

September 7, 1974

To the Political Committee

Dear Comrades,

The attached "Memorandum on Perspectives" of the IT Party appeared in the July 11, 1974 issue of the "Internationalist Tendency Newsletter."

Comradely,

Gus Horowitz

Memorandum on Perspectives

Submitted by Comrade Charles

Approved by the IT PC - 5 for/0 against/0 abstentions

July 1, 1974

1. The goal of the political battle being conducted by the IMT against the minority in the framework of the Fourth International is to isolate and politically defeat the minority. The necessity of this battle and the possibility of a decisive victory over the minority rests on the analysis made by the Fourth International at its Tenth World Congress on the character of the political situation in this period of new rise of world revolution.

2. The responsibility of the IT is to participate in this battle by defending the positions of the International and by struggling against the American policies of the SWP leadership which is the backbone of the minority.

3. This means that in the coming period, given these criteria, the IT must orient toward the constitution of a national tendency in the SWP and especially the YSA (where the opportunities are important). A serious effort to establish this tendency today must go through:

a) Political elaboration of the North American thesis to be discussed by the IT and the IMT first and by the International as a whole in the framework of preparing its Eleventh World Congress. The IT should also draw a balance sheet of the LTF's work in North America and an analysis of the SWP.

b) Against the bureaucratic maneuvers of the SWP and YSA leaderships, a battle for the recognition of the rights of members of the IT to speak and act as disciplined members of the Fourth International, who defend its positions inside and outside of the SWP and YSA, who sell its press, who work to implement its international campaigns. In this battle the IT will be totally supported by the IMT which will struggle for the implementation of the criteria of democratic centralism which govern the functioning of the International. In particular, the IMT will intervene energetically against the recent attempts to intimidate members of the IT by the activating of the Control Commission following the demonstrations on Chile on May 11.

c) An effort to politically recruit to the FI and organizationally recruit to the SWP on the basis of the agreement of activists (isolated ones or groups) with the program of the Fourth International and its Tenth World Congress, and of their respecting the discipline of the SWP and the YSA, and of their commitment to behave as active militants.

If for factional reasons, the leadership of the SWP refused to allow these activists to join, the question would then be raised in the leadership bodies of the FI and the IMT would intervene in favor of these militants being allowed to join the FI and the SWP, and would under no circumstances accept the exclusion of these activists committed to join the ranks of the FI.

4. The goal of this joint political and organizational struggle is to strengthen the political relationship of forces in favor of the majority of the International. Through its intervention in the coming period, the IT by strengthening itself as a tendency inside the SWP and YSA, will have to contribute to laying the basis of a political alternative to the SWP's orientation on the basis of the program of the Fourth International.

5. The aim of this political battle is independent of whether or not the IT can win the Majority of the SWP. Organizational bureaucratism and the low level of the SWP work against this. But as long as the SWP remains within the FI, it is necessary for American Trotskyists to work within it and build a strong tendency. The tremendous opportunism and sectarianism exhibited by the SWP must not be underestimated. They are not momentary vacillations but expressions of a consistent line. But the membership of the SWP in the FI -- for whatever reasons -- is a factor which hinders the fullest expressions of these trends to an extent which would necessitate a split.

Formulations concerning the membership of the SWP in the FI are made with the understanding that the SWP is not a member of the Fourth International due to the reactionary legislation. These formulations are made for simplicity not legal preciseness.