

March 20, 1975

TO LENINIST-TROTSKYIST FACTION COORDINATORS

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are the following items:

1. An exchange of correspondence surrounding a letter addressed to the International Executive Committee by the Socialist Union in Los Angeles, California.

2. A letter of resignation from the Internationalist Tendency by Peter Gellert, formerly one of the IT leaders in Houston, Texas. Also enclosed is a copy of a reply to this letter from John Barzman.

3. A copy of the March 8, 1975, Internationalist Tendency Newsletter and a cover letter from John Barzman.

There are many factual errors and distortions contained in the Newsletter, as there were in the IMT's statement on the IEC and the IT's report on the IEC. (The latter two items were sent you in the March 13, 1975 mailing). These errors and distortions will be dealt with at the appropriate time and place. In the meantime, comrades may want to read these documents.

Comradely,

Ed Shaw

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February 18, 1975

Dear Jack,

As comrade Johnson wasn't at the Bureau meeting today, we want to send a photocopy of the enclosed letter which arrived here yesterday to you right away. What do you suggest for us to do, especially given the way the letter is addressed?

I want to draw your attention to the South Asia Marxist Review, published by comrades in London, of which issue nr. 2 just appeared. It is a worthy undertaking to try and recruit some trotskyist cadres among the large Indian, Bengali, Pakistan, Bangla Desh and Sri Lanka community in Western Europe. However, the undertaking entirely financed by the comrades who started it, is very shaky, unless all the copies printed are sold, and paid for. How could you make sure that North American comrades know about it, and would buy some copies (a very modest sale of some dozens of copies would be enough)? We shall in any case run a favorable review in In-precor. Perhaps you could do the same thing in IP and ISR, besides drawing the attention of the NC members and the branches to the magazine. I asked U. to send you some copies.

Fraternally yours,  
s/Ernest

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(received on February 17)

Socialist Union  
Los Angeles, Calif.

January 8, 1975

International Executive Committee  
Fourth International

Dear Comrades:

Socialist Union is a local organization that evolved toward Trotskyism and applied for membership in the Socialist Workers Party in May, 1972. The SWP refused to admit the group as a unit, although we declared our essential programmatic agreement with the Fourth International and the SWP, and agreed to abide by the discipline of the party.

Eight of our comrades did join the SWP at that time. They affiliated with the Internationalist Tendency and were expelled with the tendency.

The few of us that were excluded or refused to join under those conditions, eventually reorganized S.U., declared our general agreement with the politics of the I.T. and the I.M.T., and began to circulate literature of the F.I. and its English speaking sections. In addition, we initiated and joined in coalition actions in support of strikes, defense cases, etc., conducted classes in Marxism, and experienced a healthy growth.

In May, 1974, at the suggestion of comrade Charles, we once again applied for admission to the SWP as a unit, offering to dissolve S.U. into the SWP, and pledging to abide by the discipline of the party and the F.I.

Shortly thereafter, the I.T. was purged from the SWP, and appealed the expulsion to the I.E.C.

At this point, then, the distinction between the I.T. in Los Angeles and S.U. is a purely technical one, since we have full political agreement and both are demanding admission (or readmission) into the SWP. We have consequently been working in very close collaboration, and we have notified the SWP that our application is to be considered in conjunction with the demand of the I.T. for reintegration.

The exchange of correspondence between S.U. and the SWP has been reprinted in SWP Internal Bulletin #9, 1974. As you know, our application was rejected and the SWP broke off further negotiations.

We appeal to you against this factional exclusion of comrades who are active, loyal supporters of the F.I. We are being excluded because of political opinions, which are, in all essentials, identical with the official positions of the F.I.

We have a substantial record of participation in social struggles in Los Angeles, and have collaborated with local SWP in a number of such interventions, going as far back as the demonstrations against the Vietnam war. The most recent example of such collaboration was in building the December 14, 1974 demonstration in Pasadena around the

issue of equalities and desegregation in the local schools and the racist attacks against black students in Boston. In fact we are currently working together in the follow-up Committee against Segregation in Education.

We are, consequently, known and respected in the left milieu, and our record is very well known to the SWP. We do not need to be "tested."

We are prepared to join the SWP together with the IT comrades and work loyally with comrades of the LTF to build the U.S. section of the Fourth International. We ask only for the normal rights due all members and minority tendencies in a Leninist organization, and an opportunity to contribute to the political and organizational work of the party.

We ask that our appeal (and that of the Revolutionary Marxist Collective of San Francisco, and the Baltimore Marxist Group) be considered together with the appeal of our comrades in the IT for reintegration, since the cases are, in essence, identical.

With Comradely greetings

For the Fourth International,  
s/ Milt Zaslow,  
for Socialist Union of Los Angeles

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New York  
February 24, 1975

Dear Ernest,

Thank you for your letter of February 18. Enclosed is a draft response we've gone over with Joe. It is important for obvious reasons to send it off immediately.

\* \* \*

Thank you for asking U. to send us copies of the South Asia Monthly Review. I'll call it to the attention of the National Committee and branches as you ask. I'm sure many of our comrades who follow events in South Asia closely will want to buy copies. I sent a copy of that paragraph of your letter to IP. I assumed that is what you wanted me to do.

\* \* \*

I wanted to call one thing to your attention. Not a single central leader of the Internationalist Tendency attended the Boston conference to plan the mass action against racism. They were the only organization on the entire American left to boycott it. Even people like Fred Mazelis of the Workers League felt they had to be there this time. This absence made a distinct impression on our members.

\* \* \*

It may be difficult for many of us to attend the March gathering, but Galois will definitely be there in time for preparatory informal discussions.

\* \* \*

I am gathering together the copies of various materials I agreed to send you. It will take me another few days.

Comradely,  
s/ Jack

P.S. Enclosed for your information is a letter from Aubin and acknowledgment from me. It arrived today as I was writing you.

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(draft)

Brussels  
date

Milt Zaslow  
Socialist Union  
Los Angeles, California

Dear Comrade Zaslow:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 8, 1975 addressed to the IEC of the Fourth International. It only arrived February 17, more than two weeks after the plenary session of the IEC had adjourned.

While the Fourth International views the Socialist Workers Party as the Trotskyist party in the United States, due to reactionary legislation the SWP is unable to affiliate to the Fourth International, and thus there is no "U.S. section of the F.I."

All appeals concerning membership in, fusion with, or any other internal matters of the Socialist Workers Party should be addressed directly to its leadership bodies.

Comradely,

Walter  
for the United Secretariat  
Bureau

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Brussels, March 5, 1975

Dear Jack,

Enclosed you will find the IMT statement to be appended to the IEC minutes.

I also put in the original French version of the statement, just in case you need it, and a copy of the answer to Zaslow's letter to the IEC. As you will see I added a few sentences to the first draft you sent in order to make it clearer that there is no way the S.U. can appeal to the International without being a fraternal sympathiser of the F.I. through membership in the U.S. Trotskyist organisation.

I hope this problem will soon be solved.

I will probably see you soon.

Comradely,

s/ Aubin

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Brussels, March 5, 1975

Milt Zaslow  
Socialist Union  
Los Angeles, California

Dear Comrade Zaslow,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of January 8, addressed to the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. It only arrived February 17, more than two weeks after the plenary session of the IEC had adjourned.

While the Fourth International views the Socialist Workers Party as the Trotskyist party in the United States, due to reactionary legislation the SWP is unable to affiliate to the Fourth International and thus there is no "U.S. section of the F.I."

All appeals concerning membership in, fusion with, or any other internal matters of the Socialist Workers Party should be addressed directly to its leadership bodies.

In your letter you state that: "at this point the distinction between the IT in Los Angeles and SU is a purely technical one." It does not seem to us that this statement is correct. The IEC has recognized the status of the IT as follows: "although it stands outside of the organizational structure and discipline of the SWP, it remains in fraternal sympathy with the Fourth International. Its members would be members of the F.I. if they were not barred from this by reactionary legislation." And the resolution goes [on] stating: "since such a division of the Trotskyist movement in a single country is abnormal, every effort should be made to bring them together in a single organization on a principled basis at the earliest possible date."

We hope these elements will contribute to clarify the problem raised by your letter.

Comradely,  
s/ Aubin  
for the United Secretariat  
Bureau

cc: SWP NO, IT EC.



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February 15, 1975

Political Committee,  
Internationalist Tendency

Dear Comrades,

This is to inform you of my resignation from the I.T.

This course of action is necessitated by numerous reasons. First and foremost has been my continued disagreement with the Tendency leadership over perspectives to the point where the differences cannot be considered tactical in nature. To be more specific, the entire history of the I.T. can only be described as negative. From its inception the I.T. acted, in my opinion, as an anti-Party faction and this was reflected in its attitude towards Party building, towards finances, in the tendency's participation in the SWP and YSA pre-convention discussion periods, etc. The I.T. was not loyal to the Party in either words or deeds. We have had numerous fights over these questions in the past, so I won't repeat the arguments here.

Unfortunately since July 4th our past conduct has not been subject to the kind of close examination that might productively lead to a fundamental change in attitude. On the contrary, it's my belief that were the entire 2 years to be re-lived, nothing fundamental would transpire. This is reflected in the I.T.'s current attitude toward re-integration. Rather than acknowledging our past mistakes and agreeing to abide unconditionally by all decisions of the SWP, particularly in the absence of actual democratic centralism in the Fourth International, the I.T. insists that the SWP change its norms to conform with the wishes of the I.T. Given the current political, numerical and organizational state of the I.T., one cannot but marvel at the Tendency's inflated view of itself.

Frankly, I also feel my political differences with the SWP have considerably narrowed, although I still consider myself an ideological supporter of the views of the Fourth International majority. While I do not think the SWP's theory and practice are 100 percent perfect, it is undeniable that the SWP is the only revolutionary organization in the United States today, and I hope to devote all my efforts towards building it.

While I sincerely hope that the I.T. becomes "re-integrated" in the SWP, I can no longer consider myself part of your formation. I hope that I've learned from the I.T. debacle, and hope other comrades can do the same and reach the appropriate conclusion.

Comradely,

s/Peter Gellert

Internationalist Tendency  
Chicago, Illinois  
March 10, 1975

Peter Ge.  
Houston, Texas

Dear Comrade Peter,

We have received your letter of resignation from the IT. We were surprised by the grossly lopsided, distorted and dishonest, evaluation of the past two years of factional struggle which your letter reflects. In our phone conversation since then, you maintain that this was because it was a letter of resignation addressed to the IT and you saw no purpose in discussing the factional record of the LTF. This excuse does not stand up because you sent a copy of this letter to the SWP National Office, and you knew it would be used to bolster the arguments of the most sectarian high priests of the "IT PARTY SPLIT" mythology.

Your accusations that the IT was disloyal and anti-party are completely devoid of any political analysis and therefore open to any kind of interpretation. Even the use of the word "anti-party" is questionable. As Cde. Livio Maitan, representing the United Secretariat at the August 1973 convention of the Party, pointed out, it comes from the arsenal of Stalinist slander. You do not mention a word about the quasi-official merger between the organs of the party and the organs of the LTF which was formalized at the August 1973 Party convention. You do not mention your opinion of the letter where Cdes. Langston and others document this fact. You seem totally unaware of the self-criticisms which the IT has made, and which have been hidden from the membership of the SWP; your contention that the IT poses conditions on its reintegration in the SWP is equally devoid of any basis in reality.

To our knowledge, this is the first time that you have raised the accusation that the IT was disloyal and anti-party. You claim "we have had numerous fights over these questions in the past, so (you) won't repeat the arguments here." We might have had numerous fights, but never over such accusations which you now raise with no substantiation. Finally, as you yourself admitted on the phone, you do not bother to mention the numerous disloyal and unwarrantedly factional acts of the LTF against the F.I. leadership, the IMT, and the IT. Without taking these into account, there is no way to understand the events surrounding the expulsion of the IT.

In sum, where an honest dialogue and balance sheet is necessary, you substitute slanderous accusations in the Stalinist style. Where the whole truth is necessary, you substitute a unilateral attack on the IT. Do you believe the IT was a Party? Do you believe there was an IT Party Split? Do you believe the procedure by which the IT was expelled was correct? You make no comments on these questions. Such letters of resignation do not help to build the Party because a revolutionary Party must be built on the truth. Your action seems precipitous and subjectively motivated, and it will not contribute in any way to alleviate the factional tensions in the International and in our own Party, the SWP. You should reconsider your course and write a correction of your letter.

Comradely,  
John Barzman, for the Political Committee, IT

cc: SWP NO, USFI Bureau, IT membership.

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Internationalist Tendency  
Chicago, Illinois  
March 10, 1975

Political Committee, SWP  
New York

Dear Comrade Barry,

We have not yet received your answer to our letter of February 28, 1975, which followed the phone calls to you by Bill and myself. During our phone conversation on Friday, March 7, you stated that the answer would be mailed out today. In the meantime, our Political Committee has met and adopted the enclosed directives. We are forwarding them to you and to the United Secretariat.

Please consider these "Political Committee Directives on Tasks of the Internationalist Tendency," dated March 7, 1976, as proposals to your leadership as to how the collaboration between the IT and SWP should be organized. We would like your comments on these proposals, as well as answers on how they can be carried out at the local level in collaboration with the various branches of the Party.

Enclosed, you will also find our answer to the letter of resignation from the I.T. which Comrade Peter Ge. sent to you. Cde Peter also raised some other matters in a phone conversation with us. I mentioned them to you during our phone conversation, and we will be writing for clarification of these matters.

Comradely,

s/John Barzman  
for the Political Committee

MARCH 8, 1975

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1. POLITICAL COMMITTEE DIRECTIVES ON TASKS OF THE INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY  
(Adopted Unanimously-March 7, 1975)

These directives are meant to guide the Tendency's activities through April 5, the date of our delegated conference. They place a central emphasis on activities which are both called for by the political situation in the U.S., and correspond to national SWP campaigns. The I.T. Political Committee will contact our SWP liason, Cde. Barry G., to outline how collaboration between the I.T. and the SWP can take place at the local level. These proposals will also be made at the forthcoming United Secretariat meeting in March. We will request that SWP branches be advised of these steps, so that comrades may proceed smoothly to coordinate their activities in designated interventions with those of the SWP. A written record of all activities and proposals should be kept and a copy of it should be sent to the Center on a weekly basis to allow us to see the progress of this work.

A. NATIONAL PRIORITIES

1. BUILDING THE MAY 17 ANTI-RACIST DEMONSTRATIONS

The preparation of the May 17 anti-racist demonstrations is the key priority in the coming period. It provides a field for sustained mass work in a meaningful struggle, and for collaboration with the SWP. The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) is the most representative and effective tool for building these demonstrations. The slogans of NSCAR "Twenty-One Years Is Enough! Enforce Desegregation Now!" and "Desegregate Boston Schools". "Keep the Busses Rolling!" "Stop Racist Attacks!" correspond to the goals of structuring a united national anti-racist movement, focusing it on mass action, and mobilizing broad forces in the working class, the oppressed minorities, and on campus to rally in defense of a concrete struggle of the Black community.

On all campuses where we have a presence, we should initiate local chapters of NSCAR in coordination with national NSCAR-if one already exists we should then help build it. In those areas where we do not have comrades on the campus, we should make contact with the campus committee (NSCAR) since the campus will probably be the center for organizing this work. In unions, we should seek to get support for the march (motions, contributions, articles in paper, petitions and building a contingent where a base exists). Where offices of NSCAR, or a parallel local coalition exists, a number of comrades should be assigned to volunteer several hours a week to help staff the office and work on all aspects of publicity, media, labor outreach, fund raising and marshalling for the demonstrations. On all tactical questions, we should seek to coordinate our interventions with those of the SWP (i.e. agreeing to a strategy before before a regional conference etc. ). Sales of issues of the Militant with particular emphasis on building the May 17 demonstrations should be organized in selected areas (Black high schools, central areas of the Black community, at meetings of Black organizations i.e. NAACP etc.). Our explanations to the people we work with should explain the link between racism and capitalism, the need for mass action against the ruling class and for Black self-defense.

Where differentiations with the SWP's positions seem to be necessary to answer the questions of serious activists, we should refrain from any public attacks on the SWP as an organization, and explain our differences in a responsible fashion, in the context of explaining our fight for reintegration.

## 2. ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

In the coming month, SWP municipal election campaigns in a number of cities will move into their final push. This is the case especially in Chicago, with the important campaign of Willie Mae Reid vs. Daley, but also in Pasadena (Tim Mallory et al), Berkeley (Carl Fenimore), Philadelphia (Terry Hardy), and St. Louis (Barbara Bowman). We support all these campaigns because they objectively serve as a socialist pole in the elections, and advance a number of transitional demands which are important for the period. This is why we should help to place these tickets on the ballot, to tour their candidates as widely as possible, and to circulate the campaign literature. Comrades should inquire from SWP campaign committees what the schedule of these activities are so that we can participate in them and in the building of them. Here also the Militant is useful as the central organ of the election campaigns, and should be used to raise the consciousness of the best elements of the milieu in which it is sold, on the questions touched by the campaign.

These SWP campaigns should adapt their propaganda to the need to take unfolding struggles forward. While it is necessary to avoid concrete proposals which have nothing to do with the starting point and circumstances of these struggles, it is necessary also to show how the present forms of struggle can be used to go beyond limitations imposed by the bourgeois state and trade union bureaucracy or other reformist leaderships. When candidates and the literature of the SWP discuss the concept of a workers government to implement the party program, it should be clear that the present level of consciousness of the vast majority of people who are exposed to this concept requires that it be explained in terms of dual power, that is that it cannot coexist with the existing legal framework and state, and that it requires popular organs to come into being. There is little opportunity to raise these points in a constructive way outside of the SWP, because campaign committees only exist in reality at occasional regional conferences. But we can take some specific political initiatives in milieu where we are active (e.g. getting endorsements and or access for SWP candidates in certain unions, issuing statement of support to the campaigns).

## 3. DISTRIBUTION OF LITERARY PROPAGANDA

Tendency locals should assume tasks of literary propaganda aimed at different levels of consciousness. We should use the gamut of Fourth International publications, and should integrate sales of this literature into our political priority areas.

Inprecor and the Old Mole: Inprecor is addressed to a special audience and be sold mainly at radical meetings and political activities. However comrades should have copies available on Militant sales also. The Old Mole is mainly of value for contacts interested in the life of the sections of the Fourth International, and should be de-emphasized in other uses.

The Militant will be playing a useful role in terms of anti-capitalist exposure, covering the SWP election campaigns, and building the May 17 anti-racist demonstrations. Militant sales should be seen as a necessary and politically useful means of collaboration with the SWP. Additionally, such sales have a clearly demonstrable political value in their own right. These sales should generally fall into three areas: (1) during collaborative activities with the SWP; (2) in concert with the SWP's generalized sales work; (3) at places that are carefully selected and prioritized by each I.T. local, regardless of whether the SWP sells there itself (e.g. a factory gate where we intend to do sustained work, possibly because we have a contact there).

We will attempt to coordinate the sales of these Fourth International publications with the SWP at a national level so that it has its full value in terms of the reintegration struggle.

## SECONDARY ACTIVITIES

The tendency has engaged in a number of local activities determined mainly by the distribution of our comrades and the immediate openings before us. These can be continued if they do not cut into the three above mentioned priorities. In all these activities -- except certain forms of contact work such as a study group where collaboration will take the form of a political explanation -- we will also seek to maintain collaborative consultations with the SWP.

In the next two months, the USIA tour of Juan-Carlos Coral, will appear for a few days in each major center. Nonetheless, the experience we've had has shown that USIA chapters have not taken on a viable on-going life, (except in New York). Comrades should therefore help to build these meetings on an ad-hoc basis as part of the fight against repression in Argentina. It is difficult to make an impact on the audience of the broad defense meetings chaired by USIA, by raising political criticisms of the PST from the floor. However, sales of Inprecor and discussions with activists can lay the basis for further work.

CLUW work in Chicago, Houston and Los Angeles, has been undertaken sporadically. In consultation with the national center, these locals should determine how their work can be directed toward developing contacts for the I.T. and where possible, toward collaboration with the SWP, which seems to suffer from a contradiction between its written line and many of its interventions into CLUW. In other work also, comrades should seek to direct their efforts toward our central perspective. For example, comrades working on the rail newsletter should invite the SWP candidate to write a letter as a reader of the newsletter, and should submit an article to Frank Lovell's column in the Militant.

Internally, locals should organize the pre-conference discussion, and prepare for the cadre schools which will be held in the second and third week of April. Further progress is needed immediately on regularizing finances and raising the sustainer base of the locals. The center will keep the tendency as a whole informed of the progress of the collaboration on a national scale.

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### CALL TO A DELEGATED CONFERENCE OF THE I.T.

On March 5, the Political Committee decided to unanimously recommend to the Steering Committee that it call a delegated conference of the I.T. for the week-end of April 5th and 6th, in Chicago. The Steering Committee was polled the following two days and approved the recommendation. The conference will have a one-point agenda: how to implement the fight for reintegration. The plenum originally called for March 8-9, and postponed to March 15-16 is cancelled.

Delegates should be elected from each area on the basis of one delegate for every five members in good standing, or major fraction thereof (a major fraction being defined as 3). Good standing is defined as having paid the convention assessment of \$5.00 and being current in payment of dues. For purposes of voting isolated comrades will be regrouped in the following way:

1. Buffalo and Boston to New York
2. Detroit to Chicago, Iowa City to Chicago if less than three votes
3. A Wisconsin region
4. Kansas City to St. Louis

Groups of supporters of the I.T. who are seeking admission to the SWP and the FI will be given one observer with voice and a consultative vote each.

Delegates should be elected on the basis of stated positions on the written tasks resolutions submitted to the discussion. Proportional representation will be given to supporters of the different tasks resolutions, where necessary, on the basis of 1 delegate to five supporters or major fraction thereof. The discussion bulletin will be open for contributions until Friday March 28, 1975.

Members of the out-going Steering Committee will have voice at the conference whether they are delegates or not. They will not have vote. Therefore we leave it up to the members of the Steering Committee to decide whether they wish to run for delegate and to the comrades in the local areas to select their voting delegates. Supporters of the various tasks resolutions will choose their own delegates based on their proportional strength in the local area.

Guests of the Internationalist Tendency will be given voice at the convention as has been our practice in the past. This will be in conformity with the Voorhis Act.

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#### AVAILABILITY OF INTERNAL INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION BULLETINS (IIDB)

In line with the agreement arrived at during the recent IEC, the SWP is making the IIDB available to the I.T.. All the bulletins already published can be ordered through the I.T. center.

New Bulletins published in 1975 are:

Vol. XII, No. 1, January 1975 (20 cents)

Fourth World Congress Since Reunification (Tenth World Conference) February 1974, Pt. 2.

Vol. XII, No. 2 January 1975 (80 cents)

Report of the Control Commission of the Socialist Workers Party, July 2, 1974

Motions Adopted by the Political Committee of the SWP, July 4, 1974

Statement Adopted by the Political Committee of the SWP, July 4, 1974

Appendices to the Report of the Control Commission of the SWP

Statement of the United Secretariat of the FI Regarding the Call for a Special World Congress of the FI by the PC of the SWP in their statement of July 4, 1974.

The Myth of the "IT Split"--Purge Politics of the ITP

Vol. XII, No. 3 January 1975 (30 cents)

The Need for a Special World Congress, A statement of the Steering Committee of the ITP  
On the Internationalist Tendency-Split from the SWP by Gus Horowitz

Appendix I: October 17, 1974 Letter from the Internationalist Tendency Party to the SWP National Committee.

Appendix II: Letter from Jim Collins to the Internationalist Tendency Party P.C.

Appendix III: Letter from Russell Welch and Cheryl Clark to the ITP Bureau

Appendix IV: Letter from Russell Welch and Cheryl Clark to the Kampass Tendency

Appendix V: Extracts from the ITP Resolution on Trade Union Work; from ITP Bulletin

We have already ordered 100 each of #2 and #3. Every area must immediately notify the center of their decision on ordering these bulletins. Comrades must pay immediately upon receipt for Bulletins #2 and #3; comrades who wish to be put on a standing order must prepay \$2.00 each. Bulletins should be circulated to members of the IT only, except for close contacts and after consultation with the IT PC.