

December 27, 1964

To the YSA Convention:

Dear Comrades,

The attached letter was the reply I made to the charges brought against me in the Uptown New York local.

The N. E. C. has informed me that it plans to introduce a motion upholding my indefinite suspension by the Uptown New York local and also declaring the incompatibility of YSA membership and support in any form to the American Committee for the Fourth International and its Bulletin of International Socialism. This means the outlawing, without a real pre-convention discussion, on phony organizational grounds, of an entire tendency, a trend in the world Trotskyist movement. It is not a question of one or two individuals, but of an entire political tendency.

Exactly as was predicted, the YSA leadership has moved from the specific to the general. The bringing of organizational charges against me to begin with was certainly not done without the knowledge and approval of the national leadership. They wished to proceed from this point, to exclude me from convention participation, and then at the convention itself to formalize matters by declaring my tendency an opponent tendency. At every step of the way this is not motivated politically because the YSA leadership is incapable of answering my tendency politically.

Needless to say, the political charges in my letter have not been answered. Nor is my letter to the YSA a letter to an "opponent" organization. It is the YSA itself which will be creating this opponent relationship. And my tendency will not accept this expulsion in the political sense: although we may be removed from the organization, we will continue to concern ourselves with the development of the YSA, and we will continue to intervene and struggle to the best of our ability to turn the YSA and SWP towards the task of helping to create a revolutionary party. Any expulsion will not solve the political problems involved.

YSA members should demand an answer to the points I raise in my letter. Whether or not you are in complete agreement with my point of view, you should recognize that the NEC proposal can and will be directed against you if you have any sympathy for the point of view upheld by the American Committee for the F. I. and its international collaborators. And if you feel that the YSA has an obligation to answer my charges which it has not fulfilled, you have an obligation to vote against expulsion of my tendency, and against upholding the expulsion of the Spartacist supporters as well, until all of the political questions raised by this organizational crisis in the YSA are answered.

Comradely, Fred M.