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June 11, 1974

National Executive Committee
Young Socialist Alliance
14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is "In Reply to the Call for a YSA Majority Faction", submitted on behalf of the Internationalist Tendency.

Comrades of the NEC will recall that last year the Declaration of the Internationalist Tendency was submitted prior to the opening of pre-convention discussion; however, we were refused a hearing and not allowed to present that declaration until the formal opening of pre-convention discussion when it was submitted for printing. With the Majority Faction in the YSA we have a different case - and the YSA leadership has once again flagrantly demonstrated its application of a double standard in the YSA, one for the Majority of the YSA and one for the Internationalist Tendency, supporters of the FI Majority.

Since the Majority Faction declaration was read in all locals and sent to all at-large comrades to be read, and since the local leaderships have not granted adequate time for discussion on this so-called "informational report", and since the national office has already begun the coordination of faction-building tours financed we presume by the national finances of the YSA, we would request the following:

1. That the enclosed reply and this letter be distributed in the same manner as the YSA Majority Faction Declaration - to all locals and to all regional at-large members.
2. That where possible the Internationalist Tendency be given time to present our reply to the locals of the YSA.
3. That our reply be printed in all internal YSA bulletins where the Majority Faction Declaration appears.

If we do not hear from you to the contrary, we will assume you agree to these proposals and will fulfill them.

Comradely,
s/Cathy Matson
for the YSA IT

June 10, 1974

TO:
National Executive Committee
Young Socialist Alliance
14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014

IN REPLY TO THE CALL FOR A YSA MAJORITY FACTION

The "YSA Majority Faction" called by four leading members of the SWP and LTF is an attempt to complete the process of organizationally freezing the IT out of the political life of the YSA. It represents a new escalation of the war against the International Majority launched by SWP/LTF leader Barnes at the August, 1973 SWP convention. Like the "Leninist Trotskyist" Faction, the YSA Majority Faction is based on a list of alleged organizational atrocities committed by the IT, which are meant to serve as a substitute for a new "Barzman Letter". Like the LTF, the YSA Majority Faction is based on the most flimsy political grounds, the multi-purpose descriptive YSA NEC Political Resolution of December 1973. However, while the LTF, (being a minority in the FI), was based on fighting for democracy, the YSA Majority Faction, (being a majority in the YSA), seeks to enforce centralism, a telling illustration of the leadership's double standard of demanding full democratization in the International while reducing the democratic rights of the IT to the barest minimum.

The stated reasons for the formation of the faction are that the IT has engaged in "undisciplined actions incompatible with YSA membership." Two sets of such actions are given: the basic accusation is the generalized selling of the "Old Mole" and distribution of the statements of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International by the Internationalist Tendency; secondly, as an added attraction we are treated to attacks on what the authors of the YSA Majority Faction declaration refer to as some of the "crudest cases" of such actions by the IT in a number of locals. The accusations contain a number of inaccuracies and red herrings which we will take up later, and each and every one of the slanders and charges of indiscipline made by the YSA leadership (now the leadership of the Majority Faction) will be soundly answered by the IT. However, the fundamental premise of these accusations reveals a completely federalist conception of internationalism. Indeed, the declaration states that there were two public faces of the YSA on May 11. This can only mean there was one based on the civil libertarian line of USLA and the other based on the Fourth International statement. It would seem that if the USLA civil libertarian approach was consistent with the line projected for Chile work in the FI statement then there would not have been two public faces of the YSA but one and the same line. If such were the case, there could be no basis for the charge of indiscipline. In fact, by stating that the distribution of Fourth International statements and the selling of "Old Moles"—a newspaper of the Canadian sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, the RMG, reflecting the views of the Fourth International Majority—constituted an act of indiscipline, i.e., the putting forward of a counter-line or "second face" the YSA is admitting that its own line stands squarely counterposed to that of the Fourth International. It is not the members of the IT who are guilty of indiscipline, but the leadership of the YSA who are indisciplined toward the line of the

Fourth International which the YSA orients to and supports although it cannot be an actual youth organization of the F.I. because of reactionary legislation. In handing out the statements of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and selling the Old Mole, the comrades of the IT were merely expressing the democratically arrived at positions of the Fourth International. In attempting to portray this as indisciplined, the YSA leadership itself is actually violating the most basic norms of democratic centralism.

Although the faction call is unclear on this matter, some members of the LTF, fraternal organization of the YSA Majority Faction, have attempted to demonstrate that the YSA and SWP's work through USLA corresponds to a tactical application of the USFI call for an international campaign of solidarity with the resistance in Chile. In order to make this argument, they must accept two premises which the LTF has so far been understandably reluctant to accept. The first is that there has been a call for an international Chile solidarity campaign by the Fourth International. The second is that this call is authoritative and requires action by the SWP and YSA, with due consideration for national tactical applications, of course. The reason the LTF has not used this argument is because it knows that its civil libertarian approach can in no way be construed as an application of a line of open solidarity as called for by the FI statement. To quote but a few sentences of the FI statement, "It is necessary now to build an active campaign of solidarity throughout the world in the best traditions of the mobilizations for Vietnam." There is no excuse for a fundamentally different line in the United States on Chile work as compared to other countries. In dealing with Vietnam, the FI had made a valid distinction between belligerent countries and others. There is no provision in the statement of the Fourth International for a different approach in those countries directly involved in Chile, as none of the imperialist powers are involved in the way that the United States was in Vietnam. Further, in the statement we find unambiguous demands and slogans "For immediate, massive, and militant solidarity with the Chilean proletariat! Halt the criminal hand of the assassins! Demand the re-establishment of the Chilean people's elementary democratic rights! Demand the immediate release of all political prisoners! Defend the right of asylum for political refugees from the other countries of Latin America and their right to travel to any country of their choice! Extend political and material aid to the heroic resistance of the Chilean workers!" Clearly the basic line here is one of organizing a campaign based on solidarity with the Chilean working class. In this regard, the line of the USLA campaign was extremely limited in nature and the Young Socialist Alliance refused to carry out its responsibility to the World Trotskyist Movement by implementing the Fourth International's line on Chile solidarity work.

While the YSA is an independent Trotskyist youth organization, it sees itself as fraternally associated to the world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, and seeks to aid in the implementation of its campaigns. The IT has a view on how the Chile solidarity campaign should be tactically implemented in the USA. But to say as the faction declaration does, that "some IT members have argued that because they are in ideological agreement with the International Majority Tendency, they therefore have the right to determine the tactics to be followed by the YSA in this country" is a grotesque

smokescreen. The IT never has sought to impose its own interpretation of the solidarity line but has merely asked that the solidarity line itself be implemented, which is not the case at the present time.

Members of the YSA are supposed to carry the line of the Fourth International at all times and in all places. They can do this verbally, by sales of the press of the Fourth International, or circulating its statements. Members of the IT have never refused assignments of the YSA, but they have insisted on their duty to carry the line of the Fourth International even if others are incapable of defending it. This is why members of the IT in Washington, D.C. sold copies of the Old Mole and handed out Fourth International statements even though their local proved unable to do so and instead chose to assign 2/3 of its forces in the Local to "Human Kindness Day." It is the policy of the IT to get out the line of the Fourth International as widely and as frequently as possible, and the IT will continue to do so, regardless of the YSA Majority Faction attempts to distort the norms of our movement.

The faction declaration also raises the question of Houston, claiming that "IT members are circulating their own bulletin and other materials to selected YSA members." In fact, what is referred to here is the offering of copies of the YSA Discussion Bulletin. The "other materials" consisted in copies of the SWP Discussion Bulletin. Both the YSA-DB and the SWP-DB are available to all YSA'ers at all times on request. There was no secret about this and comrades of the IT did not restrict their offer to "selected YSA members", but attempted to make them available as widely as their means would allow. This is a standard part of the education of YSA'ers in the history of the Trotskyist movement, and the fact that this event is thrown in to a faction declaration just demonstrates the flimsiness of the YSA Majority Faction's charges of indiscipline.

The question arises: why are four members of the LTF of the SWP calling for a faction in the YSA at this time? The specific reasons are not yet all clear but we can state that the basic consideration is the fear of an open political confrontation with the ideas of the Internationalist Tendency. At a time when the IT is exposing the YSA's boycott of the FI Chile solidarity campaign; at a time when the YSA finds itself incapable of carrying out any of its major tasks and is retreating in all the major cities into propagandism of the sect type; at a time when one of the YSA's model parties, the PST of Argentina, grovels in front of Peron's ministers and signs joint declarations with bourgeois ministers approving measures to forestall civil war, while its own militants are being gunned down and kidnapped from undefended meetings; at a time when the YSA's efforts to portray itself as guiding the world Trotskyist movement in the area of youth work are collapsing in the face of the success of the European sections of the FI in this work; at a time when the YSA's refusal to adopt an orientation to struggles of the working class is coming more and more into conflict with the organizational charges and prevent the necessary political debate from taking place so that the leadership can make some new empirical twists and turns. This course is detrimental to the interests of our movement. It would be entirely in order to demand the immediate establishment of a parity commission in the YSA to call an end to these kinds of slanders and charges and the dynamic set forth in the call for the YSA Majority Faction. Down with the factional discipline that stands in the way of a united

effort to implement the line of the Fourth International! Down with the factional discipline that prevents the political clarification necessary to our movement! For an immediate parity commission to stop the split course of the Majority Faction in the YSA.

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cc: USFI
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