

Horowitz

14 Charles Lane
New York, N. Y. 10014
November 8, 1971

Ralph Levitt
349 38 St.
Oakland, Ca. 94609

Dear Ralph,

We have received your letter of November 5 concerning your request to submit a written contribution to the World Congress discussion. The Political Committee will consider your request.

Comradely,

Bev Scott
Bev Scott
National Office

NOV 8 1971

Ralph Levitt
349 36th. St.
Oakland, Calif. 94609
Nov. 5, 1971.

Political Committee
Socialist Workers Party

Dear Comrades:

I would like to request permission from the Political Committee to contribute, as an individual, to the written discussion preparatory to the coming World Congress. I would also like clarification as to whether a minority ideological tendency in the S.W.P., like the "For A Proletarian Orientation Tendency," will be permitted to participate in the International discussion— which I would find more preferable.

As the basis for my request, I cite the following:

1). July 7, 1971 letter from the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to the United Secretariat, printed in International Information Bulletin, No. 5, July, 1971:

"In view of this, it is now our opinion that the **leadingships** of sections and sympathizing organizations who feel concerned about these developments would do well to begin consulting directly with each other, particularly in considering what relationship these developments may have to the political differences that have arisen, and what is the wisest course to pursue. This should include the leadership of declared tendencies in national sections, where they may exist, inasmuch as this is a period of discussion preparatory to a world congress." (emphasis added)

2). The proposed Statutes of the Fourth International, published by the International Marxist Group:

"The International Executive Committee has the power to recommend that delegates of minority tendencies in national sections, who would not otherwise be represented at a World Congress, be seated with voice."

I would like to enter the discussion around the following main subjects:

1). Support to the proposals for the rapid institution of a genuinely Democratic Centralist International, with majority decisions binding on all participants. (See the article, "Again, and Always, the Question of the International," by Comrades Krivine and Frank, International Information Bulletin No. 5, July, 1971). Complete support to the rights of tendencies and factions within all sections of the International and the right of correspondence between members of the same section: rights openly opposed by the S.W.P. leadership at the most recent Convention of the Party. (This included the denial of the right of representation on leading bodies by minorities, contrary to Leninist tradition).

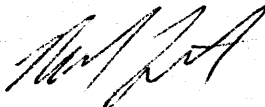
2). The Middle East: opposition to the position of the Socialist Workers Party, for a "democratic, secular state in Palestine." This is the most serious issue facing the coming World Congress, inasmuch as the S.W.P. position runs counter to the theory of Permanent Revolution and the program of the Fourth International. Support to the position of the European comrades, for a socialist Middle-East.

3). Opposition to the document, The Worldwide Youth Radicalization, and opposition to the petty-bourgeois orientation and student perspective of the S.W.P. Support to the policy of increased and serious intervention into the working class movement being undertaken by the leading European sections. This assumes added significance for the development of our Party in the United States, in view of Nixon's attack on the working class through the wage freeze and the totally inadequate response to it by the S.W.P.—a response which flows from the weakness and petty-bourgeois character of its present orientation.

4). Latin America. Here I will present a position opposed to both the student perspective of the S.W.P. and also to the armed struggle perspective of the European leadership. For a position based on the Transitional Program and integration of our cadres into the mass organizations of the workers.

Naturally, I will abide by the decision of the Political Committee on this matter— although pointing out that the World Movement, not an individual section or sympathizing group, ought to ~~be~~ be the ultimate authority on questions like this.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the United Secretariat for their information.



Comradely,

Ralph Levitt

Harowitz

14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014

November 9, 1971

TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE ONLY

Dear Comrades,

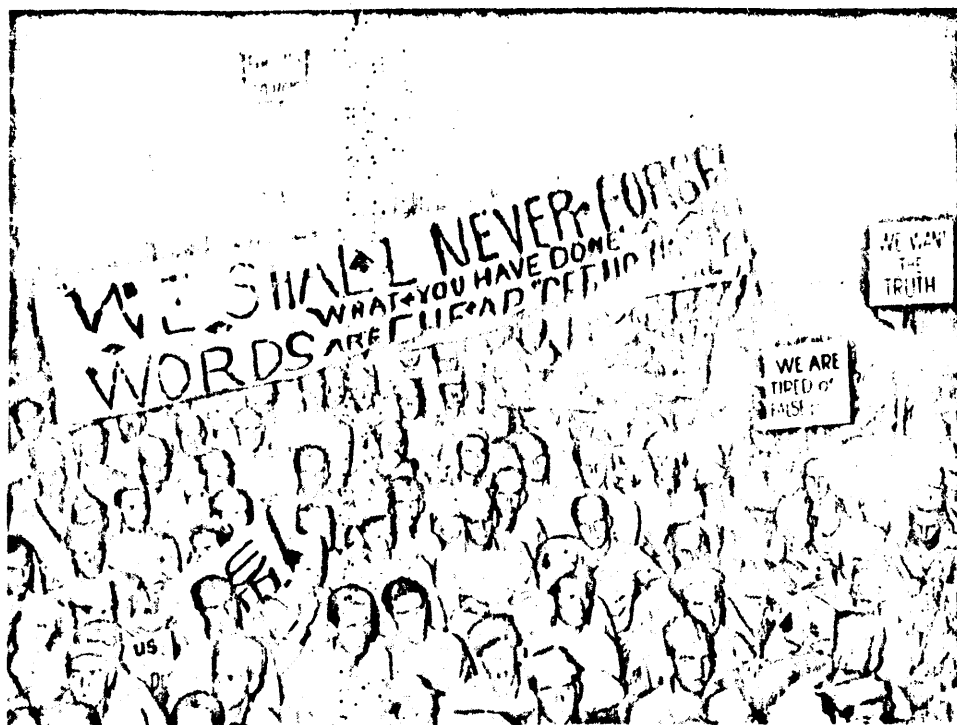
Attached is a copy of a leaflet handed out by former members of the Communist Tendency of the SWP at the November 6 antiwar demonstration in Boston.

Comradely,

Rich Feigenberg

Rich Feigenberg
National Office

ONLY THE WORKING CLASS CAN END WAR



THEY GOT HOME. GI demonstration in Philippines at end of World War II demanding they be brought home. Similar massive demonstrations in other areas brought demobilization of GIs.

The war in Vietnam is not an "unjust, illegal and immoral war" --it is an imperialist war, designed to provide for the political and economic expansion of capitalism. The Socialist Workers Party, which claims to be Trotskyist, has totally abandoned the class struggle against war, which requires the political mobilization of the working class, for a program of alliance with the "soft" wing of the ruling class. This wing of the bourgeoisie is against this particular war because it has been an unsuccessful war. Its only difference with Nixon and the "hard" wing he represents is around what is best for imperialism.

The SWP has long inveighed against political support for capitalist candidates, because this would result in the political subordination of the proletariat to the "progressive" wing of the capitalist - the despised "Popular Front." But its program in the "peace" movement is to give all kinds of political support to the "left" wing of the bourgeoisie, short of electoral support. Its program makes it into the "best bulwers of the antiwar movement" - in the interest of the ruling class. The SWP now routinely demands a bourgeois speaker and provides a platform for its deceit.

This adaptation to one wing of the ruling class also explains the SWP's turn to the union bureaucrats. This is no principled United Front which exposes the betrayers and wins the masses. It is simply a tail-ending of these labor fakers who have followed their capitalist masters into the "peace" movement. Given the present economic situation and the incipient growth of worker militancy the SWP seeks to prove in NPAC its ability to sell out, in hopes of future opportunities in the labor movement. Long a centrist party, the SWP seeks to go over to the camp of betrayal in the most rapid possible fashion.

Nor is its betrayal restricted to the U.S. The "Trotskyists" of the SWP have even abandoned the fight against Stalinism. They bloc with the CP and CP-influenced bureaucrats at home, and have never exposed the Stalinist betrayers of the NLF, PRG, DRV combination who have seized control of a spontaneous movement in order to lead it to defeat, as they did in 1946 and 1954. A coalition (bourgeois) government is on the agenda for Vietnam, as evidenced by Paris and Nixon's trip to the "People's China."

A working-class struggle against war must be based on factory anti-war committees, which will lead strike and boycott action, and lead to a political organ, a labor party in the fight against the bureaucrats and the capitalists.

In place of the idle dream of "reconversion," of money for urban renewal, etc., must be advanced a transitional program of struggle, which must include confiscation of war profits and nationalization of war industries under workers control. A massive program of public works under workers control is needed to stop "defense" unemployment. This would include reopening closed factories. A sliding scale of wages and hours (30 for 40, escalator clause) would go along with this as would committees on prices of housewives and working women for real "price-controls". And this is only the beginning.

In the case of the armed forces, the slogan "abolition of conscription" only plays into the hands of the ruling class, which must demobilize this rebellious army, just as it had to do with the draftee army of World War II. The "volunteer army" is a threat to the working class. In addition to work in the present armed forces, we must advance a proletarian military policy demanding training for working men and women under trade union control, financed by the government. Election of officers is also required.

Only this program and this outlook can insure a defeat for imperialism. Anything short of this, like the SWP's minimal program of "immediate withdrawal" alone, will result only in a victory for imperialism in a slightly masked form. If the liberals are permitted to end this war on their terms, then there is a certain prospect of more wars yet to come. Only ending of imperialism can end war, and only the proletariat can end imperialism.

COMMUNIST TENDENCY



A LEFT-WING MINORITY FACTION BUREAUCRATICALLY EXPELLED FROM
THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR ADHERENCE TO TROTSKYISM.
FOR INFORMATION, WRITE:

CT c/o LENZI
55 COMMONWEALTH AVE.
BOSTON, MASS. 02116

(Labor donated)