the entire IEC that the majority leadership of the International would "guarantee the publication of all the backlog of material in French in the coming weeks. This is a special responsibility for the majority caucus, which will insure this without reservations or delay." (IIDB Vol. 10, No. 6, April 1973.)

The record of the last eight months has, unfortunately, proven Comrade Juan's assessment of the situation to have been more accurate than Comrade Walter's. The backlog of untranslated material is today even greater than at the time of the IEC meeting.

We are printing below the list of documents that are not yet available in French as of July 24, 1973. Every one of these is available in English. Documents that do not deal with questions relevant to the agenda for the coming world congress have been deleted — such as those about Algeria and Nigeria

The concept of "availability" is quite simple. If a section or sympathizing group of the Fourth International writes to the United Secretariat and asks for 50 copies of the French-language version of every contribution to the current international discussion, what they are sent is what is "available."

A large portion of the documents on this list (as indicated) have not yet been translated, even though some of these have been available to English-reading comrades for three or four years already. Others were translated and mimeographed or printed in a few hundred copies several years ago, but are not available to members of the Fourth International who might set off in search of them today. (A good number of these rare French-language documents cannot be found even in the archives of the center of the Fourth International.) Others on this list were printed several years ago in *Quatrième Internationale*, the French-language organ of the International Executive Committee. They have not yet been reprinted to make them available to all French-speaking members of the Fourth International.

The comrades assigned to translate from English into French will obviously not have had time to process documents published in English in July 1973. However, these constitute but a minor part of the backlog

#### DOCUMENTS NOT AVAILABLE IN FRENCH

July 24, 1973

1. New Rise of the World Revolution. (Resolution adopted by the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress).) (Intercontinental Press, July 14, 1969.)
2. Statutes of the Fourth International. (Adopted at the Founding Congress in 1938.) (IIB No. 1 in 1969.)
3. Statutes of the Fourth International. (Adopted at the Second World Congress in 1948.) (IIB No. 1 in 1969.)
4. The Relationship and Differences Between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi, by Peng Shu-tse. (IIB No. 2 in 1969.)
5. The Worldwide Radicalization of the Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International. (Draft Resolution for the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress).) (IIB No. 4 in 1969.)

6. Return to the Road of Trotskyism, by Peng Shu-tse. (IIB No. 5 in 1969.)
7. The Position of the Mexican Delegation to the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International on the United Secretariat Resolution on Latin America. (IIB No. 6 in 1969.) [Not yet translated.]
8. Draft Resolution on Our Tactics in Europe. (Prepared by the United Secretariat as Part of the Discussion for the Third World Congress Since Reunification (Ninth World Congress).) (IIB No. 7 in 1969.)
9. An Amendment to the Draft Resolution on the "Cultural Revolution," by Ferdinand Charlier. (Submitted for Discussion Prior to the World Congress.) (IIB No. 8 in 1969.)
10. An Unacceptable Amendment, by E. Germain. (Submitted for Discussion Prior to the World Congress.) (IIB No. 8 in 1969.)
11. The New Developments in the Chinese Revolution, by Chen Pi-lan. (Submitted for Discussion Prior to the World Congress.) (IIB No. 8 in 1969.)
12. Letter from José Valdés (Submitted for Discussion at the World Congress.) (IIB No. 8 in 1969.) [Not yet translated.]
13. Minutes of the Third World Congress Since Reunification. (Ninth World Congress.) (IIB No. 9 in 1969.) [Not yet translated.]
14. Report on Tactics in Europe, by Pierre Frank. (IIB No. 10 in 1969.)
15. Report on the New Rise of the World Revolution by E. Germain. (Intercontinental Press, July 14, 1969.)
16. Report on the "Cultural Revolution" in China, by Livio Maitan. (Intercontinental Press, July 14, 1969.)
17. Minority Report to the World Congress, by Peng Shu-tse. (IIB No. 10 in 1969.)
18. A Criticism of the United Secretariat Majority Draft Resolution on the "Cultural Revolution," by Kyoji Nishi (IIB No. 1 in 1970.)
19. Letter from Hugo Blanco to Joseph Hansen—January 1970. (IIB No. 2 in 1970.) [Not yet translated.]
20. International Report to the Ninth National Convention of the YSA, by Caroline Lund, December 28, 1969. (IIB No. 2 in 1970.) [Not yet translated.]
21. Balance Sheet on the Student Movement, by Daniel Bensaid and C. Scalabrino. (IIB No. 2 in 1970.)
22. Resolution of the December 1969 IEC Plenum on the Split in the German Section. (IIB No. 3 in 1970.) [Not yet translated.]
23. Letter from the Central Committee of the GIM to the Leadership of the IKD. (IIB No. 3 in 1970.) [Not yet translated.]
24. Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Germany (IKD)—Section of the Fourth International—Regarding the Resolution of the December 1969 IEC on the Split in the German Section—January 23, 1970. (IIB No. 3 in 1970.) [Not yet translated.]
25. Letter from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International to All Members of the IKD—February 1, 1970. (IIB No. 3 in 1970.) [Not yet translated.]
26. Original Draft Resolution on the "Cultural Revolution" and Proposed Amendments Arranged in Dual Columns. (IIB No. 4 in 1970.) [Not yet translated.]
27. The Differences Between the Two Documents on the "Cultural Revolution," by Joseph Hansen. (IIB No. 4 in 1970.) [Not yet translated.]
28. Internationalism and the Socialist Workers Party, by Barry Sheppard. (Report to the 23rd National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party.) IIB No. 5 in 1970.)
29. The Origin of the Differences on China, by Joseph Hansen. (Report to the 23rd National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party.) (IIB No. 5 in 1970.)
30. On the Character of Zionism and the Palestinian Liberation Movement, by Micha. (IIB No. 7 in 1970.)
31. Criticism of a Criticism (In Reply to Comrade Nishi), by F. Charlier, (IIB No. 7 in 1970.)
32. Political Report at the December 1969 Meeting of the International Executive Committee, by E. Germain. (IIB No. 1 in 1971.)
33. Our Orientation to the NDP—As a Strategy—and Its Tactical Application, by Ross Dowson, approved by the Political Committee of the LSA/LSO for the 1970 Convention. (IIB No. 6 in 1971.) [Not yet translated.]
34. The Lessons of Bolivia, by Aníbal Lorenzo. (Submitted by the PRT (Verdad) for the Internal Discussion Preparatory for the Next World Congress.) (IIB No. 3 in 1972.) [Not yet translated.]
35. The Only Road to Workers' Power and Socialism, by Carlos Ramírez, Sergio Domecg and Juan Candela. (Presented by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Combatiente).) (IIB No. 4 in 1972.) [Not yet translated.]
36. The Real Lesson of China on Guerrilla Warfare, In Reply to a "Letter from a Chinese Trotskyist," by Chen Pi-lan. (IIB Vol X, No. 2, February 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
37. On the MIR, by the Latin American Commission of the Communist League, French Section of the Fourth In-

- ternational, March 18, 1972. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 2, February 1973.)
38. Relations of the PRT (Combatiente), Argentine Section of the Fourth International, with the United Secretariat, by the Political Bureau, PRT (Combatiente), June 10, 1972. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 2, February 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
39. Appendix I: Statement of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the Sallustro Kidnapping, April 13, 1972. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 2, February 1973.) [Not yet translated]
40. Appendix II: Statement of the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière on the Sallustro Kidnapping. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 2, February 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
41. Appendix III: Excerpts from Minutes of the United Secretariat April 15-16, 1972. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 2, February 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
42. Appendix IV: Motion Passed by SWP National Committee Plenum May 11, 1972. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 2, February 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
43. Appendix V: Statement by United Secretariat Members Delfin, Ghulam, Livio, Petersen, Pierre, Sandor, Walter, May 30-31, 1972. (IIDB No. X, No. 2, February 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
44. Declaration of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (IIDB Vol. X No. 3, March 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
45. A Criticism of the United Secretariat Majority Draft Resolution on "The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe"—An Initial Contribution to the Discussion, by Mary-Alice Waters. (IIDB Vol X, No.3, March 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
46. Two Lines, Two Methods, by George Novack (IIDB Vol. X, No. 3, March 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
47. The Political Crisis and Perspectives for Revolutionary Struggle in Argentina. (Adopted by a majority at the December 2-6, 1972 meeting of the International Executive Committee.) (IIDB Vol. X, No. 6, April 1973.)
48. Documents of the December 2-6, 1972 Meeting of the International Executive Committee. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 6, April 1973.) [Not yet translated, except (a).]
- a. Sterne-Walter resolution on Vietnam.
  - b. Motion on Vietnam submitted by Adair, Hans, Juan, Pedro, Stateman and Thérèse.
  - c. Statement by Juan on reasons for postponing the World Congress.
  - d. Statement by Walter on reasons for not postponing the World Congress.
  - e. Statement by Sandor on behalf of those IEC members who voted for the general line of the Latin American resolution at the 1969 World Congress.
  - f. Statement by Sakai.
- g. Letter to the IEC from the Central Secretariat of the Communist League of India.
- h. Message to the IEC from Comrade Roca.
49. Letter to the SWP Political Committee on the Formation of a Political Tendency, by Bill Massey, John Shaffer, Don Smith. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 7, June 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
50. On Comrade Germain's Half-Truths: Or How the ERP Flag Got on the Coffin, by Fred Halstead. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 8, June 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
51. Lenin vs. Germain, by Peter Camejo. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 8, June 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
52. The Issues Before the World Trotskyist Movement, Report to the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference on August 18, 1972, by Jack Barnes. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 9, July 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
53. An Evaluation of the December 1972 IEC Plenum, Report to the New York City-wide Membership Meeting of the Socialist Workers Party on February 9, 1973, by Jack Barnes. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 9, July 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
54. Comrade Germain's Errors on the National Question, by Gus Horowitz. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 10, July 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
55. Contribution to the International Discussion, by Marcel, RAL/LRT (Revolutionaire Arbeiders Liga — Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs), Belgian Section of the Fourth International. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 11, July 1973.)
56. Why We Have Joined the International Majority Tendency, by Mintoff and Sonja, GIM (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten), German Section of the Fourth International. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 11, July 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
57. Why We Did Not Sign the International Majority's Tendency Declaration, by Karl, Nico, Albert, Heinrich, Emanuel, Hartmut, Karew, Juan, Oskar, Richard, Werner, and Oliver, GIM (Gruppe Internationale Marxisten), German Section of the Fourth International. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 11, July 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
58. Declaration of Internationalist Tendency by Bill Massey, Bruce Clark, John Montello, John Barzman, Don Smith, David Rossi, John Shaffer, Ted Stacy, Hedda Garza, Patrick Quinn, Jeff Meissner, John Chairet, Robin Block, Chris Marat. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 11, July 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
59. Statement of Support to the International Majority Tendency by Ralph Levitt, Celia Stodola, Judy Shane, Ron Warren, Jeff Beneke, Garth Chojnowski. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 11, July 1973.) [Not yet translated.]
60. The Underlying Differences in Method, by Joseph Hansen (IIDB Vol. X, No. 12, July 1973.) [Not yet translated.]

61. Two Assessments of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: A Balance Sheet, Draft Resolution submitted by United Secretariat members Abel, Adair, Hans, Juan, Pedro, State-  
man, and Thérèse. (IIDB Vol. X, No. 13, July 1973.)  
[Not yet translated.]

62. The Social Roots of Chinese Stalinism and the Dis-  
pute in the Fourth International, by Les Evans. (IIDB  
Vol. X, No. 13, July 1973.) [Not yet translated.]

## A CASE HISTORY OF CLIQUE POLITICS AND POLITICIANS

by Tom Kerry

I submit for publication in the internal bulletin the text of a letter I received some eighteen months ago, from "National Coordinator," Bill Massey. I have been moved to do so because of the repeated complaints of Massey that publication of his briefs, documents, memoranda and depositions, have been so inordinately delayed as to border on suppression.

As I do not wish to be accused of suppressing a document so expressive of his political thought—to say nothing of his homespun wit—I take this opportunity of making available for the edification of posterity a political jewel of the dazzling brilliance. Please publish it in totto, as befits historical memorabilia of the genus pornography.

This is it. Read it and weep!

\* \* \*

Oakland, California  
December 28, 1971

Comrade Tom Kerry  
New York City

Dear Tom;

How are you and Karolyn? Well I hope. I hope that you have recovered from the illness that plagued you at the time of the convention and the ludicrous disease which you sadly evidenced has been rooted out of your system. Take care.

In reading thru the documents of the YSA pre-convention discussion I found some interesting articles a few which I would refer to your attention and one in particular which I would be interested in hearing your comments on.

Those which I refer you to are: Vol. 15 No. 5; 1) Gay Liberation and the Socialist Revolution by John M. Williams 2) Marijuana and the YSA by Calvin Vail, in particular the following cogent point, "YSA's policy is also keeping a lot of potential YSAer's out of the YSA because they want to be able to continue to enjoy getting stoned." 3) Resolution Providing for Immediate Intervention by the Young Socialist Alliance into the Gay Liberation Movement by John M. Williams. 4) On Gay Liberation by Karen Bancroft (this is in Volume 15 No. 7—Do you agree with Comrade Bancroft's point "Our recruitment of Black, Raza and Asian Gays will better enable us to intervene in the nationalist struggles." I presume it would be Comrade Bancroft's point also that the recruitment

of Trade Union Gays would help our intervention into the struggles going on in that arena, what do you think?

Volume 15 No. 8 includes "Some Questions Concerning the YSA's Drug Policy" by V. Hawks and "For the Repeal of Membership Restrictions of Marijuana Smokers" by Neil Dobro as well as "Some Questions About Internal Policies of the YSA" by Party comrade Bob Gebbert. It is Gebbert's article that I call to your especial attention. With my limited grasp of the classics of our movement I am not familiar that these burning issues raised by Gebbert et al have received the treatment they so richly deserve. Perhaps you could refer me to the appropriate works of Marxism which deal with these pressing matters.

With reference to Gebbert, I have said in the past and I say again that a serious comrade deserves serious consideration for his serious questions. Perhaps you could impart the knowledge Comrade Bob is looking for when he asks what the YSA policy (and since he is a Party member I presume he would ask the same question of the Party) is toward transvestites. He says "We decided at the last YSA convention to allow Gays to join. But it has been suggested to me that some categories may still be forbidden because of their nonstraight romantic orientation. One type I'm wondering about is transvestites, those who get erotic pleasure from either impersonating the other sex or by using various styles of appearance that are associated with the other sex in bourgeois tradition. These include some gays (often known as butchykes or drag queens), although it's reported that most transvestites are exclusively heterosexual."

Comrade Gebbert goes on to state "I'm actually not sure whether I count as a transvestite, I wear my hair in braids nearly all the time and find that it makes life for me much easier to deal with (and also that it helps to a small extent in enabling me to sell *Militant* subs and such, especially to women)." Has this been your experience, Tom, or do you feel that non-braided hair is just as good? When Comrade Gebbert states "Further, though I don't wear dresses or skirts, still I wear much prettier clothing than most white American males." Would you encourage him and the many other comrades (according to Gebbert) who fall into this general category to wear colorful skirts and dresses so as to better enable them to sell subs to our press, or do you think that they should just stick to the braids routine. I believe you enunciated some position or other with regard to beards, do you recall whether you included braids in your talk perhaps you could put out a pamphlet "Tom Kerry on

Beards-Beads and Braids." Consider Tom how far our movement has come, with the help of the new radicalization (which I may again recall is the biggest-deepest and broadest) from the times when Comrade Cannon (See *The History of American Trotskyism* page 92) wrote "I waged a bitter fight in the New York Branch of the Communist League against admitting a man to membership on the sole ground of his appearance and dress.

"They asked 'What do you have against him?'

"I said 'He wears a corduroy suit up and down Greenwich Village, with a trick mustache and long hair. There is something wrong with this guy.'

"I wasn't joking either. I said people of this type are not going to be suitable for approaching the ordinary American worker. They are going to mark our organization as something freakish, abnormal, exotic; something that has nothing to do with the normal life of the American worker."

Thank heavens and you too Tom, that such problems that Comrade Cannon refers to are no longer relevant to us and that we can recruit anybody and dress them in anything and get to the American workers, or at least get ready to get to the American workers when they get ready to allow us to get ready to get to them. No more do we have to worry about recruiting freaks, exotics-abnormals etc. today we get the Gebberts et al. Please comment on how you feel about this accomplishment a large part of which is yours.

One last point Comrade Gebbert raises the question of discipline and the right of comrades, including according to him, "a goodly number who have become leaders of the American Trotskyist movement" to secretly violate our discipline on the grounds that the discipline was a product of formal logic. He asks were they correct? Please send me a copy of your answers to Comrade Gebbert or your serious comments on these matters. At the convention you stated, I believe, that you were a "Christ killer from way back" or words to that effect. I presume you had some familiarity with the scriptures, could you tell me where the quote "That which ye sow ye also shall reap" comes from.

With Comradely greeting, (if you come out to the coast drop up for a drink and don't worry if you don't have braids or colorful clothing on, I understand)

s/ Bill Massey

copy to file

\* \* \*

I must admit that when I received the above communication I was somewhat puzzled. I have never numbered Bill Massey among my correspondents. In fact, prior to his achievement of national—or should I say "international"—prominence as National Coordinator of the Internationalist Tendency, I had only a nodding acquaintance with the man. It was the first paragraph of the letter that provided me with a clue.

I recalled that Massey was very displeased with my brief remarks at the 1971 party convention dissecting the anatomy of the FAPO grouping. I then characterized FAPO as an Abern-type clique, that is, an unprincipled

faction whose main stock-in-trade was the so-called "organization question."

With a clique formation of the Abern type, politics and principles are subordinated to organization gripes and grievances. These take the form of circulating anti-leadership horror stories, concocted of corridor gossip, latrine rumors, gutter gleanings and cesspool tidbits. This is the cement that binds the clique together. With anti-leadership as their point of departure they go through a more or less rapid metamorphosis into becoming anti-party. This was my analysis of FAPO at the 1971 convention. After watching the performance of the FAPO remnants today, I see no reason for altering my view of their political physiognomy.

I recall that after I concluded my convention remarks and returned to my seat, Massey stormed over to the table where I was seated, livid with rage and more than slightly incoherent. It was hard to make out what he was frothing about but it was abundantly clear that he was displeased with my remarks. I made some comment to the comrades seated at the table that it seemed poor Massey had flipped—and then proceeded to dismiss the incident from my mind—until I received the crank letter from Massey.

That was some four months after the convention. It had apparently taken him four months to think of what to say. Four months of cogitation; four months of mental incubation; four months of what must have been painful intellectual labor to hatch a political mutation! Did I say "political"? I am afraid it is more a case for psychiatry than politics. Let us leave poison-pen Massey at this stage of his lucubrations and follow the recent evolution of the FAPO clique. A matter of more direct concern to the issues now in dispute.

With the splintering of FAPO following the convention of 1971 the remnants continued in being as a clique in search of a platform. Any platform would do so long as it was against the program and leadership of the SWP.

The dispute within the International was like manna from heaven. Massey and Company were a little slow in seizing opportunity by the feltlock. After having been singled in 1971 they tended to be somewhat cautious. In fact, even after taking an initial bearing on the "International Majority," they still remained somewhat critical on one or two questions of a theoretical and political nature.

For example: In their first "Letter to the Political Committee on the Formation of a Political Tendency" submitted under date of January 19, 1973, and published in the *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31 No. 1, of April 1973, they announced the formation of a tendency "for the purpose of participation in the discussions preceding and the deliberations of the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International."

As befits a "principled" political formation they submitted for publication the platform of their tendency. While openly opposed to the program, policies and leadership of the SWP and generally favoring the Maitan-Mandel-Frank grouping there were a few points over which they took exception. It would be useful, for the sake of the record, to cite these points.

"In the case of Latin America," they avowed, "we cannot agree with either the stated position of the SWP or the International majority." So far, so good! A declara-



tion of independence — almost!

They then proceeded to elaborate their view: "We reject," they affirmed, the SWP position and "the positions of the International majority as well, but not for any pacifistic or legalistic reasons. We believe that the positions of the International majority, which envisage a continent-wide strategy of armed struggle represent an adaptation to guerrillaism."

To make certain there was no ambiguity on this score, they added: "The policy of the majority is not based on the working class, but rather is a substitute for the class and hence adventuristic."

So much for the dispute over the Latin American question. Now I submit, comrades, that there is nothing elliptical or even synthetic about this clear and forthright statement of position. Having disposed of Latin America the Massey tendency statement proceeded to state its views on the China dispute.

"The current discussion on China," they asserted, "is of value chiefly in the adoption of a more correct analysis of the role of Stalinism and its Maoist and other national variants." No small matter in view of the recent Nixon-Brezhnev-Mao detentes, I might add.

The statement proceeds: "The International majority evidenced in its positions a critical error in the consideration of Maoism as bureaucratic centrism. This position, if not corrected can only lead to illusions about other Stalinist leaderships which in turn could lead to projecting a course that would be detrimental to the building of the International."

The statement then amplifies this warning of "illusions about other Stalinist leaderships," by citing the baneful effects already manifested in relation to the struggle in Vietnam. "There is," the statement pointed out, "a certain tendency in this direction evident in some of the European sections' positions toward the leadership of the DRV/NLF and the seven-point program." A duplicate copy of this political platform was forwarded to the "United Secretariat International Majority Tendency." They were apprised of the text of the Massey et al. statement as early as January of this year.

Let us recapitulate. The Massey tendency statement of January 19 rejected—and in no uncertain terms—the position of the International Majority Tendency on (1) Latin America, (2) Stalinism, especially the danger inherent in characterizing Maoism as bureaucratic centrism, and (3) the Stalinist conciliatorist view of an important section of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank grouping on Vietnam.

This was the "independent" position staked out by the Massey tendency in its statement of January 19. Four months later, under date of May 27, 1973, an updated version was submitted and published in Vol. 31, No. 9 of the *SWP Discussion Bulletin*. In it, we are informed of the "formation of the Internationalist Tendency in the Socialist Workers Party."

The demise of the previous grouping, occurring without obituary, is quietly assigned to the limbo of innocuous desuetude. Not entirely without mention, I might add, for in the second paragraph is a single sentence acknowledging at least a tenuous link with the deceased, which reads:

"This tendency reflects the political and organizational evolution, growth and maturing of the tendency formed by Massey, Shaffer and Smith on January 19, 1973."

Like Lazarus the previous "tendency" was not really dead — it was merely resurrected, reincarnated and metamorphosed!

This new tendency, we are informed, "expresses its basic agreement with the general line of the December 3, 1972, Statement of the 19 IEC Members, and addendum; the Draft Thesis 'The Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe' adopted by the IEC; and the further elaboration and clarification of this line contained in the document 'In Defence of Leninism: In Defence of the Fourth International.'"

This constitutes a 180-degree somersault. Gone are the "independent" criticisms; swallowed hook, line and sinker, are the polar opposite positions. All in the brief period of four months and all attributed to the remarkable "evolution, growth and maturing" of Massey, Shaffer, Smith and Company.

Not until we received a copy of the Barzman report (published in this issue) did the real explanation for the metamorphosis become crystal clear. John Barzman, Massey's roving ambassador in Europe, spells it out so that even a Massey would understand. To be accepted as members in good standing of the "International Majority" the Massey group must be ready to "accept discipline." Or, as the ineffable Barzman puts it: "The IM will accept *three* signers from our tendency in the U. S. A., — should be ready to accept *discipline*." (Emphasis by Barzman.)

But more is involved here than the mere *acceptance* of the IM line under faction discipline. Massey's plenipotentiary in Europe proceeds to elaborate. "If," he avers, "there are comrades who do not agree with *Germain* document's formulations, then they have a serious problem as they are probably *Kautskyites*. We cannot continue to entertain our *vague* criticisms that the document was vague, or had a guerrilla warfare line (which in fact it did not on the whole) and that this is a coverup, but must *express exactly* what we disagree with. I was very embarrassed," Barzman laments, "at the absence of any elaboration of criticisms by ourselves. But I think," he volunteers, "most comrades will agree with *Germain*. . . ."

I must confess, comrades, that this episode constitutes a new low in the history of party internal disputes. Just consider. It was not deemed sufficient for the Barzman-Massey clique to tuck their criticisms along with their tattered principles in their briefcases to qualify for membership in the "International Majority Tendency," they were obliged to "agree with *Germain*." To call things by their right names, this is pure, unadulterated, Stalinism.

We have always considered the Stalinist version of democratic centralism a monstrous perversion of Leninism. By substituting one word for another (*agree* for *accept*) the Stalinists converted Leninist democratic centralism into Stalinist bureaucratic centralism.

Under the Leninist concept all a minority is ever called upon to do is to *accept* the line of the majority in action after discussion and decision.

The Stalinist version compels a minority to *agree* with the majority under pain of excommunication or worse.

It is a psychological impossibility to expunge from one's mind ideas arrived at through intellectual conviction and to substitute diametrically opposed ideas under pain of being cast out for violating the discipline of "democratic centralism." This is Stalinism pure and simple.

Apparently Barzman-Massey and Company are prepared to bow to this perverted concept of "discipline." But how about the leaders of the "International Majority Tendency"? It would be instructive to hear their views on the question.

I know what Trotsky thought about such matters. In his 1953 speech on "Internationalism and the SWP," (published in the Education for Socialists bulletin entitled *Defending the Revolutionary Party and Its Perspectives*), Comrade Cannon relates that "In his appeal to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern Trotsky said:

"That party member who changes his opinion on command is a scoundrel." Comrade Cannon then adds: "He meant by that, that such a member is disloyal to the party; because the least the party can expect from the most inexperienced, the newest rank-and-file member is that he be honest with the party, tell the party honestly what he thinks, and not change his opinion when he gets the command from this or that leader, or this or that committee."

I would suggest to Massey-Barzman and Company that they read the Cannon speech on internationalism, with special attention to that section dealing with Cominternism. There will be no Cominternism in the Fourth International, if we have anything to say about it—and I think we will! No unidentified "higher bodies" are going to usurp the authority of the regularly elected leadership of the SWP. If Massey-Barzman have any delusions on that score, they are due for a rude awakening.

\* \* \*

Precious is the dilemma and ingenious the solution of Massey's roving ambassador, when confronted with the necessity of performing a little hatchet job, to demonstrate his fitness for admission to the inner circle.

According to the Barzman report, there seems to be some trouble about Livio. Another instance where "discipline" is called for. "Alain encouraged me," Barzman reports, "to emphasize the damage done in the U. S. by Livio; unfortunately I will have to improvise, as our tendency has not really discussed in what way our criticisms differ from those of Joe Hansen and those we heard from Krivine."

Without blinking Barzman enlists in a crusade to "discipline" Livio even though he is at the disadvantage of having to "improvise." "Improvise" is Watergate language for falsification and frameup. But then, when one is under "discipline," . . .

And then there is Mandel. It seems that Mandel too has a fatal weakness. According to Barzman he is soft on splits. "They," Barzman the Bold reports, "want us to provide the ammunition," for "attacking SWP on its own grounds." But, he adds, "Mandel realizes the SWP is not internationalist and would split over such interference, and

he has a psychological block against a new split." Doesn't "discipline" require that Mandel's "weakness" be corrected even if some "improvisation" be required?

At any rate, Barzman had no time to solve that problem, as he had to slither on to Sweden and Britain as: "The European comrades desperately need ammunition against the SWP." And on that mission Barzman's talent for improvisation could be given free reign. With years of experience as a charter member of the clique his horror stories about the benighted SWP should have the "Europeans'" hair standing on end.

\* \* \*

I note in one of Massey's recent gripe sheets a reference to appeal to "higher bodies" for redress of grievance against the alleged bureaucratic practices of the SWP. In a June 20 "Statement of the Internationalist Tendency of the Chicago Branch of the SWP," after a whole series of tendentious complaints against the branch, comes the threat that "we" are "not raising any motions in this branch concerning the situation which has developed. Rather, we are taking the whole matter to higher bodies."

What "higher bodies" does Massey have in mind? Are these "higher bodies" in residence on this terrestrial sphere? Or do these "higher bodies" reside somewhere up yonder in the celestial firmament. It must be the latter for I note in the Barzman report that "they" seem to consider "the I. T. as a bonus from heaven that they did not work to create."

Bonuses from heaven are created by the old rainmaker himself, as everyone knows. But if Massey is under the delusion that "they" constitute the "higher bodies" to whom he will now refer his complaints he is making the saddest mistake of his political life. This opinion is intended, not as a threat, but as a statement of fact.

Others before Massey-Barzman thought there were "higher bodies" than the regularly elected political units of the party to whom they could appeal to sanction their disruptive violations of established party rules and procedures as codified and set down in our documents on organization principles and practices. They learned to their misfortune that they were mistaken.

I think the party has been very patient with the Massey-Barzman-Levitt clique. They have been getting all the minority rights they are entitled to—and more. The party has its rights as well. The party has the right to carry on its work without disruption and to call the disrupters to order whenever and wherever they exceed or violate the norms of party procedure.

After full and free discussion the ranks of the party will meet in convention and make their decisions. It is they who will have the last word. The convention of the party, that's our highest body. And the Massey-Barzman-Levitt cliques had better heed its word!

July 17, 1973

## IN RESPONSE TO JEFF MEISNER

by Milton Alvin, Los Angeles Branch

In your letter of June 24, 1973, to the Political Committee, you quote from my article, "Democratic Centralism and the International," (Discussion Bulletin Vol. 31, No. 2) the following: ". . . those sections that have made all the material available to their memberships, held discussions and voted, would have to propose that those at the [world] congress who have not taken these steps participate with voice but no vote."

You do not follow the customary practice of giving the source of this quotation. This leads to the suspicion that you have used the quoted part out of context.

As a matter of fact, the criticisms in my article are directed not at the Socialist Workers Party but at other Trotskyists who are leaders of the Fourth International. Your letter gives the opposite impression. The SWP has fully complied with the demand you make that "Milt Alvin's words should be taken quite seriously. . . ." Obviously your advice has been sent to the wrong address.

The balance of your letter consists of accusations of undemocratic arrangements regarding representation to the coming national convention of our party which you call "organizational ingenuities," and a request that you be permitted to cast your vote in another branch than the one to which you belong. The purpose of this request is to combine your vote with that of others who are in agreement with your views so that the combined vote can be large enough to elect a delegate or an additional delegate, if there are already sufficient votes in the branch to which you wish to transfer your vote to elect at least one delegate.

This request, unprecedented in our party as far as I know, is indeed an organizational ingenuity, if you will permit me to borrow your winged phrase. If all the members of our party, presently organized in some 20 separate branches, are to cast their votes in branches that each member is free to select, this would create confusion confounded in the party. For example, if your suggestion is adopted, what is to prevent the members of every branch from dividing their votes among all the other nineteen branches?

This would require the establishment of a national apparatus to check each member's vote to make sure no one votes more than once. To keep things straight we would need a dozen Einsteins aided by a large staff of Philadelphia lawyers plus a computer or two. Since none of these are readily available to us your plan must be rejected even on technical grounds.

Moreover, your suggested system of electing delegates also lends itself to gerrymandering and playing around with bloc voting that could, if carried out efficiently, actually have the effect of shutting minorities out of any representation whatever. The present SWP majority could easily divide its supporters among the branches in such a way that no minority could possibly get even a single delegate.

We don't want to create conditions in the party that would make it more difficult, if not impossible, for minorities to be heard in the party and represented at con-

ventions. Your request, it is obvious, could have the opposite result from the one you say you want.

Your complaint regarding the basis of representation at the convention, that is, one delegate for each 15 members in good standing at the time of the Convention Call, is not well taken. Obviously some basis of representation must be used, whether it be one for 15, one for five or one for 25. This is a practical question and must be decided in accordance with the number of delegates that can meet in convention within a reasonable time, have a chance to express their views and conduct other business normally performed on such occasions. If we make the basis of representation too low, as I think we did two years ago and some other conventions, each delegate is restricted to such a short time that it becomes impossible to say more than a few ritual words when one gets the floor. I have been at conventions when discussion on one point or another had to be arbitrarily stopped because of lack of time.

Personally, I would hate to go through the experience again that I had years ago at a convention when I was in the chair and the question under discussion was our first resolution on the Cuban revolution. I had a list of speakers a mile long in my hand when it became obvious that we had run out of time. That night those delegates who had failed to get the floor made their speeches to each other informally and, I might add, without much enthusiasm. I assure you that this is not the only occasion of this kind that I have seen, but I hope to see no more of these as there is nothing that makes a delegate more unhappy than failing to get the floor.

Your letter says, "I could cite many grievances I have towards the party's organizational conduct in the past period." You neglect to say what these are and I don't know just what you are referring to, but long experience in our movement has taught me to take this kind of complaint with liberal amounts of salt.

I have had some connection with and/or participation in every convention of our party for almost four decades. On the basis of this rather extensive experience and some knowledge of organizational procedures in other parties, I assert with all the force at my command that *the Socialist Workers Party is the most democratic party that has ever existed on the face of this earth*. This applies to discussions, conventions, elections and all other aspects of party work. Moreover, these democratic practices have been carried on for a longer period of time than any other party in history.

My article, from which you quoted, was intended to get the tendency which you support to translate and make available to all members of the various parties of the Fourth International all the points of view presented in the current pre-congress period. As you surely must know, this has not yet been done.

The SWP, however, has loyally and promptly made available to its membership every article and resolution produced by other Trotskyist parties and groups that are pertinent to the discussion now taking place. We have

a right to be proud of our performance in this respect. In addition, we have done this in such a way that makes it possible for all views to be studied and voted upon in time to effect the election of delegates to our convention. The delegates will then elect the leadership of our party. This is real democracy in action.

This morning, July 13, I received in the mail Discussion Bulletin Vol. 31, No. 18, which consists entirely of a single document, "The Building of A Revolutionary Party in Capitalist America." This is the counterresolution of the tendency in our party to which you belong. This resolution consists of 28 printed pages. It is dated July 6, 1973, exactly one week ago today. If you can tell us about instances in which your cothinkers in other parties get material out to their members with this speed, I for one would greatly appreciate having this information.

I want to cite one more current example of what I believe to be real democracy in action. In the Los Angeles branch we have a group that supports the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency. This group joined our party as individuals a little over a year ago. They came from a small organization called Liberation Union and at the time they entered our party were ostensibly in agreement with us on all questions. At least this was the impression they gave.

In the year or so that they were in our party before the present preconvention period began, we had no indication from any of these people that they had developed differences with the party, that they had changed their minds in any respect, that they had been misinformed about us before joining or that any kind of misunderstanding was

involved.

However, as soon as the preconvention discussion began it turned out that there was no question on which they agreed with us. They asked for and received equal time on every point we discussed during the first two months of the preconvention period now gone by. Up to this writing they have not submitted a single resolution in writing that I know of.

We gave them equal time on all questions even before they declared themselves part of a tendency, in support of what they call the International Majority Tendency. I note that you also refer to your group as ". . . one which represents the *Majority* of the International." (your emphasis)

Just how you arrived at this is a mystery to me. Who is a majority and who is a minority has yet to be decided. And it will not be decided democratically until every member of the world Trotskyist movement can see what the different points of view are and make their votes count.

Speaking for myself, but in the hope that this is the common view of our party, no majority or minority can be determined in the world Trotskyist movement until the procedures that I outlined in my article from which you quoted are followed. That is, all points of view must be made available to all members in their own languages; enough time must be provided for full and free discussion; conventions of all parties must be held to decide questions in dispute and leaderships elected on the basis of real support in the ranks. Only then can these leaderships participate in a congress that is truly democratic.

July 13, 1973

## APPENDIX

### CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JEFF MEISNER AND LEW JONES

St. Paul, Minn.  
June 24, 1973

Political Committee  
Socialist Workers Party  
14 Charles Lane.  
New York, N. Y. 10014

Dear Comrades,

I am writing to you in protest of what I feel is an undemocratic situation in the party's preconvention discussion, in the hope that the P. C. will exercise its responsibility towards the membership and take action to make party democracy a reality.

As you may know, I am a supporter of the International Majority Tendency. According to the procedure outlined in the convention call, it would take about 15 International Majority supporters in our branch in order to receive any representation at the convention. Since it is unlikely that we will have 15 supporters in the Twin Cities branch, this

means that I will be totally unrepresented at the convention, unlike all supporters of the SWP majority who will vote for delegates and, in effect, each be represented by one fifteenth of a convention delegate. It is unacceptable that the highest body of the party, the national convention, should not genuinely reflect the political composition of the party's ranks. It is unacceptable that some comrades will have no say regarding what our line is for the next two years. It is hard to see how the party leadership can expect the ranks to faithfully carry out such a line arrived at in an undemocratic manner. It should be obvious that a serious discussion is made impossible when the cards are stacked against one side through such organizational ingenuities. A leadership with confidence in their politics would naturally bend over backwards to see that minorities in the party receive fair representation. And when the minority concerned is one which represents the *Majority* of the International, the present policy has even more far reaching political implications of which you are surely aware.

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N. Y. 10014  
July 5, 1973

I could cite many grievances I have towards the party's organizational conduct in the past period. The purpose of this letter, however, is only to make the simple request that I not be unrepresented at the convention. I would like to request, therefore, that I be allowed to transfer my convention vote to a different branch where it will have some effect. I wish for the Political Committee to act upon this request immediately. Please inform me of your decision as soon as possible, so that if you reject my request, I will have sufficient time before the convention to take action to correct this basic infringement of party democracy.

With the SWP posing as the foremost defender of a democratic discussion in the Fourth International, you must expect that the eyes of the world movement will be turned on the party's internal practices. Milt Alvin's words should be taken quite seriously when he writes: "... those sections that have made all the material available to their memberships, held discussions and voted, would have to propose that those at the [world] congress who have not taken these steps participate with voice but no vote." It would be a pity, wouldn't it, if the SWP goes through all the trouble of electing fraternal delegates to the world congress, only for them to receive a very cold welcome by the credentials committee when they arrive there.

Comradely,  
Jeff Meissner

cc: Internationalist Tendency  
c/o Bill Massey

MINNEAPOLIS  
Jeff Meissner

Dear Comrade Meissner,

This is in answer to your letter of June 24, 1973, to the Political Committee.

The party Constitution and the Call for the Twenty-Fifth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party adopted by the National Committee on April 29, 1973, preclude transferring votes of individual branch members in the manner you request.

Comradely,  
s/Lew Jones  
SWP National Office

cc: Greg Guckenberg  
Charles Scheer  
Helen Scheer

THE TRUTH ABOUT COMRADE MASSEY'S CHARGE THAT  
TRADITIONAL NORMS OF PARTY DEMOCRACY WERE VIOLATED  
AT THE 1971 SWP CONVENTION

by Andrea Morell and Peter Seidman, Upper West Side Branch, New York Local

The 1971 convention of the SWP set the political line and organizational perspectives that our party has been following for the last two years. That convention also elected a national leadership team, the National Committee, to implement the line.

Comrade Bill Massey, speaking for the Internationalist Tendency of which he is the National Coordinator, is now challenging not only the political line set by the 1971 convention, but is also charging that the SWP violated its deep-going democratic norms and traditions in the election of its National Committee.

Comrade Massey charges (in *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 8, p. 5 and Vol. 31, No. 10, p. 3) that the last convention of the SWP, in violation of party norms, denied a place on the National Committee to a representative of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT) although it represented 10 percent of the party membership. In 1971, Comrade Massey was a leader of the POT. Comrade Massey asserts that the POT was excluded "because the majority of the SWP did not consider it a 'serious' minority." He goes on to say, "Left to the considerations of what the SWP leadership considers serious minorities I could safely predict 50 more

years of unanimity on the National Committee."

These charges are false to the core and must be answered. There are hundreds of comrades of the SWP who either have joined our movement since the last convention or who were not present at the closed session where the National Committee was elected. There are thousands of cothinkers of the SWP around the world who may not be familiar with the true facts. Because of the important political discussions taking place both in the SWP and in the world Trotskyist movement, it is necessary to clear the air of these slanders so that comrades may address themselves to the real issues.

One of the tasks of every convention is the selection of a new National Committee. We do this through a Nominating Commission whose members are elected by each of the branch delegations. The Commission's task is to consider all of the nominations for the National Committee and to select from these nominations a proposed National Committee slate for consideration by the convention as a whole. The Commission makes nominations for the party's Control Commission as well. When these recommendations are presented to the convention, the delegates may introduce additional nominees or other

modifications of the proposal. After a full discussion, the vote is taken and a new leadership thereby elected.

How did this process work at the 1971 convention? Was there "an abuse of Bolshevik norms" in relation to the POT? Were the nominees of a serious minority in the SWP systematically refused representation on the National Committee by a factional minded majority of delegates, as Comrade Massey has charged, not once but twice, in letters printed in the internal discussion bulletin?

The answer is *no*. When Comrade Massey states otherwise, he is lying.

To prove it, let us begin with the deliberations of the Nominating Commission. As its cochairpersons, we can testify that a great deal of the Commission's time was occupied precisely with the question of POT representation on the incoming National Committee. This was so despite the fact that the POT was a small minority of the membership. Our concept of party leadership is a politically *inclusive*, rather than exclusive one. It was therefore the convention's responsibility to ensure that any serious currents within the party of a clearly defined political character and representing a significant number of comrades be considered for a place on the National Committee—even if the current itself made no nominations.

The following excerpt from our report to the 1971 convention explains the Commission's recommendations with respect to POT. (The full report is available in *SWP Internal Information Bulletin* No. 6 in 1971.)

\* \* \*

We considered next the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, which, unlike the other minorities, did make nominations for the National Committee of our party. On Tuesday evening Comrade McCann came before the Commission and presented, as a representative of the Tendency, three nominations for the National Committee: Comrades Levitt and Gregorich, in that order of ranking, for regular members of the National Committee of the party, and Comrade Turner as an advisory member of the National Committee.

Comrade McCann explained how it was that Comrades Levitt and Gregorich were nominated for the National Committee by this Tendency. He said that they were chosen "as the most capable comrades in the Tendency regardless of their politics." However, he could not tell us what their current assignments are, or give an account of their recent activity in the party.

The Nominating Commission felt that it had to determine two things with regard to these nominations. First, whether in fact the votes as regular members of the National Committee of the nominees of this grouping would represent a clear tendency. Second, whether based on the individual stature of Comrades Levitt and Gregorich, they should be considered for nomination as regular members of the National Committee. It should be pointed out that neither of them are members of the current National Committee, either regular or alternate.

The feeling of the Nominating Commission was that the Proletarian Orientation Tendency is not constituted on a clear political basis. The Nominating Commission did not feel that the contention of Comrade McCann that his grouping represented a clear political tendency, which by the norms and traditions of our movement should

have representation on our party's National Committee is correct.

I would like to review for the comrades some of what we found in our survey of how the Proletarian Orientation Tendency was constituted in different branches. According to our results, which are not the final authoritative figures because they are based on the memory of the comrades reporting their experiences in the branches and not on the official records of any of the branches, the Proletarian Orientation Tendency received 75 votes nationally. However, we found that these 75 votes were obtained on at least two different bases. In the Oakland-Berkeley branch, where the Proletarian Orientation Tendency received 25 votes, the Tendency was constituted around support for five documents: the three documents which were listed in the letter from Comrade Gregorich as being the basis for the constitution of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency ("Declaration of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency," (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No. 16) and the two documents submitted by the Berkeley Minority on the Chicano struggle and women's liberation (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No. 24). In the other branches around the country, where Proletarian Orientation Tendency supporters put forward a motion to constitute a caucus and elect delegates, the Tendency was defined only by the "Declaration of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency" which is contained in the *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No. 16. That is, around only three documents, and around support to the party's position on women's liberation and the Chicano struggle. In addition to that, within the 50 votes which the Proletarian Orientation Tendency received upon the "Declaration of Tendency" documents, there were other combinations. That is, there were comrades, for example, who voted for the three Proletarian Orientation Tendency documents and voted in support of one or another of the two Oakland-Berkeley minority documents, or in support of one or another of the Political Committee resolutions on the Chicano struggle or women's liberation, or who abstained on these documents. It is on this basis that we feel that the Proletarian Orientation Tendency in the party is not constituted around a clear political line or that the vote of a member of this grouping who was on the National Committee would in fact represent a clear political tendency within the party.

We did consider the nomination of Comrade Turner as an advisory member of the National Committee. It should be pointed out that Comrade Turner was an advisory member of the outgoing National Committee. There has never been an automatic right of any grouping within the party to have its views represented on the National Committee. The merit of each minority must be considered in the concrete. It must be a decision of the party as a whole based on its own decision of what is in the best interests of the party. Although the Proletarian Orientation Tendency is not, in the opinion of the Nominating Commission, a clearly defined political tendency entitled to representation on the National Committee by virtue of our norms and traditions, we do feel that it would be correct to renominate Comrade Turner as an advisory member of the National Committee.

We consider it would be in the best interests of the National Committee, and of the party as a whole to have

Comrade Turner continue to serve and have his views represented in the discussions of the National Committee. Although it is not clear that Comrade Turner, or anyone else, can represent the views of all the members of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, we do feel that his long experience on the National Committee and his individual stature as a leader of our party warrants his renomination as an advisory member of the National Committee.

\* \* \*

After hearing the report of the Nominating Commission, what action on its recommendations did the convention take? Comrade Turner, first of all, was unanimously elected to the advisory National Committee. Not a single voice was raised in opposition to his election, nor did any one of the delegates express the slightest doubt or hesitancy regarding it. What is portrayed, then, by Comrade Massey as the rabidly factional majority of the SWP in 1971 cast its votes *unanimously* for the nominee of the POT.

Given Comrade Turner's membership on the Committee, Comrade Massey's assertion that the POT "was denied any place on the National Committee" stands exposed for what it is—a blatant lie. In fact, Comrade Turner, the nominee of the POT, serves on the National Committee to this very day.

The Nominating Commission's slate of recommendations for regular members of the National Committee was presented and, as explained earlier, it contained no nominees from the POT. This slate, too, was elected by a *unanimous* vote. Not a single objection to this slate was raised—not even by any of the POT delegates! They had apparently changed their minds since the time of Comrade McCann's presentation to the Nominating Commission and had come to agree with the majority delegates that no leader of their tendency was qualified to be a full member of the party's National Committee.

During the discussion on the proposed alternate slate, several delegates made additional nominations. One of these came from the POT. Comrade Levitt took the floor and nominated Comrade Gregorich, saying, ". . . we are asking that this current of thought be represented on the National Committee and we're asking that it be represented in the person of Comrade Gregorich, an extremely capable and talented comrade, in our opinion, absolutely dedicated and totally politically selfless, who is looked upon with great admiration by this 8-10 percent<sup>1</sup> of the party that supports our point of view and who we think is an undeniably obvious choice for the National Committee. . . ." (Transcript from Official Taped Proceedings of the 24th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, on file at the Library for Social Research, N. Y., N. Y.) The delegates considered the remarks of Comrade Levitt regarding Comrade Gregorich's qualifications for party leadership and rejected them. Comrade Gregorich was not elected as a member of the alternate National Committee.

Between Comrade McCann's nominations for the POT on Tuesday and the voting on Thursday, the Tendency had changed its thinking in three ways. First, it no longer thought any of its members were qualified to be full members of the National Committee. Second, it reversed the or-

der of ranking in its proposals for the alternate list, elevating Comrade Gregorich to first choice. Third, it dropped Comrade Levitt from consideration altogether.

We will probably never know what events transpired to cause these changes. But perhaps Comrade McCann's explanation to the Nominating Commission that the POT nominated Levitt and Gregorich "regardless of their politics" offers at least a clue as to the character of the process.

Comrade Massey, it is clear, is wrong on every point. Comrade Turner, nominated by the POT for membership on the National Committee *was* elected by the convention. (That's strike one.) The POT received a serious hearing by the convention in the best traditions of the norms of the SWP. (Strike two.)

To really appreciate how spurious Comrade Massey's attack on the SWP is, however, we must proceed to "strike three." This concerns the political estimate of the POT formation. On that crucial question who turned out to be right? The convention, or Comrade Massey?

\* \* \*

What political problem did the convention delegates have to grapple with in considering the POT nominations? Was it a question of deciding whether or not to place a representative of a small minority grouping in the party on the National Committee? Not at all. The problem was as the Commission report stated and documented: the POT was not constituted on a clear political basis. Its adherents held differing, and even conflicting political views on the programmatic questions before the convention.

Who, then, could represent all of them? And what "current" would their "representative" represent? That problem was objectively posed by the character of the POT itself. It was not the product of an alleged factional move on the part of the majority. The so-called Proletarian Orientation Tendency was an unprincipled combination of a specific type: it was an alliance of anti-leadership cliques.

Comrade Massey denies this characterization of the group he led in 1971. But if the POT was not just such a "rotten bloc," as one delegate from Comrade Massey's own branch described it, then how does Comrade Massey explain its subsequent decomposition?

This process began a few weeks before the convention itself when David Fender and a handful of his supporters split from the POT and formed the "Communist Tendency." After remaining in the SWP long enough to declare it a "zombie," Fender and his cohorts chose to depart. Fender joined the grouping called *Vanguard Newsletter*. From his post as co-editor of the *Newsletter*, he regularly issued anti-SWP diatribes which were eclipsed only by the publication's obscurity. That was the first defection.

The second occurred during the convention and was of a different type. It concerned Comrade David Kell, who had a tactical difference with the party's trade-union policy and who wanted to argue for his point of view in a principled way. He found he had to break from the POT in order to do that. In a discussion article entitled "The Evolution of a Tendency" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol.

31, No. 7, pp. 17-19), Comrade Keil gives us a glimpse of the "politics" of the POT from the inside. His experiences confirm to the hilt the convention's estimate of the POT.

Comrade Keil explains it this way: "From the very beginning, in fact, the fundamental basis of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency was not political but organizational. It was united by the principle 'against the regime,' just as the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern coalition was in 1939-40, if not so openly and intensely. I myself had evidence to this effect inadvertently presented to me in the summer of 1970, by some leading future P. O. T.ers (not Massey, Smith, or Shaffer) during an informal discussion. These comrades wanted to have a document proposing mass colonization of factories, and I thought that propaganda work outside plants would be a better idea. The problem with my proposal, they said, was that 'the leadership' would pick this idea up and accept it, and what would we dissidents be left with? I just couldn't understand their point at the time. But if that wasn't an ignorant, factional, unprincipled method of proceeding, then it was about the best try yet made at one in the party's history!" We can only second that.

Comrade Keil relates another incident which proves the convention's contention that no one member could represent the POT's views on the National Committee. He says, "But the tendency was divided over the Mideast. Some people agreed with the NC [National Committee] resolution's support for the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine; others rejected it; some even agreed with the Langston-Langston-Rothschild programmatic position of maybe-some-day supporting Jewish self-determination in the Mideast. There were all kinds of positions and formulations.

"So it might have been a good idea to discuss it fully at the tendency meeting and come to a conclusion, since the Mideast question was coming up for a vote at the convention. What those of us who wanted to do that forgot, however, was that the task which the tendency had set itself was not to get involved in hammering out a line among ourselves on the Mideast. Rather it was to fight for a 'Proletarian Orientation, NOW,' in the party, against the leadership. (Even if no one agreed on what a 'Proletarian orientation' was, either!)

"So discussion on the Mideast was kept to a minimum and the P. O. T. decided to take no position but to allow the tendency spokesperson to put forth his own personal position, which happened to be in opposition to the NC's resolution. (He told the assembled delegates that the NC Mideast position was the most important example of the party's degeneration.)" (P. 17.)

This shows what a mockery has been made by Comrade Massey of the concept of minority view representation on the party's leading body. The convention had no way of knowing what political views on any question—even that of the "proletarian orientation" itself—would be put forward by POT "representatives." The only way to have assured representation of the views of all of the POT members would have been to have elected all 75 of them to the National Committee! But even such a unique measure—which could hardly have been justified by references to anything in the party's traditions—would not have solved the POT problem, as further defections from the POT, and the party, were to demonstrate.

In the preface to their October 26, 1972, statement of resignation from the SWP, members of the Leninist Faction described their evolution as follows:

"The LF [Leninist Faction] emerged [!] from the Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT) shortly after the August 1971 convention of the SWP upon the recognition that the struggle against the SWP's opportunism made at the convention by the Communist Tendency (CT) led by Comrade Fender was principle [sic] and correct. The POT called upon the SWP to turn from an exclusive orientation to the petty-bourgeois radical milieu to the working class, but had not questioned the SWP's Pabloist political line."

Who was the principal leader of this so-called Leninist Faction? It was none other than Comrade Gregorich. So, "shortly after" the convention, "NCer" Gregorich would have represented, not the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, but the Communist Tendency; unless of course, the Leninist Faction had decided not "to emerge" from the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, in which case she would have represented both a tendency and a faction of another tendency.

Given these facts, does Comrade Massey think that had the convention elected Gregorich this would have ensured representation of the views of the POT on the National Committee?

Furthermore, the LF letter of resignation makes clear that what aspiring NC member Gregorich actually represented was a disloyal minority grouping in collusion with longstanding opponents of the SWP and the entire Fourth International—the Spartacist League. The Faction and the League designated the SWP as "reformist" and considered membership in the party to be a tactical question. The Faction resigned from the SWP 14 months after it was formed because its adherents thought they could destroy the party better from the outside.

The resignation document describes the Faction's fourteen-month-long party wrecking expedition openly and brazenly. "Observing our apparent lack of activity," its authors say, "some in the SWP have surmised that we were becoming demoralized and dropping away from politics. Nothing could be further from the truth. We have been very active in putting together a Leninist organization under difficult conditions. We have carried on full scale discussions in the course of hammering out our program. [Note how they "hammer out" the program only after they have cinched up their faction. First things first, among the graduates of the POT school of clique politics.] The authors continue, "We have had regional meetings, a convention, and in the process have produced and distributed internally over 60,000 pages of literature. At the same time, we held regular business meetings and educational. We scrutinized the politics of every political grouping in the Trotskyist spectrum and, most importantly, began the systematic nationally directed task of industrial colonization. In addition, we have established a periphery of contacts and recruited from it. This, without the advantage of one full or even part-time staff member is no small accomplishment, and is not the behavior of a demoralized group on its way out of politics."

This provides us a clearer idea than did Comrade Levitt's nominating speech of the politics that Barbara Gregorich was "absolutely dedicated to." Any part of such



a total record of disloyalty would have been grounds for the expulsion of the members of this Faction, had they not resigned. Without insistence upon principled methods of functioning and of leadership selection, the party would have left itself wide open to the machinations of disloyal elements out to wreck it. Would Comrade Levitt care to tell us now who he thinks was right about Barbara Gregorich's qualifications to serve on the National Committee? Himself or the convention?

Comrade Massey does not say one word about the political treachery of those nominated by his own tendency, the POT, in his complaints about the decisions made by the last convention. Instead, he portrays Gregorich and Company as a beleaguered and loyal minority whose democratic rights were trampled upon by the arrogant factionalists of the SWP. What a despicable falsification! But it won't work. Comrade Massey stands exposed by the words and deeds of the Leninist Faction itself, which has now gone on to set up the Class Struggle League, centered in Chicago.

Other grouplets emerged, or re-emerged, from the POT bloc. Some of these also walked out of the party not long after the convention. Guerrero and Rangel stalked out issuing statements hostile to the SWP. Guerrero had presented the minority resolution at the convention on the Chicano struggle, although the resolution was not endorsed by the POT as a whole, only by a part of it.

Norman Hodgett and his friends left the party too. They contended the SWP was not so much reformist as it was "hateful." This transpired in Brooklyn, N. Y., in early 1972.

Indeed, Comrades Massey and Levitt themselves seem to have gone separate ways since Comrade Levitt served as the Internationalist Tendency reporter on the Latin American resolution in the Oakland-Berkeley branch two months ago. (See "Latin America And The Massey-Shaffer-Smith Tendency," by Gordon Fox, SWP Discussion Bulletin Vol. 31, No. 8, p. 6.) Since then Comrade Massey has formed the Internationalist Tendency and Comrade Levitt has formed another tendency. There is no way of knowing from their respective tendency declarations what political questions now divide the two groups. Both state they are staunch fraternal supporters of the Mandel-Maitan-Frank tendency of the Fourth International, an as yet unexplained reversal of their position as POT members on the "revisionist" theories of Ernest Mandel. And so we see that while the POT has decomposed, the method of POT lingers on.

In retrospect, it is difficult to say what action the convention could have taken that might have satisfied Com-

rade Massey's demand for representation of POT on the National Committee. Does Comrade Massey claim that Barbara Gregorich would represent his views? Comrade Massey's current tendency is organized around fraternal support to the Mandel-Maitan-Frank tendency whose leadership POT's nominee Gregorich considers revisionist and Pabloite. Or is Comrade Massey's complaint that Comrade Turner, who after all has served on the Committee all this time, did not really represent his views? Moreover, since the POT did not nominate a single member of what is now the Internationalist Tendency, the convention could have placed *all* the POT nominees on the NC and still Comrade Massey's demand would not be satisfied!

And what about Comrade Levitt? Does he think his views would have been represented on the National Committee by his nominee, Barbara Gregorich?

The record thus confirms the convention's analysis of the POT formation and the political wisdom of its action regarding its nominations to the National Committee.

It is not a requirement under the norms of Leninism to grant unprincipled combinations like the POT representation on the party's leading committee. Far from it. Rather, such abominable formations are themselves completely alien to the norms of Leninist party building. The offense against the party they represent is *not* disagreement with the party's program. On the contrary, disagreements are to be expected in a living party. We have had many disagreements in the course of building the SWP and we will have many more before our historic task is completed. No. The offense against Leninism committed by such formations is that they are banded together regardless of program and despite program. But in a Leninist party program is primary. Without a clear program there can be no revolutionary party.

Party leadership can be selected only on the basis of program. That has always been our method in the SWP. There is ample room on our National Committee for representatives of distinct political minorities that organize in the party. That has always been our tradition and it is one we jealously guard. But there is no room for self-appointed representatives of anti-leadership cliques and unprincipled combinations.

In order to dispute and discredit the principled and proven decisions of the last convention, Comrade Massey has had to resort to outright lying. But his big lie technique will not work.

The 24th convention of the SWP reaffirmed our democratic traditions. And so will the 25th.

July 17, 1973

#### FOOTNOTE

1. We should note here how the size of POT tends to increase in Comrade Massey's successive recountings of his complaint. Levitt claims 8-10 percent for the POT. In his March 1 letter to Comrade Sheppard, Massey informs us that POT represented "nearly 10%" of the SWP. Two months later, by the time of his May 20 letter to the Political Committee, POT has grown (in Comrade Massey's eyes) to "over 10%" of the membership. This seemingly minor discrepancy has the effect of escalating

Massey's charge, for the alleged offense against Bolshevik norms grows increasingly serious as the number of those allegedly denied representation on the National Committee mounts higher and higher. Let's call a halt to this artificial growth of the POT in the correspondence of Comrade Massey. In any case, it was hardly growth, but progressive disintegration that characterized the development of the POT.

SIX STRIDES BACKWARD: THE MEANING OF THE  
POLITICAL RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY THE  
INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY

by Barry Sheppard

The document entitled "The Building of A Revolutionary Party in Capitalist America," the political resolution submitted to the SWP convention by the Internationalist Tendency, is filled with distortions of the party's positions, errors of formulation and wrong political positions. I do not intend to correct every distortion and refute every wrong position contained in this application of the "method of the 'Theses on the Building of Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe,'" but concentrate on six of the major points where the American supporters of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank grouping revise the program of the SWP. If adopted, they would amount to the SWP taking six big strides backward.

These six basic revisions occur in the following areas: 1) Our analysis of and program for the oppressed nationalities; 2) Our analysis of and program for the struggle of women for their liberation; 3) Our analysis of and program for the antiwar movement; 4) Their application of the theory of the "new mass vanguard" to the United States; 5) The relation of democratic demands to the transitional program and the nature of the transitional program itself; and 6) The nature of the Leninist combat party.

The authors of the document begin by setting up a straw man, attributing to the party a theory of the combined character of the coming American revolution that the party does not hold. They imply that the party takes a "polyvanguardist" approach to the revolution. They say that we hold the view that the revolution will be a "coalition of independent movements based on separate oppressed sectors of society, including, but not centered around, the working class." This has nothing to do with the party's real position on the combined character of the coming socialist revolution. This extreme counter-culturist and polyvanguardist caricature of the party's position was put forward in the pre-convention discussion by Comrades Trippet and Gebert, in a document entitled "Against a Proletarian Orientation," and was rejected by 99 percent of the party.

The party's position, as summed up in resolutions, and which permeates all our work, is that the coming American revolution will have two combined aspects. It will be a social revolution, a proletarian revolution that will open the way to the construction of socialism. It will also be a revolution for the self-determination of the oppressed nationalities, which could even result in the formation of separate states, a federation of states, autonomous regions, or other forms, including complete integration, depending on the will of the oppressed nationalities. The 1971 Political resolution adopted by the party summed this up: "The characteristics of the radicalization so far have made it clear that the American revolution will have a combined character. It will be a revolution by the oppressed nationalities for self-determination together with a working-class revolution to take power and open the road to the destruction of capitalist exploitation, alienation, oppression, racism, and sexism, and the construction of

socialism — the first truly human social order.

"The coming American revolution will incorporate the democratic and transitional demands that flow from the various independent movements that have arisen in the course of social struggle, as well as those that will arise as the radicalization deepens. It will give an enormous impetus to the further development of these movements until their demands are met in full in the course of the construction of socialism."

But the setting up and knocking over of this straw man serves the authors as a device to attack the party's basic program, and its analysis of the current radicalization.

*I. Revision of the Party's Theory and Program on National Oppression*

The Internationalist Tendency rejects the whole body of theoretical work the party has done in analyzing the rise of Black nationalism in the 1960s. To do this, however, they have to not only reject SWP documents from the 1963 "Freedom Now" resolution on, they must reject the ideas which underlie them, particularly the application of the lessons of the Russian Revolution on the question of oppressed nationalities to the Black struggle in the United States.

They buttress their argument with a foray into theory. They conclude from this excursion that no major democratic tasks remain to be completed in the U.S. In a related argument, they conclude that Trotsky's views were O.K. in 1939, but have no application to the present.

These two false assertions are done with a clumsy verbal sleight-of-hand-trick, that will fool few in the audience. Their argument goes like this; "it would be false to contend that the American bourgeois revolution was incomplete. Since the Civil War, the most advanced capitalist layers, the industrial and financial bourgeoisie, have wielded power virtually alone. As in every other imperialist country, bourgeois democratic rights have been extended and withdrawn as the class struggle developed. The period of Reconstruction was one of extreme radical democracy. If prior to World War I, it may still have been possible to find a major segment of the economy where the basic bourgeois tasks had not been completed, the massive industrialization and urbanization of the postwar period swept it away. Today we are not faced with masses of sharecroppers fighting for their individual rights against planters, but rather with agricultural workers collectively fighting, through their unions, the magnates of agrobusiness." (Discussion Bulletin Vol. 31 # 18, page 8)

This paragraph muddles together "bourgeois tasks" in the sense of tasks needed to be accomplished in order for the bourgeoisie to hold unchallenged power, and *democratic* tasks, that is tasks which were first raised in the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions, but which the bourgeoisie refuses to, or is incapable of carrying out. Thus our authors gloss over burning democratic tasks

that have not been completed, that affect large sections of the masses in general and the working people in particular. Two especially urgent democratic tasks are the ending of national oppression and all forms of the oppression of women. Neither of these democratic tasks will be accomplished under capitalism—it will take the proletarian revolution to do that. Both raise demands of a transitional as well as democratic nature. But we cannot conjure away the urgency and importance of these tasks by pointing out that the capitalist class holds unchallenged power in this country!

It is ironic that this position propounded by the American supporters of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank grouping is remarkably similar to one proposed by Stalin. The following was Trotsky's comment on an article written by Stalin in 1917:

"On March 25, in an article dealing with a government decree on the abolition of national limitations, Stalin tried to formulate the national question on a historic scale. 'The social basis of national oppression' he writes, 'the power inspiring it, is a decaying land aristocracy.' The fact that national oppression developed unprecedentedly during the epoch of capitalism, and found its most barbaric expression in colonial policies, seems to be beyond the ken of the democratic author. 'In England,' he continues, 'where the landed aristocracy shares the power with the bourgeoisie, where the unlimited power of the aristocracy long ago ceased to exist, national oppression is milder, less inhuman—leaving out of account, of course, the circumstance that during the war, when the power has gone over into the hands of the landlords [!], national oppression was considerably strengthened (persecution of Ireland and India.)' Those guilty of oppressing Ireland and India are the landlords, who—evidently in the person of Lloyd George—have seized power thanks to the war. . . . In Switzerland and North America,' continues Stalin, 'where there is no landlordism and never has been [!], where the power is undivided in the hands of the bourgeoisie, nationalities have developed freely. National oppression, generally speaking, finds no place. . . . The author completely forgets the Negro, Indian, immigrant and colonial problems in the United States.' (*The History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. III).

There is a very important point in what Trotsky says, which we will return to. Contrary to the implications of the Internationalist Tendency document, undivided, unchallenged bourgeois rule does not *lessen* national oppression, *it everywhere extends, intensifies and exacerbates it*, develops it "unprecedentedly."

Having thus deftly conjured away the reality of national oppression by explaining that the bourgeoisie rules this country, our magicians try to make Trotsky disappear by damning him with faint praise.

"We believe Trotsky's position in 1939 was basically correct," they write. "It flowed from his knowledge of the C.P.'s line on the Black Belt, and corresponded to the reality of a massive concentration of Black people in the South under predominantly rural conditions. Under those conditions, and due to their relatively smaller weight within the labor movement, it was possible for true nationalist aspirations to develop. This possibility concretely posed the question of the right to self-determination, and Trotsky correctly advocated unconditional defense of that right. It should be pointed out, though, that self-

determination, in the Leninist tradition, meant one thing and *one thing only: the right to form a separate state*. It is precisely that challenge to the existing state apparatus that gives the demand its explosive character.

"Since 1939 the objective basis for the development of nationalist aspirations has been considerably weakened. There is only a small minority of sharecroppers. The majority of the Black population has been dispersed in the cities and integrated into the industrial production process. An urban petty bourgeoisie and comprador layer has developed. In the unlikely event that a nationalist consciousness develops, we should defend the right of Black people to self-determination, although not advocate that they implement it. However, it should be clear that as the working class radicalizes, the subjective basis for nationalist aspirations will tend to wither away and make way for working class solidarity." (p. 13)

Thus we have the fantastic assertion that one of the objective reasons for the development of Black nationalism is Blacks being sharecroppers. Since Blacks are now highly proletarianized and a high proportion are in the cities, there is no longer an objective basis for Black nationalism, only subjective reasons for the "nationalist mood which prevailed for some time among a layer of the Black masses." We should drop the demand for self-determination and take it up in the future only in the "unlikely event" that nationalist sentiment develops among Blacks, and even then we won't advocate that they implement it!

This wrong analysis misses the essential problem. Trotsky's opinions, and ours, on self-determination for Blacks were and are not predicated on the fact that a large proportion of Blacks were sharecroppers, but on the fact of their *national oppression*. The objective basis for the rise of nationalist aspirations among Blacks lies in the continued national oppression of Black people.

In this regard, the assertion that Blacks have been "dispersed in the cities" and "integrated into the industrial production process" are revealing for what they omit. Yes, Blacks migrated into the cities—but were not dispersed in them. They are concentrated in ghettos. This fact results from the continuation of the national oppression of Blacks. Yes, Blacks have been proletarianized, but not integrated on an equal basis into industry or the labor force. As proletarians they face a double oppression. They are forced into lower paying and the worst jobs, are the "last hired and first fired," are excluded from many unions except on a token basis, etc. and etc.

While setting up the straw man of a Trotsky who based his views on the existence of the Black belt and the fact that a large proportion of Blacks were then sharecroppers, and thus "agreeing" with Trotsky in order to dismiss him, our pundits carry on a thinly veiled polemic with what Trotsky really said. They attempt to give a negative connotation to the party's application of the concepts of the permanent revolution to the Black struggle: "The theory of the combined revolution," they write, "is in effect an extension of the permanent revolution to the United States." This is a direct polemic with Trotsky. In discussions with party leaders in 1933, (reprinted in *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*), Trotsky had this to say:

"When we are so far that the Negroes say 'we want

autonomy,' they then take a position hostile toward American imperialism. At that stage already the [Black] workers will be much more determined than the [Black] petty bourgeoisie. The workers will see then that the petty-bourgeoisie is incapable of struggle and gets nowhere, but they will also recognize simultaneously that the white Communist workers fight for their demands and that will push them, the Negro proletarians, toward communism.

"Weisbord is correct in a certain sense that the 'self-determination' of the Negroes belongs to the question of the permanent revolution in America. The Negroes will through their awakening, through their demand for autonomy, and through the democratic mobilization of their forces, be pushed toward the class basis. The petty bourgeoisie will take up the demand for 'social, political and economic equality' and for 'self-determination' but prove absolutely incapable in the struggle; the Negro proletariat will march over the petty bourgeoisie in the direction toward the proletarian revolution. That is for them the most important road. I can therefore see no reason why we should not advocate the demand for 'self-determination.'"

The class dynamics outlined here by Trotsky do not hinge upon a large number of Black sharecroppers. Trotsky's view of the class dynamic of the struggle of Blacks is exactly opposite of that outlined by the Internationalist Tendency. It is analogous to the dynamics of the permanent revolution in colonial countries. (We leave out here the unconscious *restriction* of the permanent revolution to the colonies. The permanent revolution refers to the whole process of world revolution.) The Black petty bourgeoisie, while capable of giving some support to the national and democratic demands of the Black masses, will waver, will be inconsistent, will prove incapable of struggle. The Black proletarians will be the most consistent and resolute fighters for these demands, and can be won to Communism — if the revolutionary party resolutely fights for their national and democratic demands and educates the white workers to do likewise.

There is another important difference between Trotsky and the Internationalist Tendency. Our authors write:

"In fact, this ideology [Black nationalism] has two functions. For the extremely small layer of Black bourgeoisie and especially petty bourgeoisie, it serves as a protective shelter against the competition of white big business. But more importantly it objectively serves the American ruling class by hindering the process of united working class struggles."

One hundred percent wrong. The hindrance to united working class struggles comes not from Black nationalism, but *white racism*. Working class solidarity can come about to the extent that the white workers reject their relative privileges vis-a-vis the Blacks, and support the national and democratic demands of the Blacks.

"The Negroes are not yet awakened," says Trotsky in the same pamphlet, "and they are not yet united with the white workers. 99.9 percent of the American workers are chauvinists, in relation to the Negroes they are hangmen and they are so also toward the Chinese. It is necessary to teach the American beasts. It is necessary to make them understand that the American state is not their state and that they do not have to be the guardians of this state. Those American workers who say: 'The Negroes should separate when they so desire and we

will defend them against our American police' — those are revolutionists, I have confidence in them.

"The argument that the slogan for 'self-determination' leads away from the class basis is an adaptation to the ideology of the white workers. The Negro can be developed to a class standpoint only when the white worker is educated. On the whole the question of the colonial people is in the first instance a question of the development of the metropolitan worker."

Our authors make a great fuss about the party's alleged abandonment of the internationalist perspective and even scientific theory, in favor of embracing the "ideology" of nationalism. First of all, this is false. But we do assert, in direct opposition to the position of the Internationalist Tendency, that true internationalism begins with full and unequivocal and unconditional support of the struggles of oppressed nationalities against their national oppression. Part of this is support to the *nationalism* of the oppressed, by which we mean the consciousness of the oppressed nationality of its oppression, its conscious opposition to that oppression, and its independent organization to fight that oppression. Now, that consciousness and organization is incomplete. To win their fight against national oppression, and against the class oppression that is intertwined with it, the oppressed nationality must go beyond such nationalist consciousness to a proletarian internationalist consciousness, a consciousness that *includes* a resolute consciousness against national oppression. We want to help them do that, by first of all making it crystal clear that we *support* their national struggle *100 percent*.

The new rise of Black nationalism completely belies the "theory" of the Internationalist Tendency. Just as the Garvey movement was centered among the Black proletarians of the big cities, the new rise of Black nationalism has been also. To get around that fact, our authors must simply assert that this was a passing phenomenon, due to certain passing subjective conditions, and will wither away as the workers begin to struggle. This flies in the face of the objective reality. Black nationalist sentiments and ideas are not withering away, they are continuing to spread. They will not wither away in the future when the working class as a whole takes the road of massive independent political struggles, because they are rooted in the real national oppression of the Black people. (While our authors do point out that Blacks suffer from a "special oppression" they shrink back from calling it by its right, scientific name: national oppression). Black-white working class unity will be forged because with correct leadership white workers will learn to give support to the "special" struggles and demands of the Blacks.

Having rejected Trotsky, and having developed their anti-Black nationalist position, the International Tendency proceeds to attack the analysis of the Black and Chicano movements made by the SWP over the past decade. Our analysis is based in part on the experience of the Russian revolution, and on the contribution Trotsky made to our understanding of the question. But with the new rise of the movements of the oppressed nationalities in the U. S. and throughout the world, we developed and extended that analysis to the new situation as it unfolded in its concreteness. Here we should recall Trotsky's statement quoted earlier, that the bourgeoisie exacerbates and intensifies and develops national oppression. We see this happening on a

world scale and in the U.S. The Internationalist Tendency in the U.S., and the whole Maitan-Mandel-Frank grouping, fail to see or come to grips with this important and pervading world-wide phenomenon.

In the U.S., the Internationalist Tendency rejects our call for an independent Black party. One assumes they would also reject our long-standing policy, advocated by Trotsky (see *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*), of giving critical support to Black candidates running outside the Democratic or Republican parties. Our call for an independent Black political party was in part an extension of this policy, based on support for the democratic rights of the Black people. But it also has another dynamic our pundits totally miss. Its formation would signal the beginning of a qualitatively higher stage of radicalization and consciousness of the Black masses, characterized by a break with reliance on the capitalist parties, and would set in motion a dynamic that could rapidly lead to independent political action by the working class. The position of the Internationalist Tendency on two other central questions exposes the adaptation to white chauvinism that underlies their whole position. The first of these is their rejection of our slogan of preferential hiring and upgrading for the oppressed nationalities. Instead they propose the slogan of "Jobs for All; no discriminatory hiring or advancement practices."

"Preferential hiring is supposed to deal with the reality of high unemployment in the Black community," they write. But unemployment is not an ethnic [!—B. S.] phenomenon. To pose this narrow solution to a chronic disease of capitalist society which affects all workers doesn't solve anything. Instead it adapts to the bourgeoisie's strategy of dividing the workers' struggle . . ."

True—unemployment is a chronic disease of capitalist society. But the oppressed nationalities and women play a special role in the industrial reserve army, are forced to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of unemployment. In addition to demands to fight unemployment for the class as a whole, centered around the demand for a sliding scale of hours, we must raise special demands that speak to the particular burden of unemployment that Blacks and other oppressed nationalities and women are forced to bear.

On the question of "dividing the working class"—again, it is white racism and white privilege that divides the working class, not the raising of demands that redress the inequality between Black and white workers. This putting the blame on Blacks for the division in the working class reveals the *rightist* core of the Internationalist Tendency's politics.

Their position reflects a formal, *liberal, bourgeois* view of equality. Their demand for "No discriminatory hiring or advancement practices" is nice and even handed, isn't it? On the one side, the bosses are not to discriminate against Blacks in hiring and advancement. On the other, there is to be no preferential treatment for Blacks. Thus we will all be "equals" in the market place—and if it turns out that Blacks do not have the education or training, or have worse health, or suffer from all of the other effects of discrimination and oppression, why that is just too bad—they lose out in the "fair" and "equal" competition of the market place.

To win real equality *requires* preferential treatment of

Blacks, of other oppressed nationalities, and of women. Equality cannot be achieved until all of the aspects of discrimination are eliminated. Blacks have to be hired before whites with equal skills, first of all just to catch up and equalize the employment rate, and to overcome the effects of discrimination. They must be preferentially advanced, or the present inequality, of Blacks on the bottom holding the lowest paying and worst jobs will be perpetuated. It is only after a period of preferential treatment in favor of the oppressed that the permanent discrimination of capitalism can be overcome in fact.

Let's look at the second slogan the Internationalist Tendency would have the party reject, that of Black control of the Black community. First, they muddle the question by asserting that they do give this slogan some lukewarm support, but only as an expression of aspirations for "local autonomy." This itself is a dangerous formulation, especially in the context of a discussion on the Black struggle. We do *not* raise demands for "local autonomy" in general.

Just as we do not give any support whatsoever to white nationalism, we give no support at all to any idea of "white control of the white community" which can only be directed against Blacks. We gave no support to the white parents who demanded control over bussing, for example. Such demands are an expression of white racism. We said that the question of bussing should be determined solely by the Black community, because it is the Black community that suffers from discrimination in education and it is the Black community which should decide whether or not, and how, bussing should be done as part of overcoming that discrimination.

Our authors are wrong when they say that the demand for Black control of the Black community is not an expression of the right to self-determination. Their argument hinges on a too-narrow definition of self-determination, as "one thing and one thing only: the right to form a separate state." Wrong. It is the right of oppressed nationalities to determine their own destiny, *up to and including* the right to form a separate state. It also includes the *right* to opt for complete integration, in a single state. In the case of Palestine, we see an oppressed nationality demanding just that. (Perhaps this is why our pundits find it so difficult to support the Palestinians on this?) In between there are many other forms possible, from federation, autonomous zones, the exercise of certain rights of government but not others, etc. In the Soviet Union, we can still see many of these various forms, although they have been robbed of their content by Stalinist revival of national oppression. Concerning the Black population in the U. S., we do not attempt in any way to impose any form on them—it is up for the Black masses to decide. But "Black control of the Black community" goes in the direction of Black people determining their own destiny.

For confusion, our authors throw in a false debate on Black control of the police in the Black community. We do not put forward this demand. In the Transitional Program for Black Liberation, the question of the police is separated out from demands relating to control of institutions such as schools in the Black community. Our program for the police, as part of the capitalist state apparatus is that they must be dismantled and replaced with the armed militias of a workers state. In relation to the Black community, we also recognize that the police function as an occupation army of the oppressor nation against the Black

community. Thus our transitional slogan is to "replace police occupation of the Black community with a community-controlled police force drawn from residents of the community."

How should we characterize this opposition to preferential hiring and advancement, and to Black control of the Black community? Exactly as Trotsky characterized arguments that the slogan of self-determination leads away from the class basis, as an "*adaptation to the ideology of the white workers.*"

Let us apply this position of the Internationalist Tendency to the concrete situation in New York, in relation to the teachers union. In 1968, there was a teachers strike. We characterized the strike as a racist strike, directed against the right of the Black community to control the Black schools, including the right to fire racist teachers. The Shanker bureaucracy said the strike was over union rights to resist any such firing. We actively helped *break* that strike, and conducted a campaign inside and outside the union against it. Certainly the logic of the Internationalist Tendency position would be to support that strike, to walk the picket line with the cops and Shanker-organized teachers and help them beat up the Black and Puerto Rican parents who were attempting to open the schools. (The nature of the strike was indicated by the support it received from the cops.)

Let's take a more recent example, the fight for community control of the schools and for preferential hiring and upgrading of Puerto Rican, Black and Chinese teachers in New York's District 1. The logic of the Internationalist Tendency would put them in Shanker's camp again. Shanker waged a consistent campaign on these two very questions, using some of the identical arguments advanced by the Internationalist Tendency. He was against community control. He proclaimed his support of the "democratic" principle of "no discrimination" as against the Puerto Rican community's demand for preferential hiring and upgrading. What Shanker was defending by both these stands is not the building of a fighting class struggle teachers union but rather a *white job trust*.

Similarly, the Internationalist Tendency sides with the racist steel companies and the United Steel Workers bureaucracy by opposing the court ruling which would require taking steps against racist practices in hiring and seniority systems in the steel industry. The Internationalist Tendency is also on the wrong side of the fence in debates taking place over "quotas." They would have to oppose as "divisive" demands being raised by Blacks, Chicanos and women that they be hired or advanced or admitted into educational institutions according to their numbers in the population, since carrying out such measures would require preferential hiring and advancement and preferential treatment in terms of scholarships.

The position of the Internationalist Tendency on the Chicano population follows a similar pattern. In the Raza Unida Parties, they tell us, we should stop "stressing the nationalist issues which unite all Chicanos" and instead "intervene with a class line." But what are the "nationalist issues which unite all Chicanos?" They are the issues of national oppression of the Chicanos, which affect all Chicanos regardless of class, and which *affect the Chicano workers the most*. We should emphasize both these issues flowing from the national oppression of the Chicanos, which are intertwined with and cannot be separated from

the class issues, and the larger issues of the class as a whole. For example, we want to raise the demand of preferential hiring (both a national and a class issue) *and* the demand for a sliding scale of hours to fight unemployment on a national scale.

The key class issue facing the Raza Unida parties, which must be in the forefront of our propaganda, is independence from the capitalist parties. This class issue presents itself in a nationalist form in this case.

## II. *Revision of the Party's Theory and Program on Women's Liberation.*

The bulk of the Internationalist Tendency attack on the party's intervention in the new womens movement centers on our support for and work in the campaign to repeal the abortion laws. The article by Comrades Betsy Stone and Mary-Alice Waters, "The Abortion Struggle: What Have We Accomplished, Where Should We Go From Here?" (DB Vol. 31 # 19), although written before the Internationalist Tendency document was published, refutes their main contentions concerning the abortion law repeal movement, in taking up the positions of our opponents. I will not repeat what Comrades Stone and Waters have said. Here we will note the Internationalist Tendency's opposition to forming single-issue united front campaigns, and their belittling of the importance of the question of abortion.

In addition to rejecting the party's work in the WONAAC campaign, the Internationalist Tendency attacks the need for an autonomous movement of women that will seek to unite women in a struggle to end their oppression. They falsely equate this conception with rejecting the primacy of the class struggle.

The oppression of women as a sex constitutes the objective basis for the organization of women in struggle through their own organizations. The trend of radicalizing women to form all-female organizations—womens liberation groups, womens coalitions, womens caucuses in the trade unions, etc.—is healthy and progressive. It reflects the desire of women to take the leadership of their own struggle in hand. They want to have their own organizations in which they can learn and develop and lead without fear of being put down or dictated to by men or having to compete with them from the start. All-female organizations help many women take the first steps toward discarding their own slave mentality, and toward gaining confidence, pride and courage to act as political beings.

This is true now, while the movement is still in its infancy and still confined to relatively privileged layers. But it will remain true as the potential of the movement to organize masses of working women is realized—in fact, will be even more true in the case of the most oppressed and exploited women, denied some of the advantages of more privileged women.

An independent women's movement will continue to have a big role to play in the period of transition to socialism, under a workers' state. We can expect that that will be when the women's movement will reach its greatest mobilization, as women spearhead the fight to eradicate every form and vestige of their oppression on the basis of the new economy. We certainly should not think that the tremendous release of creative energy the proletarian revolution will unleash in all sectors of the masses will result in passivity on the part of women. While women can-

not achieve their liberation through any channel except the world socialist revolution, this goal itself cannot be achieved without mobilizing the masses of women as a component part of the class struggle.

Building all-women's groups does not conflict, as our authors imply, with building mass action campaigns and coalitions involving both men and women to fight for the same demands. Women will be the backbone of such campaigns, but the fight of women is in the interests of the working class as a whole and our perspective is to win support for the movement from all working class organizations.

The so-called "class" approach of opposing the development of an independent women's movement advocated in this document thus would represent a big stride backward in the SWP's understanding of the new feminist movement if it were adopted. It would put us at odds with its independent thrust and its attempt to mobilize women through their own organizations to fight for their rights. Such a position certainly would not help us win feminists to the revolutionary socialist perspective.

This approach would lead us in a sectarian direction, as can be seen in the document's prohibition of having anything at all to do with NOW. Because NOW is "almost exclusively white, middle and upper income group," it is "certainly not the arena for revolutionary agitation, propaganda, or recruitment," they say. While we must recognize the difficulties of working in NOW, and realistically assess the possibilities (which will vary from place to place and in time), we must certainly *not* reject attempting to win NOW members to our programs on the basis of such criteria. Whatever class members of NOW come from, we have to recognize that NOW is attracting women who want to find an organizational expression for their desire to fight for the rights of women. Given the situation where NOW is the only nationally organized women's group, with the exception of the Women's Political Caucus, many such women are attracted to it. We want to win them to the revolutionary socialist perspective if we can.

### III. *The Antiwar Movement*

First, we should note that on the question of understanding the Stalinist nature of the Vietnamese Communist Party leadership, and the related questions of our principled position regarding coalition governments and popular fronts, the Internationalist Tendency is ambiguous. Their formulations lead one to suspect that they are well on their way to adopting the wrong positions on the Chinese and Vietnamese CP, held by the Maitan-Mandel-Frank group. (An example: they refer with a straight face to the "reincarnation of the Paris Commune in 1967 Shanghai!") If this suspicion proves to be correct, we will have to add another big theoretical and programmatic step backward that the Internationalist Tendency is trying to foist on the party. These questions will be dealt with fully in the debate in the International.

We must also note their confusion over the nature of the "Out Now" demand. They state: "The call for nonintervention of U. S. imperialism had a democratic content for the United States, where it appealed to the isolationism of the masses and the pacifism of some layers. In the case of Vietnam, however, it had a revolutionary content."

Since in Internationalist Tendency lingo "democratic" can roughly be translated as "not very important" and

even as "reformist" or "milktoast," and certainly is counterposed to "revolutionary," we should look more carefully at this assertion.

The demand for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam is a demand that the U. S. respect the *democratic rights of the Vietnamese* not to be attacked or otherwise interfered with by U. S. imperialism. It is a concretization of the demand for self-determination for Vietnam. In the context of the Vietnamese revolution, this democratic demand would have the effect, other things being equal, of amounting to the victory of the NLF and DRV. In addition, it had a democratic content in relation to the U. S., as comrade Novack has pointed out.

But this demand did not appeal to the *isolationism* of the American masses but to their opposition to sacrificing for Washington's war against the Vietnamese. To talk about opposition to an imperialist was as being tantamount to "isolationism" is to reveal an inexcusable hostility to the American antiwar movement.

This was the best demand to mobilize the antiwar sentiment of the American people in a struggle against their own government on the key question of imperialist war. It did not appeal to or further xenophobic isolationism, but rather its exact opposite. It helped break down chauvinist attitudes and anti-communist fears.

Although they throw some bones to the importance of building a united front for the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops etc. from Vietnam, the whole thrust of their criticisms of party policy in the antiwar movement run counter to the basic principles and tactics we used to build that united front. They attack "single-issuism," without which the united front could not be built. They would have (if they had thought of it at the time!) oriented us towards organizing "special slogans, special contingents, special actions and organizations aimed at strengthening" the *deadly opponents* of the mass-action oriented antiwar movement, whom they falsely label as the "anti-imperialist wing."

If we had followed the policy they outline, we would not have been able to play the role we did in building the antiwar movement, a role which was unique and necessary for the success of the movement. It is a role we should be proud of, and learn from, and not sneer at like these embittered sectarians do. In his answer to Comrade Sterne, Comrade Mirelowitz answered the arguments put forward by the Internationalist Tendency, and there is no need to repeat them here. (DB Vol. 31, No. 16)

### IV. *Application of the Theory of the "New Vanguard" to the United States*

Related to their position on the student movement, the antiwar movement and the abortion struggle, the Internationalist Tendency takes us to task for being "sectarian" toward a certain grouping.

Many comrades may be confused as to just what the "new vanguard" the document "Building Revolutionary Parties in Capitalist Europe" refers to. I know I am. It seems to mean different things. In any case, while still somewhat vague about it, the supporters of that document in this country, who have "applied" its "method" in writing their own resolution, seem to zero in on the concept a little more, and perhaps this can help us under-

stand what the document on Europe is referring to.

There are at least four places where Massey et al refer to this grouping. One is in reference to "more advanced" women who refused to support WONAAC because they had "gone beyond" fighting for the repeal of abortion laws and understood the question on the family and "capitalist society itself." Another reference is to the "conscious anti-imperialists" in the antiwar movement. A third is to a "trend in the New Left," who, under the influence of the French May-June events, began to reject student vanguardism and orient toward the working class. Finally, they point to the following: "To the left of the CP, a whole milieu has arisen out of the experience of the past radicalization. It is made up of increasingly political centrist formations and Maoist currents. The strong attraction of this layer toward Maoism is partly a product of admiration for the Chinese Revolution and the rhetoric of the Cultural Revolution, but it is partly also the product of a repulsion for the SWP's opportunism and exclusive student orientation, as well as the sectarianism of the professional anti-Pabloite groups."

Now, they make crystal clear they are not talking about women who, because they understood the role of the family, saw the importance of the fight to repeal the abortion laws. Nor are they referring to those feminists who came to an understanding of "capitalist society itself" and joined the YSA or the SWP. They are not referring to those antiwar activists, the true vanguard of the antiwar activists, of which we were the central part, who favored a victory of the NLF and DRV over U.S. imperialism, who were "consciously anti-imperialist" and *therefore* understood the necessity of building a massive antiwar movement against this imperialist war. Nor to those hundreds of antiwar activists who saw our role in building that movement and who developed revolutionary socialist consciousness and joined us. Nor those who, through their experience in the radicalization came to understand the need for a proletarian orientation, and understood what was wrong with Stalinism, and therefore joined us. Nor those who, attracted by the gains of the Chinese Revolution, but rejected Maoism, joined us. No, it's not any of *those* Comrades Massey et al are referring to.

They are talking about the ultraleft opponents of the party, whom we have had to fight tooth and nail in every intervention we have carried out in the mass movement. They characterize a section of them as "centrist," that is, between reformism and revolutionary socialism.

In relating to the ultra-lefts and reformists within the youth radicalization, the YSA and SWP have fought against their influence but we have also tried, wherever possible, to win individuals and groups from these currents to our views. In the process, an important layer of former ultra-lefts and opponents of the party have been won to our ranks. We won them not by adapting to their policies, as the Internationalist Tendency urges, but by winning them to a Trotskyist program and perspective. It appears that in the case of the Internationalist Tendency, the opposite process has begun to take place. The Tendency is being won over to the various nostrums of the ultra-lefts. Instead of being so rough and nasty with these currents, and calling them "opponents" and "ultralefts" simply because that's what they are, they pro-

pose we cuddle up to them, in a "realignment process" they see "going on in the whole left." To do this, we're to organize special contingents, devise special slogans, catering to the weaknesses of these forces. This is political adaptationism, and we can only conclude that they are moving towards these currents, repelled themselves by what they see as the "opportunism of the SWP."

#### V. *Our Alleged "Minimalist" Approach to the Transitional Program*

Comrade Novack has already dealt with this gross distortion of Marxism. (DB Vol. 31 No. 22) It is an application of the theories of the IMG's Alan Jones. (Comrades should re-read "Democratic and Transitional Demands and Other Stupidities" in IB #2 in 1972 and the IMG 1972 Perspectives Document in IB #3 in 1972 to get the full "theory," straight from the horse's mouth.

I will comment on one point not mentioned by Comrade Novack, and that is the Internationalist Tendency's rejection of the extension of the Transitional Program, contained in the *Worldwide Radicalization of Youth and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, the *Transitional Program for Black Liberation*, and in the Chicano and women's liberation resolutions adopted by the 1971 party convention. The Internationalist Tendency falsely charges that these are considered by us to be separate transitional programs. As they all plainly state, they are extensions of the original Transitional Program, using many of its same demands and using its method, and form part of our single transitional program for the socialist revolution. In this sense, they are no different in kind than the special demands raised in the Transitional Program itself for the peasantry. We fully expect that in the unfolding of the class struggle, we will have to raise even more demands.

The real point of all this verbiage raised by the Internationalist Tendency about the "separate" transitional programs, is their hostility to the radicalization as it has developed, and the party's coming to grips programmatically with the various facets of it.

#### VI. *Revision of Leninism and Cannonism on the Nature of the Party*

Their document ends with some modest proposals to "reorient" the internal life of the party. These include the following: "There must be a permanent discussion within the party, which concretely means regular internal information bulletins. . . ."

"The party apparatus must be kept to a minimum. The party must be able to function on a volunteer basis. Full time comrades should have some work skills so that they can take a job if necessary; there should be a rapid turnover of the full-time comrades and no more than 10 percent of the membership should be on full-time payroll (professional revolutionary does not mean full-time paid revolutionary)."

While quite short, these proposals amount to a complete rejection of the Leninist conception of the party, especially as that has been developed by Cannon and the SWP over



the years. They run counter to every lesson we have learned on how to construct a party of the Leninist type, a revolutionary proletarian *combat* party.

They would turn the SWP into a discussion club, with a perpetual internal discussion, which would rob the membership and the party as a whole of the opportunity to make definitive decisions on disputed questions and proceed to act in a centralized manner without disruption of party work.

They would jettison our professionalism. It is very true that professional revolutionary does not equal full-time paid revolutionary. We attempt to instill in every comrade the concept that they are a professional revolutionary, one who considers the party and party work their primary vocation whether or not they work full-time for the party. But of great importance to the concept of professionalism is the fulltime staff. There is rotation among those serving on this staff, but no light-minded "rapid turnover," especially of the key cadres that the party itself has selected to form the core of the political staff of the party. Of course, material limitations put necessary limits on the size of our full-time staff, and these vary depending upon party resources at any time. But we strive to build, not tear down, this staff, for we understand that it helps maximize our strength and professionalism.

These few proposals not only would "reorient" the party, they would *transform* it from a nucleus attempting to build a centralized, combat party into an unprofessionalized, loose grouping. That is not the way to build a genuine *proletarian* party. That is an organizational formula for the liquidation of the *proletarian* party into a *petty-bourgeois* talk-shop.

\* \* \*

The central leaders of the Internationalist Tendency and many of its supporters are a remnant of the For a Proletarian Orientation grouping at the 1971 party convention. As comrades will note, on many questions they now have diametrically opposed positions to what they fought for at that time. For example, in 1971, they told us that all of our sins flowed from our acceptance of Comrade Mandel's economic writings. Now they tell us that our sins flow from "pulling back" from the conclusions of those same writings.

During the 1971 discussion, Comrade Jack Barnes and myself pointed out that what their position really amounted to was a sectarian rejection of the radicalization as it was unfolding in concrete reality, which, after all, we are not yet in a position to directly influence in a major way. They hotly denied this assertion, and even tried to cover up their position by stating that they were "in agreement" with the party's analysis of the independent movements that have emerged in the course of the radicalization.

That mask is now completely discarded. They have latched onto the positions of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank grouping in the International. These new political positions (new for these remnants of FAPO) are the vehicle for rejection of the radicalization, only now they have "theoretical" arguments to justify their stand and greater moral support in more clearly stating it. The clearer statement of their positions, as we have seen, represents among other things these six big strides backward.

The Internationalist Tendency represents a clear expression of Thermidor against the advances in program and practice the party has made in coming to grips with the new radicalization. They attempt to play upon the downturn in the radicalization to do this. They would take us backward politically, saddling us with false and wrong positions on democratic demands, on the nature of the transitional program, on the women's liberation movement, on the antiwar movement. On the question of the oppressed nationalities, they would take us back to before 1933, when we had our first discussions with Trotsky on the Black struggle.

In addition, they would have us adapt our program to the rag-tag "new vanguard" they think they see in the U. S., and give up the essence of the proletarian combat party. This must be objectively summed up in the word: liquidationism.

The Internationalist Tendency berates the party for not doing more in the Black and union movements. We are always open to suggestions from whatever quarter for ideas on how we can do more work in these areas above all others. We think, as the Political Resolution submitted by the Political Committee indicates, that there are some important new, if yet modest, opportunities in both areas. But certainly not on the line advocated by the Internationalist Tendency.

In the Black movement, we are certainly not going to take up these comrades' suggestion that we ape the Wohlforthites with the line, "nationalism leads to genocide and concentration camps."

In the teachers union, we are not going to support Shanker's reactionary drive against the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

In our work in support of the fight of the United Farm Workers Union, we are not going to become the opponents of the concept of Aztlan or Chicano nationalism.

No. In response to the clarion call from the Internationalist Tendency of "To the Rear, March!" the party membership will decisively reaffirm at the coming convention our positions on the current radicalization, on Black and Chicano nationalism, on the student movement, on the fight against imperialist war, on the nature of democratic demands and the transitional program. We will reaffirm our dedication to building a centralized proletarian combat party that can lead the working class and its allies in the coming struggle for power.

LETTER FROM JACK BARNES TO BILL MASSEY

14 Charles Lane  
New York, N.Y. 10014

June 17, 1973

CHICAGO

Bill Massey

Dear Comrade Massey,

You informed Comrade Jones by a phone call on Tuesday, June 12, 1973, that "three spokespersons for the International Majority Tendency" plan to tour the party branches in July and you want to receive our "cooperation on this project." You informed Comrade Jones neither who these comrades are nor the exact dates for their proposed visits.

We know nothing of this project.

Several months ago the United Secretariat established as a subcommittee a Parity Commission. It is composed of two representatives from the United Secretariat chosen by the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency steering committee and two observers from the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency. One of its delegated responsibilities is to discuss proposals for any such tours and to inform the appropriate national leaderships concerning these proposals.

At its last meeting no such tour was proposed by the representatives of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency. The next meeting of this commission is scheduled for early July. If there is some emergency, such a proposal can be made in writing to the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party from the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency representatives on the Parity Commission.

The Socialist Workers Party has done and will continue to do everything possible to clarify the disputed international political questions. As we informed the United Secretariat at the time of the formation of two international tendencies, we will welcome a proposal by the steering committee of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency to verbally present their views to the party.

But this can be organized only through the elected leadership bodies of the Socialist Workers Party which are responsible for the regulation of all internal affairs of the party. If the Political Committee is informed of this proposal by the leadership of the Maitan-Mandel-Frank tendency, it will make whatever proposals it considers proper to the branches.

\* \* \*

I will respond to the three points raised in your letter to me of May 22.

"1) Our Tendency which will be supporting the positions of the International Majority Tendency, will have a Natl. Coordinator -- myself. I will in the course of the pre-convention period have to travel extensively and therefore I wish to inform you of this fact. Realizing that this is not the normal procedure I assume you would agree that the pre-convention period (and in addition pre-Congress periods)

are not the "normal" times and therefore we cannot adopt a routinist attitude toward them. I will of course allow the Branch Organizer here to know my schedules."

I note your new post as National Coordinator and the fact that you will "allow the branch organizer to know" your schedule.

It is correct to inform the branch organizer when you are going to be absent from the branch for a period of time. But in addition, the branch must agree to any extended absences from the activity of the branch. I'm sure the branch will cooperate fully in this pre-convention period with your desires to nationally coordinate.

" 2) Finances -- during the course of the tendency struggle the question of funds (and of course expenses) becomes a concrete reality. Travel to other branches to give reports, exchanges of views among comrades who share basic political agreement prior to the submission of a document (s) to the preconvention discussion, national coordination of the tendency struggle, etc., co-thinker tendency responsibilities etc., all of these cost money. During the course of the pre-convention period members of our tendency will, unless an alternative approach is presented have to take on these political responsibilities, and other obligations, such as their current sustainers, will temporarily suffer. To avoid this I would propose for your consideration that the SWP adopt the methods of the Ligue Communiste -- that is that the National Office of the Party bear the expenses incurred by both the majority tendency and the minorities in getting all the points of view in dispute to the Party as a whole. This would not only mean the documents or written material, an obligation that our Party has traditionally fulfilled, but the oral presentations to each of the branches. In this regard it would also be my proposal that the Party as a whole take on the joint expenses of the International Majority and Minority Tendencies as they affect the participation of our Party comrades in relation to these Tendencies (as co-thinkers of course since as you know the reactionary Voorhis Act allows only consultative observation at, not membership participation in international bodies). To be specific meeting such as Santiago or meeting in Brussels cost funds but are necessary in working out the positions and actions of the Tendencies. Travel expenses for bringing comrades from other areas to present either of the Tendency positions to the Party here in the course of the preconvention or pre-Congress discussion, should be borne by the Party as a whole. If this is not done, then an alternative solution is necessary and the sustainer base of the Party cannot go unaffected since we are not alchemists and possess only limited resources. I raise this problem not for public debate at this time but for consultation on your part -- the problems are already real."

You received a copy of Comrade Jones' letter of June 4, 1973, to the branches concerning your desire to make available spokespersons for the Internationalist Tendency to the branches. Comrade Jones' letter outlines the procedure, including the financial responsibility of your tendency, for doing this. This is identical to the procedure

followed in 1971 in relation to the Gregorich-Massey-McCann-Passen "For a Proletarian Orientation" grouping. I assume you are familiar with it.

The national office of the party does not "bear the expenses" of any tendencies, factions or other groups. The national office of the party finances the activities of the party as decided by its elected bodies. The expenses of any tendencies or factions are borne by themselves.

The constitution of the party explains the financial responsibility of membership in Article VII, Section 2.

The resolution on the Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party adopted by the 1965 party convention delimits membership responsibilities in a broader framework.

I enclose a copy of both documents in case you do not have them at hand.

" 3) In the Convention Call the agenda refers to "World Movement Reports" and "Political Reports" as well as to a "World Political Situation Report" and a "Political Resolution." As the coordinator of a Minority in the SWP and political supporter of the International Majority it is certain that the Party leadership represented by yourself do not share our conjunctural analysis at least and this will be reflected not only in the "World Political Situation Report" and the "Political Resolution" but in the "World Movement Reports" and the "Political Reports" as well I assume in the Organization Reports and Youth Report. Therefore in order to prepare the presentations of our ideas to the convention and in order to adjust this presentation to the form of the convention, we must have further clarity on what the leadership plans. The agenda in the Call is too ambiguous. We cannot under the present circumstances adequately prepare our presentations to the convention -- please clarify."

Further proposals on the convention agenda and schedule will be submitted to the party in due course. We will send you a copy directly.

Comradely,

s/ Jack Barnes  
National Secretary

CC: Pearl Chertov - Chicago branch organizer  
United Secretariat